HH-2.

Boudinot.

LIBRARY
OF THE
Theological Seminary,
PRINCETON, N. J.

Case, Div. III
Shelf, Sect. 10
Book, No.

SCC#3247
V 5

THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Univerſal Hiſtory,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time.

VOL. V.

THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

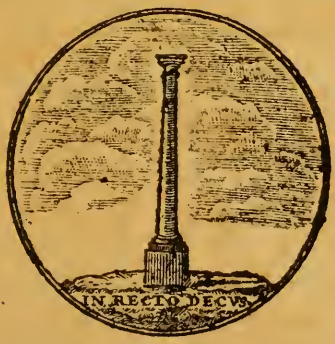
Earliest Account of Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. V.



LONDON:

Printed for S. RICHARDSON, T. OSBORNE, C. HITCH, A. MILLAR, JOHN RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER, P. DAVEY and B. LAW, T. LONGMAN, and C. WARE.

M.DCC.LIX.

Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

BOOK II.

CHAP. VI.

The History of Jenghîz Khân's *Successors in* Tartary *and* China.

The Reign of Timûr, *called by the* Chineſes Ching-tſong.

AFTER the death of *Hû-pi-lay* (or *Kublay*), *Pe-yen*, as prime miniſter, and general of the army, gave the neceſſary commands, to prevent all diſorder; and invited *Timûr* to come immediately, and be acknowleged emperor, purſuant to the laſt will of his grandfather. This appointment he alſo notified to the princes, and other generals of the troops; giving them to underſtand, at the ſame time, that he would not ſuffer the leaſt oppoſition to it. The aſſembly met, by agreement, in *April* 1294; where, notwithſtanding, ſeveral princes intended to declare ſomebody elſe emperor. Then *Yuſi Timûr* ſpoke; and ſaid, That it was proper, without delay, to inſtal *Timûr*, according to the intention of *Hû-pi-lay*. *Pe-yen* ſeconded *Yuſi Timûr*; and, drawing his ſword, declared he would never acknowlege any other em-

Sixth Khân Timûr. A. D. 1294.

Sixth. peror than *Timûr*. The general *Ywe-chechar*, great grandſon
Timûr, *or* of *Porgû*, one of *Jenghîz Khân*'s four intrepids, was of the
Ching- ſame opinion, as well as all the other generals: it was known
tſong. alſo, that the *Chineſe* great men would declare for *Timûr*.
Hereupon *Kanmala*, eldeſt ſon of the late prince *Cheng-kin*, gave his vote for *Timûr*, his youngeſt brother: the other princes did the ſame; and, in ſhort, all fell on their knees before that prince, to acknowlege him for emperor. Notice was immediately given of this to all the tribes, generals of troops, and mandarins of the provinces of *China*: a general amneſty was publiſhed likewiſe, according to cuſtom.

His firſt acts. ONE of the firſt acts of *Timûr*, who is known to the *Chineſes* by the name of *Ching-tſong*, was, to give the title of emperor to his father, and that of empreſs to his mother. He likewiſe erected monuments to the memory of his father *Cheng-kin*, grandfather *Hû-pi-lay*, and the princeſs his grandmother; punctually paid what was due to the princes and princeſſes of his houſe, to the generals and mandarins: ſhewed great marks of confidence to his brother *Kanmala*, and declared him his lieutenant-general in *Tartary*. He appointed generals to oppoſe *Hay-tû*, and other princes of his party. He provided for the ſecurity of the provinces by a choice of good officers, giving full powers to *Pe-yen*, *Yuſi Temur*, *Ywe-chechar*, *Tûtûha*, and others, in all matters whatſoever which concerned war. He cauſed the finiſhing ſtroke to be given to the hiſtory of *Hû-pi-lay*; made peace with the king of *Gan-nan* *; and ordered commerce with *India* to be renewed, which had been interrupted by the war with *Qua-wa* †.

Death of Pe-yen. IN *December* this year died the famous *Pe-yen*, at the age of fifty-nine, with the reputation of being one of the greateſt men whom either *China* or *Tartary* ever produced. The emperor, the princes, the generals, and univerſally all the officers, mourned his death a long time; and the *Chineſe* hiſtorians have beſtowed on this general a magnificent elogy.

THE year 1295 is marked for the firſt of *Timûr's* reign by the *Chineſes*, who uſually reckon to the deceaſed emperor that in which he dies (A). At the beginning of it, lands were given, in the ſouthern provinces, to the ſoldiers, on condition, to keep in awe the *Myau-tſe*: a kind of independent people, who inhabit certain mountainous parts of *Sechwen*, *Quey-chew*, *Hu-quang*, *Quang-ſi*, *Quang-tong*, and

* Containing *Tong-king* and *Kochin China*.

† Suppoſed to be near *Kamboja*.

(A) Altho' this rule or cuſtom is not always obſerved, many inſtances being found to the contrary. *Gaubil.*

elſewhere,

elſewhere; having languages and laws different not only from the *Chineſe*, but from one another. In *April* there happened a grievous famine, on which occaſion *Timûr* ſhewed his readineſs to ſuccour the people; he cauſed large alms to be diſtributed every-where to the poor, and the public granaries to be examined: henceforth alſo he forbad the ſelling of civil employments [a]. *Sixth.* Timûr, *or* Ching-tſong.

In 1296 the daughters and ſiſters of the *Mungl* emperors, as well as the princes and grandees their huſbands, were poſſeſſed of very great privileges. By little and little they had aſſumed to themſelves the right of judging, and putting to death, their vaſſals and domeſtics. Several abuſes on this occaſion determined *Timûr* to make a law, that no perſon whoſoever ſhould condemn another, without having the emperor's conſent; which regulation is highly praiſed by the *Chineſes*. *Good regulation.*

In 1297 the empreſs-mother had a mind to go to *U-tay-ſhan*, a mountain near the city of *U-tay* (B), to ſee the temple which ſhe had built in honour of *Fo*. As this journey muſt have been very chargeable to the people, and, beſides, was not agreeable to the emperor her ſon, who, through reſpect, would not oppoſe it openly, the *Chineſe* great men, deeply averſe to the worſhip of *Fo*, preſented that princeſs with a petition full of ſpirit and eloquence. After delicately ſetting forth her known tenderneſs and compaſſion for the people, they exaggerate the number of perſons ruined, or dead, on occaſion of that temple; and make a diſmal repreſentation of the evils which ſuch a progreſs would bring on the inhabitants of *Pe-che-li* and *Shan-ſi*; nor did they ſpare to exclaim againſt the worſhip of *Fo*. Hereupon the empreſs deſiſted from her deſign; and, as ſhe ſaw that the emperor did not approve of it, ſhe was unwilling to give him the leaſt uneaſineſs. A. D. 1297.

TIMUR, when he appointed his brother *Kanmala* for his lieutenant-general in *Tartary*, and *Ywe-chechar* for general of the troops, ordered them to follow the counſels of *Tûtûha*, prince of *Kin-cha* (C), who had beaten prince *Hay-tû* in ſeveral engagements. *Tûtûha* died in 1295, at *Swen-hû-fû* in *Pe-che-li*, as he was ſetting out for *Tartary*, to command one of the armies deſigned againſt the ſame enemy. He was ſucceeded in his titles and honours by his ſon *Chohangûr*, who Hay-tû *defeated.* A. D. 1297.

[a] Gaubil. Hiſt. Gentel. p. 223, & ſeqq.

(B) In the diſtrict of *Tay Ywen-fû*, capital of *Shan-ſi* *Gaubil.*

(C) The ſame with *Kapchâk* or *Kipjâk*.

Sixth. Timûr, *or* Ching-tſong.

was as great a captain as his father, under whom he always ſerved with diſtinction. This general, being in 1297 appointed to oppoſe *Hay-tû*, who was advanced as far as the country of *Parin*, marched at the head of his troops of *Kinchâ*; and, finding him encamped along the river *Arû*, prepared to attack him: but in *October* he fled, and retired towards the north. Next year prince *Tuwa*, *Hay-tû*'s brother, was defeated by *Chohangûr*, to the weſt of the mountain *Altay*, towards the ſource of the river *Irtiſh*. In *Auguſt* a detachment of *Hay-tu*'s army, being met by prince *Ko-li-ki-tſe*, who had married the emperor's daughter, he defeated them three times: but, falling from his horſe, was taken, and carried to *Hay-tû*, whoſe great offers he refuſed, chuſing to be ſlain, rather than prove unfaithful to *Timûr*.

Timûr's charity. A. D. 1299.

In *January* 1299 this monarch ſent mandarins into all the provinces, to examine into the loſſes which the people had ſuffered; the damages which the troops had cauſed; the families of mandarins, who had not wherewithal to live on, ſuitable to their condition; and the peaſants, who could not cultivate the lands. Theſe commiſſioners gave a real relief to the poor, the diſeaſed, the old officers who were no longer able to ſerve, and to their families. This conduct loaded *Timûr* with the publick applauſe: he refuſed continually to declare war againſt *Japan*, altho' ſeveral *Mungls*, who delighted in blood and ſlaughter, urged him to it. The emperor declared, that he would live in peace, and baniſh the vices which reigned in the empire. He daily inquired into the miſeries of the people, and ſeemed to be ſenſible only of the glory of making them happy.

The hiſtory, however, blames *Timûr* for having ſent a bonza, in quality of envoy, to *Japan*, in *February* this year: it praiſes the emperors, who ſent deputies to foreign courts; and adds, that, for ſuch commiſſions, it is neceſſary to chuſe out men of credit and titles, and ſuch as do honour to the empire by their magnificence, gravity, and air of grandeur, worthy the dignity of their prince.

An eclipſe miſtaken.

The tribunal of mathematics having foretold an eclipſe of the moon for *Auguſt*, which did not happen; the great lords, to ſave its credit, repreſented to the emperor, that heaven had for that time, in his majeſty's favour, cauſed a change in the motion of the ſun. *Timûr* did not believe what they ſaid; yet, without puniſhing the tribunal, ſent them notice to ſet the ſtars in order again.

In the year 1300 *Lyew-ſhen*, a general of the troops, repreſented to the court, that the kingdom of *Pa-pe-ſi-fû* would

(D) would not receive the calendar of the empire; and prayed his majesty to permit him to compel the inhabitants to follow the form of the *Chinese* year, and reckon their months like the subjects of the emperor. One of his ministers, called *Wan-tse*, considering this as a serious affair, persuaded the emperor, in *December*, to attack the kingdom of *Pa-pe-si-fû*. *Alaasun* opposed that resolution; alleging, that the people, whom they would attack, were barbarians; that, indeed, they might be instructed, if his majesty thought fit; but that it would be of no use, as well as dangerous, to make war upon them. The emperor said nothing to the minister *Alaasun*; but, contrary to his custom, he fell in a passion at another mandarin, who went about to give his advice. In effect, *Lyew-shen* was ordered, with 20,000 men, to attack *Pa-pe-si-fû* [b].

Sixth. Timûr, *or* Ching-tsong. Pa-pe-si-fû *invaded.*

But it was not long before *Timûr* repented this unfortunate war: most of the troops perished by famine or sickness, and the province of *Yun-nan* suffered much. The bordering people, who, till then, had lain quiet, took arms, and plundered several countries subject to the emperor. This war at length became serious; many excellent officers died in it; so that the troops of *Hû-quang*, *Se-chwen*, *Shen-si*, and *Yun-nan*, were obliged to march; and *Koko* (E), son of *Hû-pi-lay*, had orders to support those troops, in case of need. *Yesûtar* (F) and *Lyew-kû-kyay* (G), after many difficulties and losses, subdued *Pa-pe-si-fû*, and pacified the troubles which the *Myau-tse*, and the people of the frontiers, had excited: nor was it till the year 1303 that an end was put to the war. The emperor often let *Alaasun* know, that he repented having not followed his advice: which occasion a great mandarin laid hold of to represent to his majesty, that, for thirty years past, the empire had been at exorbitant expences to make war on *Japan*, *Gan-nan*, *Qua-wa*, and *Lyew-Kyew*, without the least profit. He compared those wars to that of

and reduced.

[b] Gaubil. ubi sup. p. 225, & seq.

(D) A pretty large country, between *Yun-nan* and *Bengâl* in *India*; but the air is very unwholsome, and the people poor; and were, at that time, cruel and barbarous. *Gaubil.*

(E) He had the title of regulo of *Yun-nan*. This is the prince whom *M. Polo* calls *Kograkam*. *Gaubil.*

(F) He was the son of *Nyew-lyen*, general under *Mengko* and *Hû-pi-lay*. *Gaubil.*

(G) A tatar of *Nyu-che*, and one of the best officers in the empire: great praise is bestowed on the conduct of prince *Koko*, and these two generals. *Gaubil.*

Sixth. Timûr, *or* Ching-tſong.

Pa-pe-ſi-fû; and added, that the honour of the emperor required that he ſhould put to death the general *Lyew-ſhen*, as having deceived his prince. Several of that general's friends repreſented, that he ought to enjoy the amneſty: but *Ala-aſun* made the ſame repreſentation as the mandarin; and *Lyew-ſhen* had his head ſtruck off.

Rebellion in Pegû.

A LORD of the kingdom of *Myen* (or *Pegû*), having revolted againſt his king (H), ſeized him, confined him in a ſtable, and, in *May* 1300, ſlew him. The king's ſecond ſon eſcaped to *Ta-tû*, and, on his knees, aſked aſſiſtance from the emperor. *Timûr*, by advice of his council, granted his requeſt, as being a tributary prince; and *Suechawr*, great general in *Yun-nan*, was ordered to enter *Myen*, and attack the rebels. He did ſo; but was worſted, with his lieutenants, who returned to *Yun-nan*, after ſpreading a report, that they had made all things quiet. However, the court had intelligence, that ſeveral great officers had been corrupted by the rebel; who, being tryed for the ſame, were found guilty, and put to death: nor did *Suechawr* eſcape puniſhment; for he was degraded, and his goods were confiſcated.

THE ſame year died *Pû-hû-chû*, one of the miniſters, a *Kangli* by nation, and one of the wiſeſt men of his time. He held the chief employments in the empire, and yet died very poor. His children inherited his probity, and love for the ſciences. His wife, who had as much virtue as her huſband, was continually at work with her hands, nor was aſhamed to make uſe of them to maintain her family.

Hay-ſhan's *ſucceſſes.* A. D. 1301.

TIMUR had ſent his nephew *Hayſhan* into *Tartary*, to learn the art of war under the generals *Ywe-chechar* and *Choangûr*. This prince had defeated *Hay-tû* in ſeveral engagements; but the latter, tho' always beaten, was ſtill in a condition to make himſelf feared; ſo that the emperor was obliged to have great armies continually in that country, commanded by princes of his family, and his beſt generals. *Hayſhan*, having, in 1301, joined together the five great bodies of troops which had been employed in different parts of *Tartary*; in *Auguſt* had ſeveral bloody battles, between *Karakorom* and the river *Tamir*, with *Hay-tû* and his brother *Towa*, whoſe troops were, for the moſt part, cut in pieces. *Hay-tû*, who, for more than thirty years, had made war on the princes of his family, on pretence that they had uſurped the empire of *Ogotay*, or *Oktay*, to his prejudice, died with vexation. His brother *Towa* was dangerouſly wounded, but eſcaped with a few followers. Such a continued run of loſſes, and bad ſucceſs,

Death of Hay-tû,

(H) Called in the *Chineſe* hiſtory *Ti-li-pû-wa-na-na-ti-ti-ya.*

at

at length induced moſt of the princes who were of *Hay-tû*'s party to acknowlege *Timûr* for the true ſucceſſor of *Jenghiz Khân*. *Sixth.* Timur, *or* Ching-tſong.

In *January* 1302 died prince *Kanmala*, the emperor's eldeſt brother; whoſe excellent qualities, joined to his fidelity and courage, made him lamented. In *March* the court was under great uneaſineſs on account of the emperor's illneſs: but he recovered his health, and learned, with a ſenſible joy, how much the people had been afflicted to hear he was ſick. He, on his part, cauſed great largeſſes to be diſtributed, and a general pardon to be publiſhed. In *April* he removed, as uſual, to *Shang-tû*; and, in *May*, an eclipſe of the ſun happening, which the tribunal had neglected to calculate, the mandarins thereof were puniſhed, by lowering the degrees of ſome, turning out others, and leſſening the ſalaries of the reſt. The eſtabliſhing of an imperial college at *Ta-tû* gave great ſatisfaction to the *Chineſe* literati: but they could not forbear expreſſing their concern, to ſee that a palace had not been built to honour the memory of *Konfuſius*. This being repreſented to *Timûr* by *Alaaſun*, that prince, who had a high eſteem for the philoſopher, and underſtood his doctrine, cauſed a magnificent palace to be erected for him, which is ſtill ſeen at *Pe-king*[c]. *and prince* Kanmala. A. D. 1303. Konfuſius *honoured.*

JENGHIZ Khân brought with him into *Tartary*, from *Perſia*, *Khoraſſan* and great *Bukhâria*, a conſiderable number of *Mohammedan* families, among whom there were many excellent officers; and, ever after, the *Mohammedans* were very powerful at the *Mungl* court. There were, of that religion, generals, and whole bodies of troops; chiefs of merchants, and mandarins in all the tribunals, eſpecially that of the mathematics; doctors, and even miniſters of ſtate, of whom, in *July*, *U-tû-pû-ting* was nominated one.

In 1303 *Timûr*, ever attentive to the good of the empire, ſent judicious perſons into all the provinces, to inform themſelves how things ſtood. One of his views was, to procure an exact account of the miſery of the people; and to find out men of merit, who were not employed, either for want of money, or friends at court. The emperor, in regard to the evils which had been occaſioned by the long wars with *Hay-tû* and *Towa*, appointed generals to command in the territory of *Qua-chew* and *Sha-chew* (I). There he ordered magazines to Timûr's *humanity.*

[c] Gaubil, ubi ſup. p. 228, & ſeq.

(I) Cities to the north-weſt of *China*, between *Kya-yu-quan*, at the weſt end of the wall, and *Khamû*, or *Hami*, in *Little Bukharia*.

Sixth. Timûr, *or* Ching-tſong.

to be erected for the troops, and lodgments for them in ſeveral places between *Kan-chew*, in *China*, and *Sha-chew*. This monarch grew daily more beloved; and the *Tatar* princes were charmed with his integrity, clemency, and liberality.

All Tartary ſubmits.

PRINCE *Towa*, tired with ſo long a war, aſſembled all the lords, his vaſſals, and declared he was reſolved to acknowlege *Timûr*, whom he highly praiſed. *Chapar*, eldeſt ſon of *Hay-tû*, did the ſame. The other princes followed their example; and, after having cauſed the emperor to be recognized in their reſpective territories, ſent deputies in their names to implore his pardon, and reckon them in the number of his ſubjects. *Timûr* granted their requeſt, and, by that act, ſaw all *Tartary* united to his empire; a deſign which his grandfather *Hû-pi-lay* could never compaſs. *Timûr*, on this occaſion, conferred great honours on the prince *Choangûr*, in *July*. He gave him, with his own hand, a gold ſeal, jewels, and habits, in preſence of the whole court: he praiſed his merit, and beſtowed on him the principal poſts in the army. But that which redounded moſt to this prince's honour, was what paſſed in the aſſembly; where the princes leagued with *Hay-tû* and *Towa* reſolved to ſubmit. One of them ſaid, that, *Choangûr* being appointed to govern *Tartary*, they reckoned they ſhould be more ſoundly beaten than they were in the time of *Pe-yen* and *Tû-tû-ha*; which reflection was one of the chief motives that induced them to a ſubmiſſion. In *October* this year the *Han-lin*, who were appointed to examine the *Chineſe* hiſtory, and write annals, preſented the emperor with the annals of *Jenchîz Khân*, *Ogotay*, *Quey-yew*, *Toley*, and *Mengko* (K).

Religious ceremonies fixed. A. D. 1305.

THE *Ywen*, or *Mungls*, had, by tradition, their certain rules and rites for the worſhip of Heaven: but they had neither fixed ceremonies, places, nor times, for ſacrificing thereto. Therefore, in 1305, *Timûr* ſet able perſons to examine what had been the practice on that head, from the foundation of the *Chineſe* empire to his own time. *Aldaſun*, with ſome others who were *Chineſes*, reported to the emperor the reſult

baria. *Sha-chew* is the *Sachiun* of *Mario Polo*, according to *Gaubil*, who obſerves, that this city and *Suy-chew* have always had *Chineſe* gariſons to cover the weſtern frontiers.

(K) Theſe are the *Chineſe* names for *Jenghîz Khân*, *Oktay*, *Kayûk*, *Tûli*, and *Mungo*. The work ſpoken of is, according to *Gaubil*, one of the beſt which the *Chineſe* have on the ſubject of their hiſtory; and therefore, in great eſteem. He has ſpoken of it at large in a diſſertation on the antient hiſtory of the *Chineſes*.

of

of their reſearches, and ſettled the ceremonies which were thenceforth to be obſerved in the worſhip of Heaven. The hiſtory ſpeaks this year of precious ſtones called *Ta-u-ta*, ſold by the weſtern merchants for ſixty van (L). *Seventh.* Hayſhan, *or* Vû-tſong.

Timûr had one ſon called *Te-ſhew*, and one daughter by *Pe-yeu*, the princeſs of *Hongkila*. *Te-ſhew* was appointed heir: but died without children during the life of his father; who died himſelf in *January* 1307, in his forty-ſecond year, without either leaving iſſue, or naming a ſucceſſor. Timûr *dies.*

This prince paſſed, in the judgment of the *Chineſes*, for a perfect emperor. The wiſe conduct which he obſerved in the war againſt *Hay-tû* and *Nayen*; the judicious choice which he made of generals and miniſters; the conſtant averſion which he ſhewed for the vices which reign but too often in the courts of princes; and the extraordinary care which he took to comfort the people; give a high idea of this prince's abilities in government. He was ſixth khân of *Tartary*, and ſecond emperor of *China*[d]. *His character.*

CHAP. VII.

The Reign of Hayſhan, *called by the* Chineſes Vû-tſong.

When the emperor *Timûr* died, *Hayſhan*, eldeſt ſon of *Talamapala* (A), the ſon of *Cheng-kin*, the ſon of *Hû-pi-lay*, was lieutenant-general in *Tartary*, and at the head of a great army to the north of *Karakorom*. This prince was eſteemed by moſt of the princes of his family, whom he had ſeen in *Tartary*, and had gained reputation in the war with *Hay-tû*. He had likewiſe a conſiderable intereſt among the grandees, many of whom expreſſed a deſire to ſee him emperor; while none ſeemed to think of ſetting any of the ſons of *Kanmala*, eldeſt ſon of *Cheng-kin*, on the throne. Mean time the empreſs *Pe-ya-û*, widow of *Timûr*, having conceived a hatred againſt a princeſs of her own houſe, the wife of *Talamapala*, cauſed her to be baniſhed to *Whay-chew*, at preſent *Whay-kin Fû*, in *Honan*, with her ſon *Ayyulipalipata*; *Seventh* Khân Hayſhan.

[d] Gaubil. ubi ſup. p. 230.

(L) That is, three millions of livres, or about 150,000 *l.* ſterl.

(A) Theſe, and other names, tho' *Tatarian*, yet being tranſcribed from the *Chineſe* characters, differ more or leſs from the true pronunciation: nor is it in our power to give them in their true orthography; ſince neither our author *Gaubil* has done it, nor have we any account of them, except a few, in our extracts from the oriental writers.

and,

Seventh. Hayſhan, *or* Vu-tſong.

and, fearing the reſentment of *Hayſhan* (who was alſo her ſon, and ſecretly enraged at her treatment), in caſe he became emperor, ſent for the miniſter *A-û-tay*, prince *Mingli Temur*, with ſeveral other princes and grandees of her court. To them ſhe propoſed the prince *Honanta*, eldeſt ſon of *Mangkola*, third ſon of *Hû-pi-lay*, who then governed the provinces of *Shen-ſi*, *Se-chwen*, and *Tibbet*, as his father had done before; and uſually reſided at *Si-gan Fû*, capital of the firſt of thoſe provinces. *Honanta*, who readily embraced the offer of the empreſs, came by poſt to *Ta-tû*; while the parties above-mentioned took meaſures to hinder *Hayſhan*'s return.

Honanta *his competitor.*

THE firſt thing they did, was to go the palace, and intreat the empreſs to pull down the curtain (B), in order to give audiences, and govern the ſtate, till *Honanta* was inſtalled. After this, *A-û-tay* aſſembled the grandees at the palace of the anceſtors; and, under pretence of conſulting about the ſucceſſion, they began by force to perform the ceremonies which are uſually obſerved after the recognition of a new emperor. Two great mandarins oppoſed this attempt; and inſiſted, that they ought firſt to ſee the name of the new emperor. *Ho-whey*, one of the prime mandarins, declared the ſame thing. Hereupon *A-û-tay* fell in a paſſion, and threatened with death the oppoſing lords: but, as they ſtood firm to their principles, the aſſembly diſſolved.

Alaaſun's *policy.*

ON the other ſide, *Alaaſun*, as prime miniſter, ſeizing the ſeals of the tribunals, cauſed the treaſury to be ſhut up; likewiſe the chambers where were kept the robes, and jewels of the crown. Then, in concert with the officer of the inner guard of the palace, ſuffered no-body to enter. At the ſame time he feigned himſelf ſick; and, in ſpite of the repeated orders and threats of the empreſs, remained firm; ſending underhand ſome truſty lords to *Hayſhan* and *Ayyuli-palipata*, to haſten to the court. This latter, having received the expreſs in *February*, was at a loſs what courſe to take. Hereupon *Li-meng* his maſter quoted him the law of *Shi-tſû* (C), which excluded baſtards from the ſucceſſion; and repre-

(B) This is in alluſion to an antient cuſtom obſerved by the *Chineſe* princeſſes, who governed during the minority of the princes their ſons. *Gaubil.*

(C) The *Chineſe* title for *Hû-pi-lay*. But it is difficult to know with certainty whether the law of *Hû-pi-lay* excluded the children of other ladies than the firſt empreſs, or thoſe born of his other wives, excepting thoſe five who had the title of empreſſes; but it is clear, that *Honanta*, who was the eldeſt ſon of *Mangkola*, *Hû-pi-lay*'s third ſon, was looked on as illegitimate. *Gaubil*, p. 238.

ſented to him, that, as his brother *Hayſhan* was above a thouſand leagues from the capital, he ought to ſet out with the princeſs his mother for *Ta-tû*. *Li-meng*, who was but little known at the court, went before; and, counterfeiting the phyſician, as ſuch, was brought into the chamber of *Ala-aſun*. A lord, ſent by the empreſs to know how the miniſter did, was with him when *Li-meng* entered; yet, nobody ſuſpecting him to be other than a phyſician, he had opportunity enough to deliver what he had to ſay on the part of *Ayyulipalipata*. After this, he took poſt-horſes; and, while *Alaaſun* prepared every thing neceſſary for the reception of that prince, *Li-meng* travelled day and night; ſo that the empreſs was much ſurpriſed, when ſoon after ſhe was informed, that *Ayyulipalipata*, and his mother, were arrived in the city. They made their entrance into the palace early in the morning, followed on horſeback by their retinue in deep mourning; and were introduced, by the officers of the guards, into their old apartment [a]. *Seventh.* Hayſhan, *or* Vû-tſong. Li-meng's *ſtratagem.*

THE partiſans of *Honanta* agreed to declare him emperor on the third of *March*; and choſe that day, under pretence of celebrating the birth of *Ayyulipalipata*. *Alaaſun* promiſed *Honanta* to aſſiſt at the ceremony; and, the ſame night, gave *Ayyulipalipata* notice; acquainting him, that it was neceſſary to prevent the authors of the plot, without waiting for the arrival of *Hayſhan*. Prince *Fûla*, who was great captain, undertook forthwith to conduct an army; and, two days before, entered *Ta-tû* at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, without declaring on what deſign: but the empreſs could eaſily perceive, that the prince would never ſuffer *Honanta* to be proclaimed emperor, and, from that time, was in very great fear. *Ayyulipalipata*, ſeeing himſelf ſtrengthened by an army at his devotion, cauſed a report to be ſpread, that *Hayſhan* had ſent a commiſſioner to inquire into what had paſſed with reſpect to *Honanta*. Then prince *Mengli-Temûr*, being ſeized, was carried in chains to *Shang-tû*. *A-û-tay*, and the other mandarins his accomplices, were condemned to death; but execution was ſtayed till the arrival of *Hayſhan*. Guards likewiſe were placed at the gates of both the palace and city; ſo that the empreſs, and prince *Honanta*, ſaw themſelves quite diſabled from proceeding in their deſign; and, as it were, priſoners in their own palace. Palipata *arrives.* *The conſpirators ſeized.*

MEAN time the princes of *Ayyulipalipata*'s party propoſed to him to aſſume the empire: but he refuſed; and declared plainly, that the crown belonged to his elder brother. He added, Li-meng's *modeſty.*

[a] GAUBIL, ubi ſupra, p. 233, & ſeqq.

Seventh. Hayſhan, *or* Vû-tſong.

added, that the proſecutions he had ſet on foot were in favour of *Hayſhan*, and to puniſh thoſe who had the audacity to attempt to violate the rules of the ſucceſſion. *Li-meng* was nominated for one of the chief employments, and to have had a general inſpection over all; but he declined the ſame. He had never ſeen *Hayſhan*; and, as ſoon as he heard that prince was on the road, he diſappeared: nor was the place of his retreat known, the love of ſtudy and retirement having induced him to conceal it.

Hayſhan's *reſolution.*

As ſoon as *Hayſhan* received advice of his uncle *Timûr*'s death, he repaired from the mountain *Antay*, or *Altay*, to *Karakorom*; where he aſſembled as many princes and great men as he poſſibly could, in order to deliberate what he had to do. The troops, who loved him, were deſirous that he ſhould be acknowleged emperor in that antient capital; but *Hayſhan* would not agree to it. He received an expreſs from the princeſs his mother, by which he found, that ſhe was inclined to have *Ayyulipalipata* elected; induced thereto by the words of an aſtrologer, who had promiſed the empire to that prince, at his departure from *Whay-chew*. On this advice, *Hayſhan* ſent for *Toto*, who had brought him the news of *Timûr*'s death, and told him: "That, as he was older than "*Ayyulipalipata*, the ſpeech of an aſtrologer ought not to "diſturb the order of the ſucceſſion: that he knew how to "puniſh thoſe who had infuſed ſuch ſentiments into his mo-"ther; and that he was reſolved to ſet out for *Shang-tû*, "there to take poſſeſſion of the throne of *Jenghîz Khân*." Having ſpoken thus, he ordered *Toto* to go before, to acquaint his mother, brother, and *Alaaſun*, with the other princes and faithful lords, with his reſolution.

Marches towards Ta-tû.

HAYSHAN choſe 30,000 ſoldiers out of the army at *Karakorom*, appointing the prince *Ganwhey* and *Choangûr* to command them. Then, putting himſelf at their head, made them march in three bodies, and at an eaſy rate, to avoid fatiguing them. The princeſs, *Hayſhan*'s mother, charmed to hear from *Toto* the true intentions of her ſon, ſent that lord back; requeſting him to ſpeak in her behalf to *Hayſhan*, and eſpecially to explain to him fully in what ſenſe ſhe ſeemed to wiſh to ſee *Ayyulipalipata* on the throne. Mean time this latter prince cauſed his brother's approach to be publiſhed in *Ta-tû*; and, after he had provided for the ſecurity of that city, ſet out with the guards, accompanied by ſeveral princes and grandees, for *Shang-tû*, to prepare every thing for the reception of *Hayſhan* [b].

[b] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p. 235, & ſeqq.

THIS

THIS prince expected with impatience the return of *Toto*; and, seeing him at a distance, rose up in his chariot, and ordered him to come and sit by him. *Toto* was accompanied by his brother *Asshapûwha*, sent by the princess. *Hayshan* was never tired with hearing *Toto* relate what his mother and brother had said to him. He appointed *Asshapûwha* to be one of his ministers; and, being near *Shang-tû*, drew up his troops. He entered that city in *May*, attended by his generals, and was conducted to the palace by the imperial guard, through the acclamations of the people. As soon as he saw his brother, he advanced to embrace him, both shedding tears; thanked him for his zeal, and praised his management. After this, the two princes went to pay their duty to the princess their mother, who reckoned this the most glorious day of her life. *Hayshan* was then acknowleged emperor with much pomp. He declared his mother empress; and gave to his father the title of emperor: He likewise appointed his brother hereditary prince: which ceremonies being over, the court set out for *Ta-tû*. *Seventh.* Hayshan, *or* Vû-tsong. *Proclaim'd emperor.*

WHEN they were arrived there, *Hayshan*, attended by the princes of his house, went to the palace of his ancestors, to honour the memory of *Tay-tsu* or *Jenghîz Khân*, *Ogotay*, *Quey-yew*, *Mengko*, *Toley*, *Shi-tsû* or *Hû-pi-lay*, *Timûr*, *Cheng-kin*, and *Talamapala*, who, by the advice of *Ho-whey* and *Alaasun*, were ranged in the following order. The tablet of *Jenghîz Khân* being placed in the middle, on the east were, 1. *Talamapala*; 2. *Timûr*: to the west, 1. *Toley*; 2. *Hû-pi-lay*; 3. *Cheng-kin*. *Toley* and *Cheng-kin* had, besides, particular palaces, where they were honoured. The above arrangement was made apart from the tablets of the emperors *Ogotay*, *Quey-yew*, and *Mengko*. Hereupon the history blames those two mandarins for committing two essential faults, contrary to the *Chinese* ceremony, in which they were thoroughly versed: first, to build palaces, to honour those princes as emperors, who had not been emperors: secondly, to place princes, who had not been emperors, above those who had been. Those princes, tho' brothers or fathers of emperors, were no more than subjects, and therefore were intitled only to the honours due to subjects. *Honours his ancestors.*

AFTER this ceremony of respect paid to his ancestors was over, *Hayshan* ordered the sentence of death, obtained by *Ayyulipalipata* against the mandarins of *Honanta*'s party, to be carried into execution: he likewise put to death the empress *Pe-ya-û*, and prince *Honanta*, as well as the minister *A-û-tay*. In *July* he caused to be distributed through the empire the *Mungl* translation of the book written by *Konfusius*, *Conspirators put to death.*

Seventh. Hayſhan, or Vû-tſong.

ſius, intituled, *Hyau-king*; with an exhortation to the *Tatar* princes and grandees to read that book, and conform to the doctrine contained in it. Afterwards, alluding to the pains that philoſopher had taken to put the claſſical books in order, he ſays: "That, but for *Konfuſius*, they would have known "nothing of the antient ſages; nor would the ſages of the "times poſterior to thoſe of *Konfuſius* have had examples "of the antient and true virtue to imitate."

Hayſhan's character.

THE year 1308 is reckoned the firſt of the emperor *Hayſhan*, whom the *Chineſe* intitle *Vû-tſong*. He was warlike, equitable, generous, mild, and a patron of learned men: but he had three faults; was too much attached to the lamas, loved wine, and was fond of women. In *January* *Aſhapûwha*, a faithful miniſter, fell on his knees, and, with tears in his eyes, conjured him "to take care of his health, "which was ſo dear to the empire; aſſuring him, that wine "and women would ſoon put an end to his life." As the emperor loved *Aſhapûwha*, he did not take that lecture ill, and would have him drink in his preſence a glaſs of good wine. A few days after, the great mandarins came in a body, to felicitate his majeſty on having a ſubject ſo ſincere as *Aſhapûwha*. To this latter, who was brother[c] of *Toto*, and grandſon of the king of *Kangli*[d], *Hayſhan* gave the title of count of *Kang*.

Inſolence of lamas.

LI-PI, one of the great mandarins of *Shang-tû*, intending to puniſh a lama, who had abuſed ſome of the commonalty; that lama, and ſeveral others, armed with ſticks, entered his tribunal, beat and confined him in a little room: yet, on complaining, he had no redreſs. At the ſame time another lama had the impudence to ſtop the chariot of a princeſs on the road, and get before her; and, when her attendants attempted to ſeize him, he beat the princeſs, and then went on. Neither could this great perſonage obtain any ſatisfaction from the emperor: on the contrary, an imperial order was publiſhed, importing, that the hand ſhould be cut off which ſtruck a lama; and the tongue of him who abuſed any of them: but the prince appointed heir revoked that order. The hiſtorians ſpeak with great vehemence againſt theſe acts of injuſtice; and add, "that the lamas ruined the "empire of the *Yuen*: that the dynaſty of the weſtern *Han* was "deſtroyed by the relations of the queens; that of the eaſt-"ern *Han* by the eunuchs; that of the *Tang* by the great man-"darins; and that of the *Song* by bad ſubjects.'

[c] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p. 238, & ſeqq. [d] See before, the years 1257 and 1258.

THE

THE *Mungl* emperors laid out a great deal of money in rare birds, jewels, pearls, precious ſtones, and rarities of all kinds. As they had given commiſſions to the foreign merchants of the weſt to ſearch for ſuch things in the provinces, the ſea-ports, and elſewhere; thoſe ſtrangers travelled over the country with a mark at their girdles (D), to ſhew that they belonged to the emperor; and, in that quality, took poſt-horſes where-ever they came, under pretence of ſearching for curioſities for the court: but, in *November*, there appeared an edict, forbidding thenceforward to furniſh the weſtern merchants with poſt-horſes. In the ſame month, *Chapar*, eldeſt ſon of *Haytu*, the eldeſt ſon of *Tatû* (E), and others, came in perſon to the court, to acknowlege *Hayſhan* for their ſovereign. At the end of the year *Alaaſun* died at *Karakorom* in *Tartary*, where he had been removed on the following occaſion: *Seventh.* Hayſhan, *or* Vûtſong. *Foreigners reſtrained.*

A-U-TAY, the miniſter before-mentioned, who was for inſtalling *Honanta*, being a perſon of ſo great ſtrength, that no-body durſt attempt to ſeize him, it was feared he would have eſcaped. Upon this, prince *Tûla*, deſcended from *Ogotay*, by *Myeli*, undertook the taſk; took him with a great deal of reſolution, and bound him. In conſideration of this piece of ſervice, *Hayſhan* conferred on him the title of regulo of the country of *Ywe*. *Alaaſun*, on this occaſion, repreſented, that it was againſt the rules of the imperial family to give that title to a prince of ſo remote a branch as *Tûla* was. *Tûla*, in revenge, accuſed *Alaaſun*; and ſhewed his name among thoſe who were to have inſtalled *Honanta*. The emperor knew the charge to be falſe; yet, ſeeming to be angry with *Alaaſun*, reduced his titles ſome degrees: but appointed him governor-general and prime miniſter at *Karakorom*, which was one of the firſt poſts in the empire. Alaafun *diſgraced.*

ALAASUN repaired to that antient capital of *Tartary*; and it was there that he diſplayed his talents in their full light. He began by putting to death a *Tartar* lord, the head of a gang of robbers who deſtroyed the country: he beſtowed large gifts on the poor officers and ſoldiers: took a great number of oxen, cows, ſheep, and horſes; giving, in exchange, ſilks, linen, rice, and tea: he ſent for ſkilful fiſhermen, plowmen, labourers, and peaſants, from *China*; taught the *Tatars*, who dwelt along the lakes and rivers, to fiſh; cauſed canals to be dug for watering the lands, and rendering *Death and Character.*

(D) Perhaps they wore a yellow girdle, or ſaſh, which is ſometimes allowed to the emperor's envoys.

(E) Perhaps it ſhould be *Toua*.

them

Seventh. Hayſhan, *or* Vû-tſong.

them fit for culture; likewiſe corn and rice to be ſown; and eſtabliſhed public granaries, poſts, and carriages. In the diſtance of twenty-five or thirty leagues there were ten poſt-houſes, where one met with victuals and drink, voitures and guards. In a word, the emperor was agreeably ſurpriſed to underſtand, that the department of *Karakorom* was in a condition to furniſh ſubſiſtence to the army, and fill magazines. *Alaaſun* was of the hord of *Walano* (or *Alano*, *Alans*), who, *Marco Polo* ſays, were Chriſtians. *Likiſili*, his great grandfather, was an intimate friend of *Jenghîz Khân*, and had ſaved his life upon a certain occaſion: they two loved each other as if they had been brothers.

New money. A. D. 1309.

In *January* 1309 prince *Tûla* was guilty of want of reſpect to the emperor: he was brutiſh, as well as addicted to wine; and, as very bad conſequences were to be feared from his outrageous temper, he was put to death. *Hayſhan*, about this time, examined into the ſtate of his finances; and ordered kaſhes, or copper deniers, to be caſt. New tickets were likewiſe iſſued, each bearing the value of an ounce of ſilver. The kaſhes were of three ſorts: each of the firſt ſort was worth one li (F): one of the ſecond kind contained, within a ſmall matter, ten of the firſt; and each of the third ſort was worth ſeveral kaſhes, current under the dynaſties of the *Tang* and *Song* (G).

A plot diſcovered.

In *February* a conſpiracy was diſcovered, at the head of which was *Koko*, ſon of the emperor *Hû-pi-lay*, and the ſon of prince *Tûla*. Twenty-four lamas, who were in the plot, were puniſhed with death, and the two princes baniſhed. In *June* the lands of the bonzas of the ſects of *Fo* and *Tau*, which had been exempt from paying tribute, were declared thenceforward liable to the tax, as well as thoſe of other people. In *November* the diſpute, which had ariſen in the reign of *Timûr*, touching an article in the worſhip of Heaven on the days of the two ſolſtices, was at length decided.

Unjuſt execution.

One of the great mandarins of *Ta-tû* was a foreigner, named *Arſlân*, who was much loved by the people, and eſteemed by the ſoldiers: but being accuſed, by ſome of his enemies, of a deſign to revolt, was beheaded, with his brother, and ſeventeen other perſons. The people cried out aloud, That *Arſlân* was innocent; and, in effect, his innocence appeared, when it was too late. On this occaſion the hiſtory blames *Hayſhan* much, for having, on ſuch ſlender

(F) Ten li make a ſen; ten ſen one tſyen; and ten tſyen one ounce. *Gaubil.*

(G) There are ſtill extant kaſhes of all theſe kinds, which are preſerved by the curious. *Gaubil.*

grounds,

grounds, put to death a foreign nobleman, inveſted with a great employment, and in reputation for his virtue. *Seventh.* Hayſhan, *or* Vû-tſong.

In *January* 1311, the emperor *Hayſhan* died, at the age of thirty-one. He had no children by the empreſs *Chenko*, princeſs of *Hong-kila*; but he had two by two of his queens, who were both afterwards emperors: the eldeſt was named *Hoſhila*, the other *Tûtemûr* [e]. He was the ſeventh khân of the *Mungls*, and third of the *Chineſe* dynaſty of the *Ywen*. Hayſhan *dies.*

CHAP. VIII.

The reign of Ayyuli-palipata, *ſtiled by the* Chineſe Jin-tſong.

As ſoon as *Hayſhan* was dead, his brother *Ayyuli-palipata*, who had been early declared the hereditary prince, was acknowleged emperor, and ſtiled by the *Chineſe Jin-tſong*. Several miniſters, during the reign of his predeceſſor, had abuſed their power, and taken advantage of that prince's inclination to pleaſure, in order to inrich themſelves, and committed a thouſand acts of injuſtice, which the emperor knew nothing of: the new monarch began his reign, by making examples of theſe bad miniſters; he put ſome to death, and baniſhed others, not ſparing even the princes of the blood. Orders had been given to new-caſe the antient walls of *Yen-king* (A), and inlarge it; but, as this work had been very inconvenient to the inhabitants, *Ayyuli-palipata* cauſed what had been already built to be demoliſhed, and ſatisfaction made to thoſe who had been ſufferers. After this, he choſe mandarins, remarkable for their integrity, to act at the head of affairs. *Eighth.* Khân Ayyuli-palipata.

In *January* 1312, the emperor gave orders concerning the tribunal of hiſtorians of the empire; and had always a great inclination for the ſtudy of hiſtory. In *February* the famous (B) ſtones on which *Sven-vang* (C), emperor of the *Chû* race, had cauſed many *Chineſe* characters to be cut, were, by his command, depoſited in the imperial college at *Tatû*. The department which depended on *Si-gan Fû*, called that of *Gan-ſi*, was thenceforth ordered to be named the department of *Tong-* *Several regulations.*

[e] Gaubil, ubi ſupra, p. 240, & ſeq.

(A) Now *Pe-king*, or very near it. See Vol. IV. lib. ii. c. 5. ſect. 1.

(B) They are called *She-kû*, that is, *ſtone drums*, on account of their figure. There are nine or ten of them ſtill ſeen in the college at *Pe-king*. The diameter is one foot, and the height three. *Gaubil.*

(C) Or *Swen vang*. He lived before the Chriſtian æra.

Eighth. Ayyuli-palipata, *or* Jin-tſong.

ywen (D), and *Ho-lin* (or *Karakorom*), was called *Ho-ning*. As the emperors have often cauſed the tablets of learned men to be placed in the temple of *Konfuſius*, to honour their memories at ſtated times, *Ayyuli-palipata* commanded, that, for the future, thoſe ceremonies ſhould be performed to *Tſe-ma-quang*, *Chû-hi*, *Shau-kang-tſye*, *Nan-hyen*, *Chew-tung*, *Ching-hau*, *Chang-tſay*, *Lu-tſû-kyen*, and *Hyu-heng* (E).

Public calamities;

THE emperor *Hûpilay* had promiſed the literati to inſtitute the examination of men of their claſs: but that deſign was never put in execution, till *November* this year, when *Ayyuli-palipata* iſſued a mandate for that purpoſe. About the ſame time, *Alimating*, a foreigner, preſented the emperor with a new kalendar, which, he ſaid, would ſerve for ten thouſand years; but no mention is made either of the author, or the principles it was formed upon. As this emperor loved the people, he beheld, with grief, the ravages which epidemic diſeaſes made in his capital: with no leſs grief he ſaw, that, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, the ſun had been eclipſed, a comet had appeared, and there had been two earthquakes; beſides, the famine, drought, and inundations of rivers, had ruined ſeveral provinces. On occaſion of theſe calamities, he aſſembled the grandees: ſome ſaid his majeſty ought to imitate the example of *Ching-tang*, founder of the *Shang* dynaſty; others, that the falſe worſhip of *Fo* had cauſed ſo many evils. The emperor readily drew up writings, wherein he deplored the misfortunes which befel his people; and even declared, they were ſent by way of puniſhment, for the faults which he had committed in government, and promiſed to correct: but whether it was that he believed the worſhip of *Fo* to be good, or that, in policy, he ought to tolerate it, for fear of cauſing a revolt in the princes of his family, and his *Mungl* ſubjects, who were bigotted to the doctrine of the bonzas, he would not hear of aboliſhing that ſuperſtition [a].

imputed to the bonzas.

[a] GAUBIL, p. 243, & ſeq.

(D) The changes often made in the names of cities and countries, by order of the *Chineſe* emperors, is one of the greateſt difficulties in the *Chineſe* hiſtory and geography. There are indeed liſts of thoſe names; and if a man, who writes on thoſe ſubjects, would be exact, he muſt have them continually before him. *Gaubil.*

(E) All theſe authors were of different provinces, and wrote under the *Song* dynaſty, excepting *Hyu-heng*, ſpoken of before, in the reign of *Hûpilay*, at which time he flouriſhed. *Tſe-ma-quang* is one of the beſt hiſtorians of the empire; and moſt of his works are ſtill extant. *Chû-hi* compoſed the great work on the hiſtory called *Tong-kyen-kang-mu*, beſides others on the claſſical books. *Gaubil.*

IN

Eighth. Ayyuli-palipata, *or* Jin-tſong.

In *January* 1314, the emperor ordered a ſearch to be made after ſuch men of learning and virtue, as were either unknown, or without employment; and in *March*, made new regulations for the imperial college at *Tatû*, and that of the *Whey-hû* (F), both of which were much declined. In *June*, taking into conſideration the evils which had, by their authority, been brought on the preceding dynaſties, he ordered, that they ſhould not be made mandarins. Commiſſaries were likewiſe ſent into the ſouthern provinces, to examine into the ſaleable and cultivated lands: they found many reforms to make; and rectified the land-tax according to the price of goods.

Learning encouraged.

In *March* 1315, *Ayyuli-palipata* inſtituted examinations among the doctors, who were divided into two bodies, one of *Mungls*, the other of *Chineſes*; and, having aſſembled them, made them compoſe, in his preſence, upon a ſubject, which he gave them himſelf. Three of each body were to be choſen, that they might have titles and rewards conferred on them. The ſame cuſtom is ſtill in force; but no diſtinction is made between the *Chineſes* and *Tartars*. The *Chineſe* hiſtorians, on this occaſion, are laviſh of their elogies on *Ayyuli-palipata*, and conſider him as the moſt illuſtrious emperor of the *Yuen*: however, they cenſure him, for having, the next month, conſtituted an eunuch a great mandarin, after the prohibition which he had iſſued to the contrary.

Examinations eſtabliſhed. A. D. 1315.

TYE-MU-TYEL, one of the principal mandarins for the finances, finding fault with the taxes impoſed in 1314, augmented them in the ſouthern provinces. One of his chief commiſſioners, named *Ni-cha-ma-ting*, a *Mohammedan*, committed all ſorts of vexations in *Kyang-ſi*; and his avarice carried him ſo far, as to rob the ſepulchres, in hopes of enriching himſelf. The city of *Kan-chew*, in *Shen-ſi*, revolted; and one of the ſeditious aſſumed the title of emperor. The great mandarins of the province ſtifled this rebellion in the beginning: the *Mohammedan* was puniſhed; and the people were eaſed, not only in *Kyang-ſi*, but alſo in *Che-kyang*, *Kyang-nan*, and other provinces; which happened on the following occaſion.

Effects of oppreſſion;

In the beginning of this year, *Ayyuli-palipata* ſent commiſſioners into all parts of the empire, to examine into the conduct of the mandarins: he knew that the people in the ſouth had ſuffered ſeveral grievances from thoſe magiſtrates; and that the revolt of *Kan-chew* was the effect of their ill conduct. The emperor, who feared nothing ſo much as an inteſtine war, became very uneaſy; and his apprehenſions increaſed, on the ap-

and a commet.

(F) *Whey-hû* is one of the names given by the *Chineſe* to *Mohammedans*, and denotes, in general, the people of the weſt of *Aſia*. The ſciences and characters taught among the *Whey-hû* are called *Ye-ſe-ti-ſey*. *Gaubil.*

Eighth. Ayyuli-palipata, *or* Jin-tſong.

pearance of a comet, which happened in *November*. The people were ſtruck with the ſight of this phænomenon, which they conſidered as ſent to inform them, that heaven deſigned to puniſh the emperor (G), by taking from him the dominion, to give it to a perſon more worthy of it. *Ayyuli-palipata*, who was one of thoſe princes beſt acquainted with the genius of the *Chineſes*, as ſoon as he ſaw the comet, cauſed a general pardon to be publiſhed; and diſcharged the provinces of *Kyang-ſi* and *Che-kyang*, which had ſuffered moſt, from all kinds of taxes, for two years: declaring, that it was to indemnify them for the wrongs which they had ſuffered. The other provinces (H) were eaſed in proportion; and the literati took care everywhere to beſtow great encomiums on the emperor (I), who had attached them to him by his love for the ſciences, as well as the examinations inſtituted for their order in general, and the doctors in particular.

Meng-tſe *honoured.*

In 1316, the prince *Hoſhila*, eldeſt ſon of *Hayſhan* the late emperor, was appointed to govern *Yun-nan*: at which, being diſcontented, he left *China*, and went to reſide to the north-weſt of the mountain *Kin* (K). Several great men followed him; and he was received with open arms by the princes of the imperial houſe, particularly by prince *Chakotay*. Mean time, *Ayyuli-palipata* ordered a palace to be built at *Wey-whey*, in *Ho-nan*, to honour the memory of the celebrated *Pi-kan*; and another at *Chang-ping-chew*, a city of *Pe-che-li*, to honour that of *Ti-jin-kyay*. He declared the famous *Meng-tſe*, or *Mençius*, a count; and gave a title to his mother. At the end of the year, he appointed his ſon, a prince of high eſteem, to be his heir [b].

[b] Gaubil, p. 245, & ſeq.

(G) The remarks which the literati have made on the original and ſenſe of the title of *Son of heaven*, which is given to the emperor, have often afforded occaſion to deceive the people, and induce them to revolt: and the great men have frequently abuſed this notion of the *Son of heaven*, as well as the celeſtial appearances, to ſeize the empire, take up arms, excite troubles, and the like. *Gaubil.*

(H) The imperial commiſſioners found a book in the diſtrict of *Jau-chew*, in *Shen-ſi*, which is a bibliotheque of authors, books, and ſciences. It was written by *Ma tú-on-lin*, of *Lo-ping*, in the ſame county, towards the end of the *Song* dynaſty; and, being a very elaborate work, was ordered, by the emperor, to be printed, in 1314. *Gaubil.*

(I) It is well known that, in *China*, the literati are in great credit with the people, and have no ſmall aſcendant over their minds. *Gaubil.*

(K) A celebrated mountain in *Tartary*; but I know not its diſtance from mount *Altay*. *Gaubil.* See before, p. 36.

In

In *February* 1317, the emperor caused the public granaries, through all the provinces, to be visited, and put in good condition. This year that monarch discovered his love for wine; and several times drank to excess: but he was brought off that vice by *Ma-tsû-chang*, a foreigner, of the west (L); who was one of the censors of the empire, and esteemed for his knowlege in mathematics and other sciences. *Eighth.* Ayyulipalipata, *or* Jintsong.

In *February* 1318, the classical books of the sect of *Fo* were written out, in gold characters. A mandarin likewise crossed the sea to *Korea*, carrying back an exiled prince, with design to stir up the people in his favour: but that officer was taken, and condemned to death, with seven of his accomplices. *Classic books of* Fo.

In 1319, the emperor, who tenderly loved the prince his heir, had an inclination to cede the empire to him; and most of the grandees approved of his design. But one of the great lords of the court having induced them to change their sentiments, his majesty desisted: however, he declared the prince lieutenant-general of the empire, and gave him the management of all affairs. *Shotepala* had a great soul, as well as a true filial affection for the emperor and the empress. A. D. 1319.

In *January* 1320, *Ayyuli-palipata* fell sick; and his disease being judged mortal, the young prince never left his father's chamber, day nor night, so overwhelmed with grief, that it had like to have killed him. Without acquainting any person, he one day retired to his own apartment, fell on his knees, and addressing himself to heaven, offered to die in the room of his father: but a few days after his father died (M), being in the thirty-sixth year of his age. The history praises him for his aversion to hunting, and other pleasures; his application to affairs; his duty to the princess his mother; and the protection which he gave to the sciences, and learned men. A. D. 1320. *The emperor dies.*

AYYULI-PALIPATA married *Anoshoshéli*, princess of *Hongkila*, by whom he had *Shotepala*, the appointed heir. He had also another son, called *Utûsû-pûwha*, and a daughter; but it is not said that he had them by the princess of *Hongkila*: however that be, this emperor never was given to women.

In the beginning of his reign he had war with a prince of his house, called *Isyen-pûwha*, supported by several other princes: but their army was defeated in the country of *Ite-haymish*, by *Choanggûr*, then one of the generals of the troops, which were very numerous about *Karakorom*. He afterwards Choanggur's *exploits.*

(L) Born in the country of *Yong-kû*: but *Gaubil* knows not where it is.

(M) There happened a total eclipse on the first day of the first month: and we have already seen how much the superstitious *Chinese* have, for a long series of ages, dreaded such phænomena. *Gaubil.*

Eighth. Ayyuli-palipata, *or* Jin-tſong.

beat their general *Utû Temûr*, in the country of *Chemeykan*, and purſued the enemy as far as the country of *Chayr*, near the defile called the *iron gate* (N). The account of this war, which the *Chineſe* hiſtory makes no mention of, is taken from the elogiac hiſtory of *Choanggûr*. This laſt was prince of *Kincha* (or *Kipjak*), and had been loaded with honours by the emperors *Hû-pi-lay*, *Timûr Hayſhan*, and *Ayyuli-palipata*. He died under *Ing-tſong*, preſident of the privy-council [c].

AYYULI-PALIPATA was eighth khân of the *Mungl* empire in *Tartary*; and fourth emperor of the *Chineſe* dynaſty of the *Ywen*.

CHAP. IX.

The Reign of Shotepala, *called by the* Chineſes Ing-tſong.

Ninth. Khân Shote-pala.

AS ſoon as *Ayyuli-palipata* was dead, the appointed heir was ſaluted emperor; and, to gratify the empreſs his mother, declared *Tye-mû-tyêl* prime miniſter. This *Mungl* lord had been often employed in affairs under the late monarch He underſtood the finances; and had frequently paid great ſums of money. He had, beſides, a great deal of wit and cunning. He was hated by the people, as well as the great men; and although he was in diſgrace at the death of the late emperor, yet he was ſupported under-hand by the empreſs. This evil miniſter, grown proud with his new elevation, committed all ſorts of oppreſſions, and threw every thing into diſorder. In *February*, under falſe pretences, he cauſed *Syau-pay-chû* and *Yang-tûrchi* (A), two of the moſt judicious lords of the court, to be put to death: they had belonged to the tribunal of miniſters, and often made known the flagrant acts of injuſtice which he had done. He put to death ſeveral other perſons; and threatened to give the wife of *Yang-tûrchi* to a ſlave. As ſoon as this lady, who was no leſs remarkable for her wiſdom, modeſty, and honour, than her beauty and high birth, had notice of his menace, ſhe cauſed her hair to be cut off, diſfigured her face, and took an oath to remain a widow.

The miniſter's violences.

SO many violent proceedings incenſed the grandees; but they dared not complain, either to the empreſs, or *Shotepala*, who was acknowleged emperor in *March*. After the inſtallation, *Tye-mû-tyel* became more powerful than before; and

[c] GAUBIL, p. 248, & ſeq.

(N) A famous gorge of the mountains to the weſt of *Samarkand*, in *Great Bukkaria*, where the war here ſpoken of was carried on. *Gaubil.*

(A) The firſt a *Tartar*, of *Nyu-che*, or *Eaſtern Tartary*; the other of *Ning-hya*, in *Shen-ſi*. *Gaubil.*

to

to revenge himſelf on the ſage *Li-meng*, his enemy, put him a degree lower in the claſs of mandarins; and demoliſhed a ſtone monument, which the emperors had raiſed in honour of him and his anceſtors, in the place of their ſepulchres. *Li-meng* ſeemed very little concerned at the diſgrace which was put upon him; and the emperor was ſurprized to ſee, that he did not ſo much as útter one murmuring expreſſion againſt the author of it. Taking from thence an occaſion to inform himſelf of *Li-meng*'s actions, he repaired the monuments of ſtone and marble, reſtored him to his titles and employments, and warned *Tye-mû-tyel* to be very careful, for the future, not to accuſe perſons of ſo much virtue [a].

Ninth. Shotepala, *or* Ing-tſong.

WICKED men veſted with power can never reform. This miniſter ſaw, with great uneaſineſs, that the emperor had much eſteem for *Pay-chû*, general of the imperial guard. *Pay-chû*, deſcended from the famous *Mû-hû-li* [b], by *Gan-tong* (B), was a young lord, learned, brave, handſome, modeſt, and irreproachable in his manners. *Shotepala*, who was of the ſame character himſelf, had always a great liking to *Pay-chû*, which increaſed, in proportion as he became acquainted with the excellent qualities of his favourite. The emperor reſolved, at laſt, to do nothing without the advice of his dear *Pay-chû*; and, after ſeveral refuſals, obliged him to take on him the charge of prime miniſter. This lord began his miniſtry, by making known the injury which *Tye-mû-tyel* had done his majeſty, and concealed nothing of what had paſſed. The emperor *Shotepala* was equitable, and very ſenſible on the point of honour. He cauſed an inquiry to be made after thoſe who had been ſufferers, and reſolved to make them ſatisfaction, as far as he was able. He did not indeed think it yet convenient to remove *Tye-mû-tyel*; but he put no manner of confidence in him, and took care that he ſhould not treat any body ill.

Pay-chû *made miniſter.*

MEAN time, ſending for ſuch lords and princes as he knew were men of moſt wiſdom, he employed them about him. After this, he made himſelf thoroughly acquainted with the ceremonies which are obſerved in the temple of anceſtors, without diſcloſing his deſign: but, when they leaſt thought of it, he ſent for the princes of his houſe, and declared to them: that, in *November*, he would go to the hall or palace of an-

Shotepala *viſits the*

[a] GAUBIL, p. 250, & ſeq. [b] See before, Vol. IV. l. ii. c. 5.

(B) The mother of *Pay-chû* was a princeſs of the *Que-lye* tribe, of the family of the princeſs *Sarkutna*, wife of *Toley*, and mother of the emperors *Mengko* and *Hûpilay*. She was a widow at the age of twenty-two years, yet never would marry again, reſolving to employ her time wholly in educating her ſon *Pay-chû*. *Gaubil.*

Ninth. Shotepala, *or* Ing-tſong.

ceſtors, in habit of ceremony. The *Chineſe* great men had orders to make every thing ready; and habits were prepared for the guards, grandees, and all the officers. This news created a general joy in the city among the *Chineſes*: the emperor and his retinue appeared in the ſtreets on horſeback, magnificently dreſſed. This ſight charmed the people; but, when they found that they were not hindered from ſeeing the emperor, they made the ſtreets ring with acclamations, and wept for joy. *Shotepala* was the firſt of the *Mungl* monarchs who perfórmed this ceremony; and, as he had not appeared in public before, every-body was delighted to ſee their prince diſcover ſuch an air of grandeur, mixed with popularity: nor did ever any monarch receive from his ſubjects more encomiums, and ſincere wiſhes, than *Shotepala* did on this occaſion. It was known that *Pay-chû* had counſelled the emperor to perform this ceremony: the palace of that lord was continually filled with the *Chineſe* great men and literati; the people congratulated him loudly as he paſſed along; while every honour done to *Pay-chû*, gave *Tye-mû-tyel* the greateſt anguiſh. A general pardon had been already publiſhed throughout the empire; and, from *Ta-tû*, the rejoicings ſpread over all the provinces. Both *Chineſes* and *Tatars* promiſed themſelves everything from the reign of *Shotepala*, whoſe firſt year was 1321.

temple of anceſtors.

Takes good advice. A. D. 1321.

As this prince, called *Ing-tſong* by the *Chineſes*, loved hunting, he propoſed, at the beginning of that year, to aggrandize the places ſet apart for that exerciſe in the neighbourhood of *Shang-tû*, by building, at proper diſtances, palaces, ſtables, and lodges, for the men aſſiſting in the chace. *Pay-chû*, tho' he loved hunting alſo, yet did not approve of this deſign. He repreſented to the emperor, that it could not be executed without great expences, and incommoding the people. Hereupon *Shotepala* dropped his project; and proteſted, that he would think of nothing but eaſing the empire. In *April* a conſpiracy was diſcovered, formed by *Aſan* (C), and ſeveral other great lords; who, by the advice of *Pay-chû*, and the empreſs grandmother, were condemned and executed. *Tye-mû-tyel*, who, by means of the empreſs, mother to *Shotepala*, ſtill maintained his ground, cauſed the prince *Tûtemûr*, ſecond ſon of the emperor *Havſhan*, to be baniſhed to *Kung-chew* (D),

(C) This *Aſan* ſeems to be the ſame ſpoken of in a note, p. 249, by our author *Gaubil*; who ſays, he was a foreigner of the weſt, very underſtanding in affairs, and one of the principal miniſters of ſtate.

(D) Latitude, by obſervation of *du Tartre*, 20° 0′ 37″; Longitude, by the bearings, and meaſured diſtances, from *Kanton*, near three degrees more weſt. *Gaubil.*

capital

capital of the iſland of *Hay-nan*. Towards the end of the year, the emperor judged it would be for his honour to make magnificent preſents to the lama who had been his maſter, and had a mind to return to *Tibet* [c]. *Ninth.* Shotepala, *or* Ingtſong.

SHOTEPALA, who was a zealous believer in the doctrine of *Fo*, in the beginning of the year built a magnificent temple to that falſe deity, in the mountains to the weſt of *Peking*. While the work was going forward, ſeveral cenſors of the empire made very ſmart repreſentations upon the occaſion. The emperor, contrary to his cuſtom, falling into a paſſion, cauſed ſome of them to be put to death, and baniſhed others. One of the moſt illuſtrious among the former, was *To-yau-el Hatimiſhi* (E), a native of *Hami*, or *Khamil*, in *Little Bukharia*. The hiſtorical elogy of this lord aſcribes his death to the calumnies of *Tye-mû-tyel*, and his ſon *Sonan*; who, bearing him, as well as the other cenſors, an ill-will, told his majeſty, that, inſtead of giving him notice of what paſſed, they did nothing among themſelves but ſpeak ill of him. The *Chineſe* literati, who were great enemies to *Fo*, but full of eſteem for *Shotepala*, praiſe exceedingly the courage of theſe cenſors. Some time after, the memory of theſe mandarins was re-eſtabliſhed; and the emperor was too wiſe not to repent having ſo imprudently followed the motions of his anger. In *April* he cauſed the temple which the *Whey-hû*, or weſtern *Mohammedans*, had at *Shang-tû*, to be demoliſhed; and afterwards forbad thoſe foreigners to buy young boys and girls of the *Mungls*, in order to give or ſell them again for ſlaves to the *Chineſes*. *Cenſors put to death.*

In 1322 *Pay-chû* had obtained leave to go into *Lyau-tong*, to raiſe a monument of marble, with an inſcription on it, in praiſe of *Gantong* his grandfather, who died in the reign of *Hû-pi-lay*. *Tye-mû-tyel*, who, thro' vexation, kept for ſome time in his palace, without ſtirring out, took the opportunity of *Pay-chû*'s abſence to go to court; but the guards ſtopped him at the gate, and told him, they had orders not to let him enter. The anguiſh which this diſgrace gave him, threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, of which he died in *Auguſt*, hated by every body. In *June* 1323 he was deprived of his titles; A. D. 1323. *The court reformed.*

[c] Gaubil, ubi ſup. p. 251, & ſeqq.

(E) His grandfather, in the fourth degree, was an officer under *Jenghîz Khân*, and followed him to the firſt ſiege of *Pe-king*; and afterwards in his other expeditions. His grandfathers in the third, ſecond, and firſt degree, as well as his father, were all illuſtrious officers. *Gaubil.*

the

Eighth. Shotepala, *or* Ingtſong.

the monuments of ſtone and marble, inſcribed with his elogy, were pulled down, and his goods confiſcated. Mean time *Pay-chû* cauſed the taxes and annual tribute, payed by the provinces, to be remitted; and, withal, conſiderable ſums of bounty-money to be diſtributed every-where. Debauchery, avarice, luxury, and other vices, were baniſhed from court; ſo that the *Chineſe* great men could not but admire ſuch wiſe conduct in a *Tatar* prince only twenty-one years of age.

Pay-chû *and the*

WHILE things ſeemed thus to promiſe happy times, *Tye-ſhe*, the adopted ſon of *Tye-mû-tyel*, and one of the principal lords of the court, bent his thoughts wholly on contriving how to be revenged for the affront done his father, and the confiſcation of his effects. In order to this, he firſt ſounded the inclinations of ſeveral diſcontented princes, with thoſe of the relations and friends of the mandarins who had been put to death in *April* 1320: after which, he engaged ſeveral officers and ſoldiers in his intereſt. On the third of *September*, the emperor, being at *Shang-tû*, and not able to compoſe himſelf to ſleep, ordered prayers to be ſaid to *Fo*. *Tye-ſhe*, and his accomplices, were ſeized with fear. They had prevailed on the lamas to require that ſacrifices ſhould be offered to *Fo*, as the only means to avoid the evils which threatened the empire. *Pay-chû* ſent away the lamas, treating them "as men "who thought of nothing but how to get money, and, in "reality, protected wicked people." Theſe words being heard by the aſſociates of *Tye-ſhe*, who was one of the commanding officers in the guards; the lords *Chinkin Temûr*, *Syen Temûr*, formerly miniſters, prince *Ganti-puwha*, and others, immediately met, and conſulted how to prevent the meaſures of *Pay-chû*, whoſe probity, vigilance, and valour, they feared.

emperor aſſaſſinated.

The ſame night, therefore, *Tye-ſhe*, followed by ſeveral ſoldiers, ſlew that lord; and then entering the tent of the emperor, who was in bed, killed him with his own hand. The place where this aſſaſſination was committed, is called *Nan-po*, to the ſouth of the city *Shang-tû*.

THE emperor *Shotepala* married *Sukopala*, princeſs of the tribe of *Ikilye*, and daughter of *Ilihaya*, daughter of the emperor *Timûr*: but he had no children by her; nor does the hiſtory ſpeak of his having any other wife[d]. He was ninth emperor of the *Mungls*, and fifth of the *Chineſes*.

[d] GAUBIL. ubi ſup. p. 252, & ſeqq.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The reign of Yeſun-temûr, *ſtiled by the* Chineſes Tay-ting.

AT the time when the above-mentioned conſpiracy was carrying on at *Shang-tû*, *Yeſun-temûr*, eldeſt ſon of prince *Kanmula*, brother of the emperor *Timûr*, commanded to the north of the *Great Kobi*, or *Sandy Deſart*, in *Tartary*; and encamped near the river *Long-kû*, or *Panchûni* (A), famous for the oath made there by *Jenghîz Khân*, and his adherents. This prince had in his court a lord named *Taulaſha*, whoſe ſon *Haſun* was an officer in the imperial guards under the command of *Pay-chû*; but, as he knew of a long time, that *Tye-ſhe* intended to kill his general, he quitted his ſervice. In *March* this year, 1323, a mandarin, called *Tan-te*, leaving the court, informed *Taulaſha*, that the emperor did not care for *Yeſun-temûr*; and, it was to be feared, would, in a little time, put him to death. After this intelligence, the two became intimate friends. *Tye-ſhe*, before he put his deſign in execution, ſent a mandarin, named *Walû-tſe*, to acquaint *Taulaſha*, that he, *Alaſan*, *Yeſyen-temûr*, and others, as ſoon as they had brought their plot to bear, would proclaim the young prince *Yeſun-temûr* emperor. *Tenth.* Yeſun-temûr, *or* Tay-ting, *promotes the conſpirators;*

As ſoon as this affair was communicated to *Yeſun-temûr*, he cauſed *Walû-tſe* to be arreſted; and inſtantly diſpatched ſeveral couriers to inform the emperor of what was plotting againſt him: but the meſſengers arrived too late. The prince *Gantipûwha*, and *Yeſyen Temûr*, having ſeized the ſeal, and imperial robes, haſted over the deſert; and, on their arrival at the river *Long-kû*, *Yeſun-temûr* cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor in *September*. After this, he publiſhed a general pardon, and declared *Taulaſha* his prime miniſter: he likewiſe appointed *Tye-ſhe*, and his accomplices, to be his principal mandarins.

As *Shotepala* was the delight of the people, the news of his death ſpread a general ſorrow among the princes, grandees, and chiefs of tribes, as well as the *Chineſe* mandarins and literati. On the other hand, the princes and lords of the family of *Muhûli*, which was one of the moſt powerful and conſiderable among the *Mungls*, were impatient to obtain juſtice for a murder committed on one of the principal perſons of their houſe, who was general of the imperial guards, and prime miniſter. *but, ſoon after,*

(A) Our author, *Gaubil*, does not know the exact ſituation of this river.

The

Tenth. Yeſun-temûr, *or* Tay-ting. The new emperor might eaſily ſee, that he was in danger of ſuffering, for having had a hand in the aſſaſſination of the prince, and his miniſter. Prince *Maynû*, deſcended from the grandfather (B) of *Jenghiz Khân*, finding the emperor inclined to make uſe of *Tye-ſhe*, and his accomplices, and even to advance them to be great mandarins, repreſented to him, that ſuch a conduct would not only loſe him the affections both of the *Chineſes* and *Tatars*; but that poſterity would reproach his majeſty with dipping his hands in the blood of his ſovereign, and that of a miniſter ſprung from the great *Mûhûli*, to whom the *Mungls* owed the empire of the *Tatars*. *Yeſun-temûr*, ſtruck with this idea, ordered *Yeſyen Temûr*, *Wang-che*, *Tumen*, and other lords, to be put to death that inſtant, in the camp of *Long-kû*. He likewiſe diſpatched officers to *Ta-tû*, to ſeize *Tye-ſhe*, and his aſſociates; who were all executed on the ſpot, their families extirpated, and their effects confiſcated. *Sonan*, ſon of *Tye-mû-tyel*, had only been ſentenced to be baniſhed; but, on repreſenting that he was the firſt who ſtruck *Pay-chû* on the ſhoulder with his ſword, the emperor ordered him alſo to be put to death, and his goods to be forfeited; altho' the latter part of the ſentence was not put in execution.

puts them to death:

others baniſhed. THE lives of *Ganti-puwha*, and other princes who were in ſome ſort parties in *Tye-ſhe*'s treaſon, were ſpared; but they were all baniſhed, and carried the brand of their infamy along with them. *Yeſun-temûr*, arriving at *Ta-tû* in *November*, reſtored the memory of the two lords whom *Tye-mû-tyel* had cauſed to be put to death in *January* 1320. The emperor did the ſame juſtice to thoſe impeached the year following by that miniſter, and his ſon *Sonan*; ſome of whom were put to death, and others baniſhed, on their accuſations, which were declared to be malicious.

Lectures on government, A. D. 1324, IN 1324, which is the firſt year of *Yeſun-temûr*, ſtyled by the *Chineſes Tay-ting*, one of the miniſters propoſed to his majeſty to appoint doctors, whoſe buſineſs ſhould be to expound daily, in the palace, ſuch books as were moſt proper to form the princes and grandees for government. The emperor approved of this deſign; and ordered his ſon, as well as thoſe of other princes, to go every day to hear the lectures. The firſt book pitched upon was the *Chineſe* hiſtory, written by *Tſe-ma-quang*; and this cuſtom is ſtill obſerved. *Chang-quey*, the

(B) *Maynû* was the fifth deſcendant of *Talichin*, fourth ſon of *Palitan*, father of *Yeſu-kay*, father of *Jenghiz Khân*. *Yeſun-temûr* augmented his revenues and titles; which exceedingly pleaſed the family of *Pay-chû*, and all the grandees. *Gaubil.*

projector

projector of this fine inſtitution, was one of the moſt ſteady and diſcerning miniſters the *Yuen* ever had. He was the ſon of general *Chang-hong-fan*, and educated by a great mandarin of the *Song* empire [a]. This mandarin, being in the fleet of *Chang-ſhi-kyay*, near the mountain *Ay-ſhan*, when *Hong-fan* came to attack it [b], was going, with others, to throw himſelf into the ſea: but the general hindered him; and, finding that he was a great lord, and a man of merit, kept him, and deſired his friendſhip. The mandarin, out of gratitude, would never quit the houſe of *Chang-hong-fan*, and undertook to educate his ſon.

Tenth. Yeſun-temûr, *or* Tay-ting. *procured by* Chang-quey.

Soon after the above-mentioned lectures were eſtabliſhed, the emperor declared his ſon *Aſûkepa* the prince inheritor. Mean time the *Chineſe* grandees and literati, who were watching for an occaſion to make known to poſterity their ſentiments touching the treaſon of *Tye-ſhe*, the worſhip of *Fo*, and ſeveral other abuſes, met with one in *April*; for, during that month, wherein the emperor made a progreſs to *Shang-tû*, there happened a violent ſtorm, an earthquake, and a total eclipſe of the moon. Theſe, they publicly declared, were ſent in puniſhment of the murder of *Shotepala* and *Pay-chû*. The emperor, ſeized with fear, ſent for the grandees, and ordered them to draw up a memorial, ſincerely ſetting forth their ſentiments. *Chang-quey* was pitched on by them to perform this taſk; which he did with much freedom, and addreſſed it to the emperor.

His famous memorial againſt the conſpirators,

He demanded, in the name of the empire, "that, in time, "juſtice ſhould be done on all concerned in the horrible "crime of *Tye-ſhe*: that the ſons of *So-nan*, who ſtill appeared at court, and were even in the guards, ſhould be "baniſhed; and the effects of their father, which had been "reſtored them, confiſcated: that *Ganti-puwha*, and the "other princes who had been convicted of being accomplices "in the treaſon, and were only baniſhed, ſhould be put to "death, as unworthy ſubjects, who diſhonoured the imperial "family: that prince *Toto* (C), governor of *Lyau-tong*, having, in the time of the troubles, taken away the lives of "ſeveral princes and princeſſes of the blood, and confiſcated "their goods, inſtead of being rewarded, as he was, ought "to be puniſhed, by confiſcating his own effects, reſuming his

[a] Gaubil, ubi ſup. p. 255, & ſeqq. [b] See before, Vol. IV. l. ii. c. 5. ſect. 2.

(C) He was deſcended, in the fifth degree, from *Tyemûko*, brother of *Jenghîz Khân*. *Gaubil.*

"titles,

Tenth. Yeſun-temûr, *or* Tay-ting. *evil miniſters,*

" titles, and baniſhing himſelf; for that, if ſuch crimes were " left unpuniſhed, there would be reaſon to fear the ruin of " the empire was near at hand: that as, during the miniſtry " of *Tye-mú-tyel*, and ſince *Tye-ſhe*'s conſpiracy, many innocent " perſons had been put to death, an inquiry ought to be made " after ſuch, and ſatisfaction made to their families: and " that, conſidering how many villains thoſe evil miniſters em- " ployed, as well as acts of injuſtice they committed them- " ſelves, it was to be feared many innocent perſons ſtill groaned " under oppreſſion; the priſons, therefore, ought to be viſited, " and the ſtate of the cities and villages inquired into: that " commiſſioners ought to be ſent to the frontiers, and regard " had to what the troops had ſuffered: that care ſhould be " taken to ſend the bodies of the dead into the countries where " their parents lived; and to give them wherewithal to interr " the corps: that remedies, and other aſſiſtance, ought alſo " to be adminiſtered to the ſick poor: and the fiſhing for " pearls in the province of *Kanton* prohibited, as occaſioning " the death of too many people."

and other mandarins;

BESIDES theſe demands, the memorial of *Chàng-quey* pointed out ſeveral abuſes which required a reform. He complained, " that two mandarins, who had been convicted of counter- " feiting the emperor's orders, and carrying off an officer's " wife, had been pardoned: that, under pretence the court " wanted precious ſtones, a ſordid commerce was carried on " by certain perſons, who were not aſhamed to make his ma- " jeſty pay ten times more for them than they coſt: that ſuch " perſons cared not if whole families and provinces were ruined, " ſo they could make their court by preſenting precious ſtones, " which, in reality, were of no uſe: that a prince ought not " to think of governing the empire any other way but as a *religion of* Fo, " father of his ſubjects; and that it was not by the bonzas, " or prieſts of *Fo*, that he ſhould ſeek to be happy: that " ſince the bonzas, the lamas, and the tau-tſe, made ſo many " prayers and ſacrifices to *Fo*, heaven had ſhewed continual " marks of its diſpleaſure; and that, till ſuch time as they " ſaw the worſhip of *Fo* aboliſhed, and all the bonzas driven *and uſeleſs officers.* " out, they might expect to be unhappy: that the palace of " the emperor was filled with idle perſons, eunuchs, aſtrolo- " gers, phyſicians, and others, whoſe maintenance amounted " to exorbitant ſums: that, as the empire was a family, of " which the emperor was father, it was not fit that any of his " children ſhould die for want of care and aſſiſtance; much " leſs was it fit that a prince ſhould think it inconſiſtent with " his dignity to liſten to the cries of the miſerable."

THE emperor read this diſcourſe of *Chang-quey* with pleaſure: but durſt not aboliſh the worſhip of *Fo*, for fear the *Mungls* ſhould revolt: nor would he put to death prince *Ganti-puwha*. With regard to the other articles, he appeared to be pretty indifferent: on which occaſion the hiſtory, on one ſide, praiſes the lords, at the head of whom *Chang-quey* ſpoke with ſo much zeal; and, on the other, deplores the unhappineſs of the times [c]. *Tenth.* Yeſun-temûr, *or* Tay-ting.

PRINCE *Tûtemûr*, youngeſt ſon of *Hayſhan*, who had returned from his exile in *Hay-nan*, was ordered to go to *Kyen-kan*, now *Nan-king*, there to reſide. *Yeſun-temûr*, this year, divided into eighteen great governments the empire, which was before parted into twelve. Thoſe twelve governments depended on a council (D) called *the lords of provinces*. It is remarked alſo, that the rice ſent by ſea from the ſouthern provinces, for proviſions of the court, amounted to 170 *van* of *tan*; and, the following year, to 335 *van*, and 1000 *tan*. *The empire divided.*

IN 1326 there was a great famine in *Pe-che-li* and *Shantong*; of which the emperor having received the particulars from *Chang-quey*, at his return from *Pau-ting Fû*, where he had been to ſee his relations, that prince followed his ſage advice, in ſuccouring the people of thoſe two provinces. The lamas were all-powerful at court, eſpecially with the princeſſes. They had patents to take poſt-horſes (E), and ran about with the equipage of princes. They were a great charge to the people, who were obliged to furniſh them with horſes and proviſions. Their lives and manners were often very diſorderly; and the *Chineſes* on all ſides made moſt bitter complaints of them. The emperor, being at length informed of theſe abuſes, put a ſtop to them. It being found, that more money had been given to the occidental merchants, who traded in precious ſtones, than they ought to have had, the ſame was confiſcated: but *Upetula* (F) and *Taulaſha* (G), who, either through intereſt or inclination, were much attached to them, cauſed the money to be returned them; and put many mandarins, who had been turned out, into their places again. *Lamas inſolence curbed.*

[c] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p. 257, & ſeqq.

(D) *Marco Polo*, chap. 22, ſpeaks of this council. *Gaubil.*

(E) They carried news everywhere, and even as far as the frontiers. *Gaubil.*

(F) This ſeems to be *Abd'ollah*, or *Obeyd'ollah*, a *Mohammedan* name.

(G) Doubtleſs *Yeſun-temûr*'s prime miniſter, mentioned before.

IN

Tenth. Yeſun-temûr, *or* Tay-ting.

In 1327 the grandees invited the emperor to go in perſon, and ſacrifice to heaven: but his majeſty refuſed; and cited a law of *Hû-pi-lay*, importing, that the emperor ſhould perform that ſacrifice by a deputy. On this occaſion the hiſtory repreſents *Yeſun-temûr* as a prince who was not exact in obſerving the duties of his ſtation; and that he was puniſhed for his faults by the ſhortneſs of his reign (H). It is added, that this year all ſorts of evils afflicted the empire; drought, famine, inundations, the falling or ſinking of mountains, an earthquake, and an eclipſe of the ſun. In *June* the emperor cauſed the great work of *Tſe-ma-quang*, intituled, *Tſe-chi-tong-kyen*, containing what paſſed under the emperors from before Chriſt to a long time after, with very elaborate notes, to be tranſlated into the *Mungl* language. In *December* (I) died the illuſtrious *Chang-quey*, regretted by all the men of worth in the empire.

Great calamities.

Care about ſilk. A. D. 1328.

In the beginning of the year 1328 the emperor cauſed prints to be diſtributed through the empire, whereon was delineated the art of rearing ſilkworms, and making ſilk, with the manner of cultivating lands. Beſides theſe prints, he ordered a book to be printed, and diſtributed, conſiſting of fourteen chapters, wherein the antient method of doing thoſe things was treated of. In *February* his imperial majeſty went from *Ta-tû* to *Shang-tû*, and left the guard of the former to *Yen-temûr*. His majeſty at the ſame time ordered *Tûtemûr*, ſon of *Hayſhan*, to go to *Kin-chew*, a city of *Hû-quang*: but, in *July*, *Yeſun-temûr* died, at the age of thirty-ſix, leaving the court full of intrigues and factions.

Emperor's death,

marriages,

This emperor married *Papûhan*, princeſs of *Hongkila*, who had the honours and titles of empreſs. Beſides this princeſs, he likewiſe married his own niece, by one of his elder ſiſters; and two other ladies, of the houſe of *Hongkila*, near relations of the empreſs. The hiſtory gives him four ſons, of whom *Aſûkipa*, the prince inheritor, was the eldeſt. It likewiſe remarks, that the emperor *Shotepala*, thro' bad advice, removed from court *Hoſhila* and *Tûtemûr*, the two ſons of *Hayſhan*; ſo that, after his aſſaſſination, *Yeſun-temûr*, taking

and ſons.

(H) Yet the reign of amiable *Shotepala* was not only as ſhort, but his death tragical; which ſhews the abſurdity of ſuch ſuperſtitious concluſions.

(I) It is related, that in this year, 1327, a ſtranger from the country of *Puſayn* preſented the emperor with a lion and a leopard. The cities of *Nichapûr*, *Terpen* (or *Derbend*), *Baghdâd*, *Iſefaan*, *Kû-fa*, *Sûntania* (or *Soltania*), and others, are put in the kingdom of *Pûſayn*. *Gaubil.*

advantage

advantage of their abſence, had himſelf proclaimed emperor: farther, that *Ayyuli-palipata* and *Hayſhan* made an agreement, whereby the two families were alternately to poſſeſs the empire; and that the former broke his word, in declaring his ſon *Shotepala* hereditary prince[c]. *Tenth.* Yeſun-temûr, *or* Tay-ting.

YESUN-Temûr was tenth khân of the *Mungls*, and ſixth emperor of the *Chineſe Ywen*.

CHAP. XI.

The Reign of Hoſhila, *known to the* Chineſes *by the title of* Ming-tſong.

AFTER the death of the emperor *Yeſun-temûr*, the empreſs *Papûhan*, in the name of the prince inheritor, her ſon, ſent the miniſter *Upetûla* to *Ta-tû*, in order to ſecure the ſeals, as well as appeaſe and gain the people. On the other hand, *Yen-temûr*, as governor and commander-general in that capital, poſted troops in all the quarters, reinforced the guards at the gates both of the city and palace, and reſolved to raiſe to the throne *Hoſhila* and *Tûtemûr*, the two ſons of *Hayſhan*. *Yen-temûr*, one of the greateſt captains of his time, was the third ſon of *Chohangûr*, prince of *Kin-cha* (or *Kipchak*). His fine perſonal qualities, joined to his birth, and the ſervices which his father and grandfather had done, made him eſteemed at court. As he had been raiſed by *Hayſhan* to the prime dignities, and was loved by that prince more than any other lord of his court, *Yen-temûr* thought himſelf bound in gratitude to be attached to his family. *Eleventh* Khân. Hoſhila. A. D. 1328.

IN theſe ſentiments *Yen-temûr*, in concert with the regulo of *Gan-ſi*, great grandſon of *Hû-pi-lay*, by *Mangkola*, having picked out his officers, and moſt reſolute ſoldiers, on the day *Kyaw* of the eighth month, ſummoned the great mandarins to one of the halls of the palace. All the lords being aſſembled, *Yen-temûr*, followed by ſeventeen men of his party, propoſed the two ſons of *Hayſhan* to be emperors; and ſaid, he would put to death on the ſpot any who ſhould oppoſe that reſolution. After theſe words, he ordered his men to ſeize *Upetûla*, and ſeveral other of the great mandarins, who did not concur with him, and conduct them to priſon. He then appointed mandarins of his own party; and gave full power to general *Chau-ſhi-nen* (A) (or *Chau-ſhi-yen*). The ſubaltern offi- Yen-temur's *zeal for* Ha-ſhan's *family*.

[c] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p. 260, & ſeqq.

(A) A deſcendant of general *Chonchor*, who ſerved with much glory in the wars of *Jenghiz Khân*. *Gaubil*.

Eleventh. *or* Ming-tſong.

cers knew nothing of what was intended; and the generals Hoſhila, who were in the ſecret, having aſſembled the troops, ordered them to kneel, with their faces to the ſouth, and beat the ground with their heads: by which ceremony they perceived that *Yen-temûr* deſigned to proclaim *Tûtemûr* emperor, at that time baniſhed into *Hû-quang*. For a whole month this general appeared always on horſeback, and but a few perſons knew where he ſlept at night. He had taken right meaſures to haſten *Tûtemûr* to *Ta-tû*, and give *Hoſhila* notice, who was in *Tartary*: at the ſame time he ſpread a report, that the firſt was advancing by great journeys; and that the latter would ſoon return from the north, with the princes of his family (B).

His great activity.

When *Pe-yen*, governor of *Ho-nan*, a *Merkit* by nation, and one of the beſt officers of the *Yuen*, knew *Yen-temûr*'s deſign, he entered into his views; and, putting to death ſeveral officers whom he diſtruſted, made the troops declare for *Tûtemûr*. *Satûn*, brother of *Yen-temûr*, ſeized the important poſt of *Ku-yong-quang*; and *Tang-ki-ſhi*, *Yen-temûr*'s ſon, took *Kû-pe-kû* (C). Mean time that general uſed the neceſſary precautions for executing his deſign at *Ta-tû*: on which principle he put to death prince *Koko-chû*, and ſome other great lords, who went about to ſupplant him: but he compaſſed all which he undertook, by his reſolution, activity, genius, and the reputation he had gained in the opinion of the troops.

Aſûkipa *ſet up.*

While *Yen-temûr* was thus buſy at *Ta-tû*, in favour of *Tûtemûr*, *Taulaſha* cauſed *Aſûkipa*, known to the *Chineſes* by the name of *Tyen-ſhun*, to be proclaimed emperor. This party was powerful: for, beſides many princes of the blood, and governors of provinces, moſt of the weſtern officers and ſoldiers were inclined to follow it; and, according to the *Chineſe* law, *Aſûkipa* was the lawful emperor: having been acknowleged for the prince inheritor in the life-time of the emperor his father. Prince *Wang-chan* (D) alſo had given an army to general *Taſhe Temûr*, ſon of the miniſter *Toto*, prince of *Kangli*, in order to oppoſe that of *Yen-temûr*.

Tûtemûr *proclaimed.*

At length, in *Auguſt*, *Tutemûr* arrived at *Ta-tû*, and, by his preſence, exceedingly ſtrengthened his party. He made a promotion of mandarins; and beſtowed a great dignity on *Timû-pûwha*, a prince deſcended from *Itûhû* (or *Idikût*), prince of *Turfân*, who put himſelf under the protection of *Jenghîz*

(B) He had a brother called *Machartay*, the father of *Toto*, both famous for the great poſts they held. *Gaubil.*

(C) A fortreſs and gate in the wall of *China*, to the north of *Pe-king*.

(D) Son of *Sorg ſhan*, ſon of *Kanmala*, and couſin-german to *Aſûkipa*. *Gaubil.*

Khân.

Khân. In *September Tûtemûr* put *Upctûla* to death; and banished several other mandarins, whom *Yen-temûr* had imprisoned. This general pressed him to be proclaimed emperor. He put it off, saying, he would wait the return of his brother *Hoshila*, and yield the empire to him. However, at last he suffered himself to be prevailed on, and was declared emperor. *Yen-temûr* was immediately declared generalissimo; and *Pe-yen*, governor of *Ho-nan*, was likewise much advanced. Manifestos were sent into all parts; and it was affirmed, that *Tûtemûr* was resolved to surrender the empire to his brother *Hoshila*.

Eleventh. Hoshila, *or* Ming-tsong.

Prince *Wang-chan*, being advanced as far as *Yulin* (E), was there stopped by *Satûn*, brother of *Yen-temûr*, and received some losses: but taking advantage of *Yen-temûr*'s absence, who had been sent to the frontiers, to oppose prince *Yesyen-temûr*, reduced *Ku-yong-quan*. On advice of this, that general returned; and, in two battles, defeated the prince, near the river *Yu* (F), and obliged him to retire into *Tartary*. *Wang-chan*, though full of courage, yet being young, and without experience, was no match for an old warlike commander, like *Yen-temûr*. Prince *Koko*, who declared for *Asûkipa*, with the troops of *Shen-si*, seized the important post of *Tong-quan*. Prince *Yesyen-temûr* likewise entered *Shen-si*, and proclaimed him emperor. *Tyemûko*, the *Tatar* general, following the same party, advanced with a great army to the borders of *Ho-nan* and *Hû-quang*, where he made great conquests. *Ho-nan* was at this time full of formidable armies of both parties [a].

Asûkipa *proclaimed.*

Mean while *Yesyen-temûr*, who had marched from *Shen-si* into *Pe-che-li*, reduced *Tong-chew* (G); and, being reinforced by many succours, drew near *Ta-tû*, in order to besiege it. On this news, *Yen-temûr* took his best troops, and, attacking the prince vigorously, cut his army in pieces. The most valuable officers belonging to *Asûkipa* were slain in this battle; and the prince had much ado to escape with the ruins of his army. Prince *Ulatay*, who also declared for *Asûkipa*, made great marches with his troops, in order to join *Yesyen-temûr*. He

His troops defeated.

[a] Gaubil. ubi sup. p. 262, & seqq.

(E) A small city of *Pe-che-li*, about five miles east of *Whay-lay Ixen*. *Gaubil*.

(F) A little river which passes to *Ku-yong-quang*, in *Pe-che-li*, and falls into the *Pe-ho*, or river *Pe*. *Gaubil*.

(G) A city on the west side of the river *Pe*, some leagues (about twelve miles) to the east of *Pe-king*.

Eleventh. Hoſhila, *or* Ming tſong

had taken *Tſe-kin-quan*, an important poſt in *Pe-che-li*, and alarmed the whole country: but when he came to the bridge of *Lû-kew-kyau*, he there heard of the prince's total defeat; and, fearing to be overwhelmed by *Yen-temûr*, retired.

Shang-tû *taken.*

WHEN *Pû-wha-temûr*, paternal uncle of *Yen-temûr*, who was great general of the *Mungls* in *Tartary*, to the weſt, north, and north-eaſt, of *Lyau-tong*, knew that *Tû-temûr* had been inſtalled at *Ta-tû*, he invited prince *Ywelû-temûr* (H) to join him with his troops; and both went, in *October*, to lay ſiege to *Shang-tû*. *Taulaſha* defended the place at firſt with much courage; and, followed by the princes and great men of *Aſûkipa*'s party, ſeveral times attacked the beſiegers, but was always repulſed; and, being at length reduced to extremity, ſurrendered at diſcretion. He delivered up to *Ywelû-temûr* all the jewels, precious ſtones, and whatever elſe belonged to the emperor *Aſûkipa*. Prince *Wang-chan* fled; prince *Toto*, heretofore governor of *Lyau-tong*, was killed: but it was not known how *Aſûkipa* died.

Aſûkipa *ſlain.*

ON the news of *Aſûkipa*'s death, and taking of *Shang-tû*, the princes and great lords, who were leagued againſt *Tûtemûr* in *Shen-ſi*, *Shan-ſi*, *Hû-quang*, *Che-kyang*, *Lyau-tong*, and other countries, laid down their arms; and, in *November*, *Tûtemûr*, ſeeing himſelf without a rival, ſent a lord to his brother *Hoſhila*; baniſhed to *Tong-gan-chew* (now called *Tong-gan-hyen*) (I) the empreſs *Papûhan*, wife of *Yeſun-temur*; and put to death the general *Taulaſha*, with the princes *Wang-chan*, *Yeſyen-temur*, and others. He would have done the ſame by all the *Tatar* and *Chineſe* grandees taken at *Shang-tû*, if a great mandarin had not told him ſuch a proceeding was unjuſt, and might cauſe a general diſaffection. The hiſtory, on this occaſion, ſpeaks of *Tûtemûr* as an uſurper, who, without reaſon, put to death the princes and great men, for having ſupported their lawful ſovereign. He is blamed likewiſe for exiling the empreſs *Papûhan*. Mean time *Nankyatay*, one of the commanders in *Yun-nan*, got himſelf proclaimed emperor, and appointed miniſters to act in affairs.

Princes put to death.

Hoſhila *inſtalled.* A. D. 1329.

PRINCE *Hoſhila*, having been informed of what had paſſed, in *January* 1329 decamped (K); and, marching ſouthwards,

(H) *Ywelû-temûr* was deſcended, in the fifth generation, from *Sho-chi-han*, ſecond ſon of *Teſukay*, and brother of *Jenghiz Khân*. *Gaubil.*

(I) A city in *Pe-che-li*, a little to the ſouth-eaſt of *Pe-king*.

(K) The hiſtory ſays *Hoſhila* encamped in ſummer on mount *Wa-lo û-chay*. I know not if this be the mount *Altchay*, which *M. Pelo* ſpeaks of, and where he ſays *Jenghiz Khân* is buried. This (*Altchay*) is mount *Altay Gaub.*

encamped

encamped to the north of the city *Ho-rin̂g* (L) (or *Karako-rom*), and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. This installation was performed with the concurrence of *Tûtemûr*; and the lords of both courts made great rejoicings on the occasion. In *March Tûtemûr* sent *Yen-temûr* to carry the seal of the empire, with the imperial habits and ornaments, to *Hoshila*, who declared him prime minister, and general of the troops; and *Tûtemûr* was appointed the prince inheritor. For all this, *Tûtemûr*, in reality, carried himself as emperor, independent of his brother. He sent a lord into *Se-chwen*; who publishing that the emperor *Tûtemûr* would pardon *Nan-kya-tay*, who, towards the end of last year, was proclaimed emperor, that general submitted; but was immediately put to death. Mean time *Hoshila* prepared to go to *Shang-tû*; and being arrived, in *August*, within two days journey of that city, *Tûtemûr* went thither to salute him: but, soon after, *Hoshila* was found dead in his bed. The second of that month he gave a great entertainment to the lords of both courts; and, on the sixth, died suddenly. The historians accuse *Tûtemûr* with having, out of ambition, procured his brother's death.

Eleventh. Hoshila, *or* Ming-tsong. *His sudden death.*

HOSHILA is the emperor whom the *Chinese* call *Ming-tsong:* he gave the title of empress to the princess *Papûsha*, who was of the tribe of *Naymanchin*, by whom he had a prince named *Ilinchipin*, who was proclaimed emperor, as the reader will see hereafter. When he was in *Tartary*, he married also the princess *Maylayti* [b], daughter of *Nahanlûlû*, descended from prince *Arslân* [c], who came from the west to submit to *Jenghîz Khân*, and had large territories given him to the north of the *Great Kobi*, or *Desart*. *Hoshila* had, by the princess *Maylayti*, *Towhan-temûr*, who was the last emperor of the *Mungls* in *China*. He had likewise another son named *Han-chi-pan*, who reigned before his brother about two months [d].

Wives and sons.

HOSHILA was the eleventh khân of *Tartary*, and seventh emperor of the *Yuen*, who reigned over the *Chinese*.

[b] Gaubil, ubi supra, p. 265. & seqq. [c] See before, Vol. IV. l. i. c. 1. sect. 1. [d] Gaubil, ubi sup. p. 267.

(L) Otherwise called *Ho-lin*. *Gaubil.*

CHAP. XII.

The Reign of Tûtemûr, *ſtyled by the* Chineſes Ven-tſong.

Twelfth. Tûtemûr, *or* Ven-tſong.

AS ſoon as *Hoſhila* was dead, *Tûtemûr* ſent for the ſeal of the empire; and, after he had performed the laſt duties to the deceaſed, he returned to *Shang-tû*, where, on the fifteenth of the ſame month of *Auguſt*, he was acknowleged emperor; and appointed that the year 1329 ſhould be reckoned the ſecond of his reign. This ſame year *Tûtemûr* ordered the book, intituled, *King-ſhi-ta-tyen*, to be compoſed in *Chineſe* by the moſt able doctors of the empire. It is often cited in the great hiſtory of the *Mungls*; by which quotations it appears (A) to contain many curious matters relating to the origin, government, conqueſts, and geography, of the *Mungls*. One of the doctors, appointed to be concerned in this grand work, was *Shen-ſe*, a native of *Khoraſſân*, and a *Mohammedan*: but, as he could never agree with the other doctors about ſeveral articles, treated of in that book, which yet are not mentioned, he obtained leave to write on other ſubjects: among the reſt (B), he compoſed, in *Chineſe*, a geography of the weſtern countries of *Aſia*, to which he has ſubjoined remarks upon their doctrinal books, with a large catalogue of their eminent men.

Rebellion in Yunnan.

IN *March* 1330 prince *Tûkyen* revolted in *Yun-nan*, and aſſumed the title of king. He committed a thouſand diſorders; took the cities, ſlew the mandarins, and ſtirred up the *Myau-tſe*, with other people who live independent in the neighbouring provinces, to rebel againſt the emperor. Hereupon the prince *Alatenaſheli*, ſon of prince *Tûla*, was ordered to march with an army to oppoſe the deſigns of *Tûkyen*. Mean time the empreſs *Pûtaſili*, or *Pûtaſheli*, of the houſe of *Hongkila*, and wife of *Tûtemûr*, not able to endure the empreſs dowager *Papûſha*, employed an eunuch to make away with her. The hiſtorians take occaſion from hence to repreſent the dangerous conſequences of a bad example in princes. *Tûtemûr*, ſay they, cauſed his brother *Hoſhila* to be ſent out of the world; and that wicked example induced *Pûtaſili* to deſtroy *Papûſha*.

(A) The author, when he wrote this, had not yet found that book.

(B) He compoſed ſeveral other works on the *Chineſe* claſſical books; the great men under the *Kin* dynaſty; the books of *Lau-tſe* and *Chwan-tſe*, &c.: the books of *Shen-ſe* remain in his family; nor does *Gaubil* know if they were printed.

In *October* the emperor went to the temple of heaven, and there sacrificed in person, honouring at the same time *Jenghiz Khân*, founder of the dynasty. *Tûtemûr* was the first of the *Tuen* (or *Mungl*) princes who in person had been at the temple of heaven, and made the solemn sacrifice, which, before that time, had been performed by others. After this ceremony was over, a general pardon was published; and a law was made, that, among the emperor's wives, only one should bear the title of empress. It is remarked in a note, in the great history of the *Mungls*, that *Jenghiz Khân* had twenty-one ladies, who, besides the princess of *Hongkila*, his principal wife, had the title of empresses; and that the other emperors, down to *Shi-tsu*, or *Hû-pi-lay*, had five or seven: which custom was followed by his successors, till *Tûtemûr*, who limited their number to one. *Twelfth.* Tûtemûr, *or* Vensong. *The emperor sacrifices.*

In *December* the emperor declared his son the prince *Alatenatala* prince inheritor: but, in *January* 1331, this prince died, to his father's great affliction. Mean time the prince *Alatenasheli*, with an army of more than 100,000 men, carried on the war against prince *Tû-kyen*, who defended himself with courage; but, having been beaten in above twenty battles, in *April* both *Yun-nan* and *Se-chwen* submitted to the victor. However, soon after one of the rebels, named *Lû-yu*, who had lain concealed for a while, excited new troubles, supported by the brothers and sons of *Tû-kyen*. But *Kyay-lye* (C), great general of the *Mungls*, made a terrible slaughter of his followers, and intirely dispersed them. Two brothers and three sons of *Tû-kyen* were killed; and another of his brothers fled as far as the sea, where he perished. Yun-nan *submits.* A. D. 1331.

Mean time one of the lamas, of the country of *Igûr*, which abounds with them, was then chief of the lamas of the empire, and what regarded their religion; several of the bonzas of *Igûr* formed a conspiracy in favour of *Twelû-temûr*, son of the prince *Honanta*, whom the emperor *Hayshan* put to death. *A new conspiracy.*

YEN-TEMUR, who had been created a vang, or regulo, by the emperor, had a son called *Targay*; which young prince was so beloved by his majesty, that he would have him educated in his palace, and sent his own son *Yentye-kûtse* to be bred up in the palace of *Yen-temûr*. He likewise this year conferred on *Pe-yen* the *Merkit* the title of *Vang* (or *Wang*), which is the greatest honour that the emperor can bestow

(C) Or *Que-lye*, is the name of a general from the west, who did great services for *Hû-pi-lay* in *Yun-nan*; but I know not if this be the same, or one of his family. *Gaubil.*

Twelfth. Tûtemûr, *or* Ven-tſong.

on one of his ſubjects; and is attended with penſions, but not eſtates.

Tûtemur *dies.* A. D. 1332.

IN 1332 *Tûtemur*, according to cuſtom, removed in the ſpring to *Shang-tû*; where he fell ſick, and died, in *Auguſt*, in the twenty-ninth year of his age; ordering, that one of the ſons of his brother *Hoſhila* ſhould be proclaimed emperor [a].

TUTEMUR was the twelfth khân of the *Mungls*, and eighth of the *Yuen* dynaſty in *China*, where he was known under the title of *Ven-tſong*.

[a] GAUBIL. ubi ſup. p. 267, & ſeqq.

CHAP. XIII.

The Reign of Towhan-temûr, *ſtyled by the* Chineſes Shun-ti.

SECT. I.

The diſtractions and rebellions which attended his bad government.

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

AFTER the death of *Tûtemûr*, the miniſter *Yen-temûr* went to the empreſs *Pûtaſheli*, and propoſed to advance her ſon *Yentye-kûtſe* to the empire: but ſhe rejected that motion; and, purſuant to the intention of her deceaſed huſband, cauſed the prince *Ilinchipin*, ſecond ſon of *Hoſhila* (by the empreſs *Papûſha*, whom ſhe had put to death), then no more than ſeven years old, to be proclaimed. This new emperor, known in *China* under the title of *Ning-tſong* (A), dying in *November*, *Yen-temûr* again propoſed to enthrone *Yentyekûtſe*: but *Pûtaſheli* would by no means conſent to it; declaring, that the empire belonged to *Towhan-temûr* (B), ſon of *Hoſhila*, by the princeſs *Maylayti*, who was at this time thirteen years of age. After the death of the empreſs *Papûſha*, he was baniſhed into *Korea*, from whence he had been removed to *Quey-lin Fû*, the capital of *Quang-ſi*.

Reports of him.

THE emperor of the *Song*, who was carried into *Tartary*, and became a lama [a], had lands in that country, where, it is ſaid, he married a princeſs, and had children by her. This princeſs, according to ſome, was *Maylayti*; and had, by him, *Towhan-temûr*. After this, prince *Hoſhilâ* contracted a friend-

[a] See before, Vol. IV. l. ii. c. 5. ſect. 2.

(A) But, as he lived only two months, he is not reckoned among the *Chineſe* emperors. See *Du Halde, China*, Vol. I. p. 217, fol. edit. We ſhall obſerve in a note at the end of this dynaſty of the *Yuen*.

(B) Written *Tohoantemour* by our author *Gaubil*.

ſhip with the depoſed monarch; and, having taken an inclination for *Maylayti*, married her, and adopted *Towhan-temûr*. Theſe reports were, without doubt, falſe; but they were not the leſs current, for all that, at court, and in the provinces. However this be, the preſident of the tribunal of mathematics, being conſulted about his election, declared it very dangerous to make that prince emperor. Notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid to the contrary, *Pûtaſheli*, perſiſting in her reſolution, ſent a great lord to bring the prince from *Quey-lin-fû*, and declare him emperor. *Thirteenth.* Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

AT the entrance of the year 1333 the empreſs, having received advice, that *Towhan-temûr* was arrived at *Lyang-hyang*, a city ſome leagues ſhort of *Ta-tû*, ſent thither the guards, the princes, and grandees, to meet him. *Yen-temûr*, as generaliſſimo and prime miniſter, appeared at their head, and complimented the prince in the name of the empreſs regent. After this, placing himſelf by the prince's ſide, he ſpoke to him about the ſtate of the court, and manner in which the ceremony of the inſtallation ſhould be performed. *Towhan-temûr* appeared afraid at the ſight of *Yen-temûr*; and did not ſpeak a ſingle word: the lords of his retinue ſeemed likewiſe to be ſeized with fear. No wonder the prince ſhould be ſuſpicious of him; ſince many believed that he was the perſon, who, by *Tûtemûr*'s direction, put his father *Hôſhila* to death. However that be, *Yen-temûr*, touched to the quick at *Towhan-temûr*'s ſilence, delayed the ceremony of his inauguration; reſolving, if poſſible, to exclude him from the throne, and place the crown on the head of *Yentye-kûtſe*. *Afraid of* Yen-temûr.

THE diſcontent of *Yen-temûr* gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the regent, and the prince. This latter, being ſenſible of the fault he had committed when that lord went out to meet him, endeavoured to repair it, by marrying his daughter *Peyaw*, and making her his principal wife. *Yen-temûr* had grand qualities; but he was cruel, and void of modeſty. He became enamoured with one of the wives of the emperor *Yeſun-temur*, and had the raſhneſs to marry her; a thing almoſt without example. In *March* he died of his exceſſes; and his death ſecured the empire to *Towhan-temûr*: who, removing with his court to *Shang-tû*, the empreſs regent declared the laſt will of *Tûtemûr*; and the grandees agreed to declare the prince emperor. *Marries his daughter.*

TOWHAN-TEMUR (C), whom the *Chineſes* name *Shun-ti*, at firſt gave all power to the empreſs *Pûtaſheli*, and conferred on *Is proclaimed.*

(C) The *Chineſe* books of geography ſay, that one of *Shun-ti*'s daughters eſpouſed *Tamerlan*, to whom they give the title

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

on her the title of empreſs-grandmother; but, from that time, reſolved to get rid of her. This princeſs informed her ſon *Yentyc-kûtſe* of *Tûtemûr*'s will, and of what had paſſed between *Ayyuli-palipata* and *Hayſhan*. The new emperor, to gain the family of *Yen-temûr* to his intereſt, in *Auguſt* cauſed his wife *Peyaw* to be declared empreſs.

Neglects affairs.

TOWHAN-TEMUR ſoon diſcovered his inconſtant and wavering temper; his averſion to ſtate-affairs, and his inclination to pleaſure. *Alûwhentemûr*, the eighth in deſcent from the emperor *Ogotay*, perceiving his natural indolence, ſhewed him the great number of faults he would commit, in caſe he governed by himſelf: he therefore adviſed him to leave that toil to his miniſters; and, by that pernicious counſel, was the firſt cauſe of the deſtruction of the empire of the *Ywen* (D). *Towhan-temûr* followed his advice, and thought of nothing but gratifying his paſſions. *Satûn*, eldeſt brother of *Yen-temûr*, was honoured with the title of regulo (or vang) as well as *Tangkiſhi*, eldeſt ſon of *Yen-temûr*, and brother of the empreſs *Peyaw*. *Satûn* and *Pe-yen* were the prime miniſters; and were, beſides, the great generals of the troops. The hiſtory loudly exclaims againſt the advancement of *Pe-yen* to this high poſt, repreſenting him as a man of bad principles, debauched, and void of honour: it adds, that heaven ſhewed marks of its diſpleaſure the ſame day that ſo much honour was conferred on him; for the earth quaked, and a mountain fell.

Calamities of his reign. A D. 1334.

THE hiſtory likewiſe records ſeveral preſages, in 1334, of the unfortunate reign of *Towhan-temûr*: as that, in the ſouthern provinces, no fewer than two millions two hundred and ſeventy thouſand families, that is, more than thirteen millions of people, died; and that, in *Auguſt*, there was an earthquake at *Ta-tû*. The *Chineſe* hiſtorians, who compoſed the hiſtory of the *Ywen*, or *Mungl* race, lived at the beginning of the dynaſty of the *Ming* (E), who ruined that of the *Ywen*. Theſe authors

title of *Tû-ma*, that is, ſon-in-law of the emperor. *Gaubil.*— This anſwers to the title of *Kur Khân*, given to that prince by the oriental hiſtorians, which ſignifies *ſon-in-law of the khân*. See *D'Herbelot*, Bibl. orient. art. *Timûr*, p. 878.

(D) The hiſtory blames the prince *Alûwhentemûr*, and makes an odious compariſon between him and *Kaw yau* and *Chew-kong*, who rendered themſelves famous by the ſage advice which they gave the emperors of their reſpective times. *Gaubil.*

(E) Among the *Chineſes*, the rule is, daily to commit to writing the actions of their princes, and drop the papers into cloſe cheſts, which are never opened while the family then reigning poſſeſs the empire. On the acceſſion of a new family, the cheſts

authors have taken great pains to render this emperor odious on all occaſions: they have repreſented his faults in their full light; and ſet down all the famines, inundations, popular ſickneſſes, earthquakes, falls of mountains, comets, eclipſes, and other events: which they thought proper, to ſhew, that *Towhan-temûr* ought not to have been emperor; and that the *Ming* (or *Ta-ming*) wreſted the empire from the *Mungls* with juſtice [b]. *Thirteenth.* Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

In *October* a queſtion was decided, which had exerciſed the wits of all the *Chineſe* literati. Several empreſſes, and, among the reſt, *Ching-ko*, firſt wife of *Hayſhan*, had no tablets in the hall of anceſtors, near thoſe of their huſbands, under pretence that they had no children; while princeſſes, who were only the ſecond or third wives of emperors, were honoured with tablets, becauſe they had borne ſons who afterwards enjoyed the title of emperor. The mothers of *Hoſhila* and *Tûtemûr* had their tablets, and were there reſpected as empreſſes; although they lived in the time of *Ching-ko*, who was the chief wife, as well as the princeſs who had the rank and title of empreſs. One of the great mandarins, whom *Pe-yen* conſulted, anſwered, that *Ching-ko*, altho' without iſſue, ought to enjoy, after her death, the honours of empreſs; and that it was an indecency to honour as empreſſes thoſe who, in reality, were no more than concubines. Another mandarin, enemy to him who ſpoke in favour of *Ching-ko*, cited the example of *Tay-tſong*, emperor of the *Tang* dynaſty, who, he ſaid, gave two of his ladies the title of empreſs. The mandarin, who wanted *Ching-ko* only to have tablets, no-way embaraſſed with the objection, inſtead of ſtaying to conſider the paſſage of hiſtory cited by his adverſary, ran for another, to oppoſe it, as high up as the emperor *Yau*; affirming, that the prince did not put the tablet of his mother near that of *Ti-ko* his father, becauſe the *A point decided, relating to tablets.*

[b] Gaubil, hiſt. Gentchis, p. 270, & ſeqq.

cheſts are opened, and the hiſtory of the preceding is compiled from the memoirs found incloſed therein. Altho' the cuſtom of having a palace, with halls, for honouring the anceſtors of princes, is as antient as the monarchy itſelf; yet it is not eaſy to fix the time when the ſeveral ceremonies for that purpoſe were ſettled, much leſs of the changes that have been made in them. It is ſaid, that *Ti-ko*, father of *Yau*, had four wives; but 'tis difficult to prove that, in his time, there were tablets in the palace of anceſtors; and that, in caſe there were, none but the tablet of the firſt wife, who was empreſs, was placed near his. The ſeries of facts and times before *Yau* is uncertain. *Gaubil.*—— and, in our opinion, for many ages after.

mother

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

mother of *Yau* was not an empreſs. Every-body applauded this anſwer: *Pe-yen*, rewarded the mandarin; and *Ching-ko* had her tablet ſet up near that of her huſband *Hayſhan*.

Tanki-ſhi's *conſpiracy.* A. D. 1335.

In 1335 *Satûn*, brother of *Yen-temûr*, died; and that death occaſioned the ruin of his illuſtrious and powerful family. *Tangkiſhi*, a prince naturally fiery, and apt to ſpeak his mind, finding all his uncle's places, of which he expected no ſmall ſhare, given to *Pe-yen*, who, by that means, became the firſt lord of the court, complained loudly of the injuſtice done him; and, on this occaſion, cried up the ſervices which his anceſtors had done the empire, more than became him. At the ſame time he ran down *Pe-yen*, ſaying, he was too inconſiderable a perſon to be raiſed ſo high; and, in concert with *Talyentali*, his paternal uncle, took meaſures for ſetting on the throne *Whang-ho-temûr*, ſon of the rebel prince *Siliki*, ſlain in *Tartary* in the reign of *Hû-pi-lay*. *Talyentali* had often refuſed to obey the orders ſent him to come to court. The plot was diſcovered by a prince of the blood; and *Pe-yen* was commiſſioned to ſeize the conſpirators. In *June* *Tangkiſhi* concealed a troop of ſoldiers to the eaſt of *Shang-tû*, where the court then was; and, the thirtieth of the ſame month, deſigned to attack the palace on all ſides. But *Pe-yen* prevented him, and ſeized both him and his brother *Targay*, who were then in the palace. *Tangkiſhi* was killed immediately; but *Targay* fled, and, trembling, ran to the chamber of the empreſs his ſiſter. This young princeſs was frighted to ſee her brother wounded, and, with tears, begging his life of her. The empreſs, being informed of what had paſſed, ſought to ſave her brother: but ſhe ſought in vain; for preſently the lords entered her chamber with their naked ſwords, and ſlew him in her preſence.

Empreſs put to death.

When they had done their work, *Pe-yen* went and informed the emperor: who, inſtead of ſeverely puniſhing them for daring to enter the chamber of the empreſs with arms in their hands, conſented that *Pe-yen* ſhould even take, and put her to death. Purſuant to this horrid permiſſion, that bloody miniſter turned executioner, went directly to the apartment of that princeſs; who, perceiving that he came to ſeize her, ſet up a loud cry, and fell on her knees before the emperor, intreating him to ſpare her life. The hard-hearted huſband, after reproaching her with the revolt of her uncle and two brothers, told her he could not ſave her. Theſe cruel words were her ſentence of death. *Pe-yen* took her away, led her to a houſe in a neighbouring village, and there ſlew her with his own hands. *Talyentali* defended himſelf the beſt he could; and, after ſeveral fruitleſs efforts with the lords of his conſpiracy,

racy, took refuge with prince *Whang-ho-temûr*; where being taken, and killed, the prince ſlew himſelf. *Thirteenth.* Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

NOTWITHSTANDING the repreſentations of the literati, a great *Mungl* lord cauſed the examination of their order to be ſuppreſſed. The *Chineſes*, who every-where teſtified their diſcontent at this proceeding, ſet themſelves to inquire into the life of that *Tatar*; and ſoon found faults enough in his conduct, to render him ſuſpected by *Pe-yen*, who thereupon ſent him into baniſhment, where he died not long after. *Examinations ſuppreſſed.*

IN 1337, troubles aroſe in the provinces of *Quang-ton*, *Honan*, *Se-chwen*, and the province of *Koko-nor*, where the people appeared diſcontented with *Towhan-temûr*, and cenſured his conduct. The *Chineſes* were forbidden to inſtruct the *Mungls*, and to keep arms. Mean time, the emperor declared a princeſs of *Hong-kila* empreſs. In *May*, a comet appeared, which was viſible for ſixty-three days, and had its courſe from the *Pleiades* to the head of *Scorpio* (F). A. D. 1337. *Troubles ariſe.*

MACHARTAY, youngeſt brother of *Pe-yen*, had the good qualities of that miniſter, without his faults: he was a good general; and eſteemed by the troops. The emperor would have given him the title of wang, or regulo, but he conſtantly declined it. As one of *Pe-yen*'s bad qualities was cruelty, and a bloody diſpoſition, he propoſed to the emperor to have all thoſe put to death, whoſe *Se-ing* (G) was *Chang*, *Vang*, *Lyew*, *Li*, and *Chau*. The occaſion of this barbarous demand is not mentioned; but it was rejected, and drew on *Pe-yen* an infinite number of enemies [c].

TOTO, ſon of *Machartay*, was one of the officers of the guards; and, by his prudent behaviour, ſoon became eſteemed by the emperor, as well as the great men at court, with whoſe intrigues he was thoroughly acquainted. He knew that *Towhan-temûr* was grown ſuſpicious of his uncle *Pe-yen*, ever ſince *November* 1339; when that lord, under a falſe pretence, had put to death *Che-che-tû*, great grandſon of *Mengko*, by *Yulong-taſhe*, his fourth ſon. *Pe-yen* was hated by all the world; and had an intolerable pride: for ſome time he went abroad with the ſtate of a great king; and *Toto* was one day witneſs of his pompous train, at a time when that of the emperor was very moderate. The *Mungl* monarch himſelf obſerved it, and was offended. More than this, he believed that *Pe-yen* had ill de- A. D. 1340. *Toto undertakes to*

[c] GAUBIL, p. 272, & ſeqq.

(F) This *Chineſe* manner of expreſſing the courſe of the comet, deſerves explanation. *Gaubil.*

(G) We think this paſſage needs explanation, as much at leaſt as that relating to the comet.

ſigns

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

ſigns in his head (H); and *Toto* knew for certain, that *Towhan-temûr* intended to deſtroy him. *Toto* informed his father *Machartay* of what had paſſed; and conſulted *U-chi-vang*, a *Chineſe* literato, in whom he had much confidence, as having been his governor. *U-chi-vang* cited the paſſages, which teach, *That a man muſt ſacrifice his family to juſtice; and that a great mandarin ought to have no other object in view, than fidelity to the empire.*

ſeize his uncle.

TOTO, who was a lord of parts, having found a favourable opportunity to ſpeak to the emperor, fell on his knees, and ſaid, *That he renounced his family to ſerve his majeſty.* *Towhan-temûr*, who believed there was diſſimulation in his words, pretended not to underſtand his meaning. Moſt of the lords who were about the emperor were creatures of *Pe-yen*. *Shi-kyay* and *Alû* were almoſt the only two with whom he durſt intruſt a ſecret. Theſe he ordered to ſound the fidelity of *Toto*, whoſe motions they narrowly inſpected; and then acquainted his majeſty, that they would anſwer for his integrity. Hereupon *Towhan-temûr* ſent for *Toto*, and ſhed tears while he ſpoke to him of his uncle's behaviour. After this *Toto* and *Shi-kyay*, having become intimate friends, reſolved to ſeize *Pe-yen*; which they did, with the emperor's approbation, in the following manner.

Pe-yen's *death.*

TOTO placed new guards in all the poſts, and augmented the number of them; ordering them to give him an exact account of all who either entered or went out. *Pe-yen* was ſurprized to ſee the guard reinforced, without having had notice of it, as great general; and, on that occaſion, chid his nephew: who anſwered, boldly, "That too good a guard could not "be kept in the palace where was the emperor." On theſe words, *Pe-yen* thought fit to ſtrengthen his own guard; and concluded, that he could not depend on *Toto*. After this, *Pe-yen* acquainted the guards, that he wanted to ſpeak to his majeſty: they aſked what his buſineſs was; and underſtanding that it was to invite him to a hunting, *Toto* diſſuaded the emperor; ſo that *Pe-yen* repeated his inſtances in vain. *Towhan-temûr* ordered *Yentye-kotſe* to encamp without the city: at the ſame time, *Pe-yen* heard, with aſtoniſhment, that *Toto* and *Shi-kyay* had cauſed the city gates to be ſhut, and kept the keys, after poſting troops, devoted to them, in all the quarters of *Tatâ*. At night thoſe two lords adviſed the emperor to change his apartment; and made prince *Yentye-kotſe* to return into the city. They ordered *Pe-yen* to be watched; and, in *Fe-*

(H) *Pe-yen* was accuſed of a deſign either of ſeizing the emperor or killing him, and ſetting another on the throne. *Gaubil.*

bruary,

bruary, on the day named *Ki-hay*, all the titles and places, which that minister had at court, were taken from him; and he was ordered to set out for *Ho-nan*, there to exercise the office of a mandarin. He designed, before he went, to salute the emperor, which was refused him; and, when he was on the road, a second order overtook him, to let him know, that he was banished. After this, he continued his journey: but fell sick near *Nan-chang-fû*, capital of *Kyang-si*, where he died, hated by all the great men, as well as the people (I). *Thirteenth.* Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

Upon this change, *Toto*, and his father *Machartay*, had new employments; but the latter still refused the title of vang, and even that of targhan, or tarkan, which implies being exempt from impost and service. However, the change of ministry went no farther: public notice was given the mandarins, that they had nothing to fear, and would be continued in their employments. In *June*, *Towhan-temûr* being at *Shang-tû*, caused a manifesto to be published through the empire: wherein he set forth all which the emperor *Tûtemûr* and the empress *Putasheli* had done against *Hoshila* and the empress *Papûsha*: he complained bitterly, for that they had exiled him, without having committed any offence; and endeavoured to make him pass for the son of another person than *Hoshila*. After this, he deprived *Putasheli* of the title of empress grandmother, and banished her; which treatment she did not long survive. Prince *Yentye-kotse* was ordered to depart for *Korea*: he set out accordingly; but was killed on the way (K). The tablet of *Tûtemûr* was taken out of the temple of ancestors; many of the mandarins, put in by him, were discharged; and several of the lords punished, who had served him. In *August*, *Towhan-temûr* returned to *Tatû*; and, in *December*, re-established the examination of the literati [d]. *Affairs at court.* *Examinations restored.*

In 1342, the famine was so great, that the people ate human flesh (L). Two or three leagues to the north of the A. D. 1342.

[d] Gaubil, p. 276, & seqq.

(I) When he came to *Chingting-fû*, he asked some old men, who presented him wine, if they had heard the affair of a son who would have killed his father? alluding to what *Toto* had done: one of them answered, They had not; but that they heard there were subjects who would have killed their sovereign. *Gaubil.*

(K) *Yen-tye-kû-tse* had been at first declared prince inheritor by *Tovlan-temûr*. The death of that prince is the only thing which the history reproaches the emperor with, in what he did against *Pûtasheli* and *Tûtemûr*. *Gaubil.*

(L) The history mentions, for the reason before recited, eclipses of the sun, which happened in *August* and *October*. *Gaubil.*

bridge

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

bridge *Lû-kew-kyau* (M), is a place called *Kin-kew*, on the eaſt ſide of the river *When*. The *Kin* emperors formerly made a canal of communication between *Tong-chew* and *Kin-kew*, in order to bring up the proviſions and merchandizes which came by water to the firſt city: but this canal, which paſſed to the north of *Yen-king*, being found to endanger that capital, was deſtroyed. In *January* this year, *Toto*, ſon of *Machartay*, undertook to open it again, with a view to join the river *When* and *Pe*, as before; and although this project was oppoſed by one of the *Chineſe* miniſters, on the ſame reaſons which cauſed it to be ſtopped up the firſt time, yet *Toto*'s advice was followed. However, the ſand and mud, as the mandarin had demonſtrated, ſoon rendered it uſeleſs; and the fear of inundations obliged them afterwards to cloſe it up a ſecond time. 'Tis related, that a preſent was made the emperor this year, from the kingdom of *Fû-lang* (N), of a horſe eleven feet ſix inches long, and ſix feet eight inches high; the body black, with ſpots of different colours; and the hoofs of the two hind feet white: the preſent was much eſteemed.

A. D. 1343. *Hiſtories finiſhed.*

HU-PI-LAY, at the beginning of his reign, commanded the memoirs for the hiſtory of the *Lyau* and *Kin* to be put in order. He likewiſe, after the deſtruction of the *Song* dynaſty, gave directions to compile the hiſtory of the *Song*: but, notwithſtanding the orders of this prince, and his ſucceſſors, thoſe hiſtories were not finiſhed. Hereupon, in 1343, *Toto*, ſon of *Macharty*; *Timûrtaſh*, ſon of *Toto*, prince of *Kangli*; *Ghew-yang-ſwen*, hiſtorian of the empire (O); *Chang-ki-yen*, *Lu-tſe-cheng*, *Kye-hi-tſe*, and other able doctors; were appointed for this great work; which was, at length, completed, under *Towhan-temûr*, each dynaſty having its hiſtory apart. The greater part of what is well executed in them, is owing to the labour of *Ghew-yang-ſwen*. In this work, beſides the annals of the emperors belonging to the three dynaſties, there are ſeparate chapters, which contain the ſeveral kalendars, and aſtronomical methods, with the aſtronomical obſervations of the mathematical tribunal. There is likewiſe an ample catalogue of the great men of the reſpective dynaſties, with a conciſe account of what they have done; and it is there you meet with the works which the learned of the time have compoſed. The authors have there inſerted what they knew of foreign geography; and there you find deſcriptions of the countries ſubject or tributary to the princes, whoſe hiſtory is ſet forth. The hiſtory of the *Song*

Account of them.

(M) A few leagues to the weſt of *Pe-king*.

(N) By which, without doubt, *Europe* is to be underſtood. *Gaubil.*

(O) Native of *Chang-cha*, in *Hû-quang*. *Gaubil.*

hath,

hath, beſides thoſe accompaniments, a kind of *Chineſe* biblio-theque, where the books compoſed in *China*, on all ſorts of ſubjects, are divided into claſſes (P). 'Tis from theſe three hiſtories, that the *Nyen-i-tſe* and *Tſu-pyen*, inſerted in the *Tong-kyen-kang-mû*, have taken the greater part of what they relate concerning the dynaſties of the *Lyau*, *Kin*, and *Song*. *Thirteenth* Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

In *October* this year, the emperor *Towhan-temûr* went to the palace of anceſtors, to honour the princes of his family: but when he was before the tablet of *Ning-tſong* (or *Ilin-chipan*), his youngeſt brother, he made a difficulty to kneel. Hereupon the great *Chineſe* mandarins alleged the example of the two brothers *Hi* and *Min* (Q), counts of the country of *Lû*, in *Shan-tong*; ſaying, that *Hi*, though the elder, did not ſcruple to perform the ceremony to *Min*, who reigned before him. To ſupport this paſſage of hiſtory, another mandarin reaſoned thus; *Your majeſty was no more than a ſubject, when your brother was emperor; now, a ſubject ought to kneel before his ſovereign.* *Towhan-temûr*'s objection being thus removed, he fell on his knees, and honoured his brother *Ning-tſong*, by nine beats with the head. *Anceſtors honoured.*

In *May* 1344, *Toto* was honoured with the title of regulo; and *Alûtû*, the fourth deſcendant from *Po-eul-chû*, or *Porji*, one of *Jenghiz Khân*'s four intrepids, propoſed by him to fill his place of miniſter. In the ſame month next year, died *Nau-nau*, ſon of *Pû-hû-chû*, of *Kangli* (often mentioned before), much regretted by the emperor; who highly eſteemed him, and was not offended at his frequent admonitions to love virtue, and govern by himſelf. He paſſed for a man of great virtue, and was withal one of the moſt learned doctors of the empire. He had likewiſe a younger brother, named *Wheywhey*, or the *Mohammedan*, who was a perſon of great abilities. *Toto made vang.* A. D. 1345.

In 1346, *Perku-ſûwha*, ſon of the miniſter *A-û-tay*, ſlain by order of the emperor *Hayſhan*, having lodged an accuſation againſt the great general *Machartay*; *Towhan-temûr* baniſhed that officer to *Si-ning*, a city of *Shen-ſi* (at the end of the great wall): and *Toto*, having in vain endeavoured to ward off the blow, followed his father. The general being, by a ſecond order, exiled to *Sa-ſe*, in the weſt, a lord of the country of *Tûrfân*, a great mandarin, exclaimed againſt thoſe who thus maltreated a great lord of merit, innocent of the crime *His father baniſhed.*

(P) The author forbears mentioning an infinite number of other articles treated of in thoſe three hiſtories; becauſe he deſigns to ſpeak of them elſewhere.

(Q) Two of the twelve princes of *Lû*, whoſe annals *Konfuſius* has written, intituled, *Chun-tſyew. Gaubil.*

Thirteenth. laid to his charge: hereupon *Machartay* was ordered to live at Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti. *Kan-chew*, in *Shen-ſi*, where he ſoon after died. But the world did him juſtice: every body was perſuaded of *Perkû-pûewha*'s malice, *Machartay*'s virtue, and the emperor's weakneſs e.

A. D. 1348. Whang-ho *project.* In 1348, *Kya-lû*, native of *Kau-ping*, in *Shan-ſi*, who knew ſomething of geometry and levelling, was ſent to examine the courſe of the *Whang-ho*, and its antient bed, in *Pe-che-li*. He made a map of it, accompanied with a diſcourſe; wherein he propoſed raiſing banks along that river, and turning it into a new channel. *Kya-lû* was ſupported by ſome great lords; and had inſpection over the tribunals which were erected for carrying on of public works. We ſhall ſee hereafter what were the conſequences of this project. In *Auguſt*, *Yu-chi*, one of the moſt renowned doctors of the empire, died, at *Li-chwen*, in the diſtrict of *Fû-chew*, in *Kyang-ſi*, his native country: he had a conſiderable hand in the work, intituled, *King-chi-ta-tyen*. In 1333, *Ma-tſû-chang*, a great mandarin, originally of the weſt of *Aſia*, gave out, that *Yu-chi* was the perſon who had written an edict of *Tûtemûr*; wherein that prince related what he had ſaid touching the birth of *Towhan-temûr*. *Yu-chi*, upon this aſperſion of his enemy, retired, of his own accord; and although the emperor invited him to return, he always declined it.

The miniſters corrupt. In *November* this year, a great lord, following the example of thoſe who, in all times, have hazarded both their eſtates and lives, to tell the emperors their faults, laid before *Towhan-temûr* the evils which the empire ſuffered: he complained, that the miſdemeanors of the great men were not puniſhed; and affirmed, that ſuch neglect would ruin the empire: he reminded him of the crimes of *Pe-yen* the *Merkit*; and ſaid, it was a ſcandal to ſee ſtill at court his brothers, ſons, and grandſons. Another mandarin prayed the emperor, to deprive his wife, the princeſs *Ki*, who came from *Korea*, of the honour and title of empreſs, which he had given her, although the empreſs, princeſs of *Hongkila*, was ſtill living (R); alleging, in ſupport of what he demanded, a writing of *Hû-pi-lay*, in which he took an oath, never to contract affinity with the *Koreans*. The emperor was paſſionately fond of the princeſs *Ki*, who was mother of the prince whom he deſigned for his heir;

e Gaubil, p. 278, & ſeqq.

(R) *Towhan-temûr* had three wives, who, at the ſame time, bore the title of empreſs; and paid no regard to the order of *Tûtemûr*, not to give that title to more than one wife. *Gaubil.*

whereas

whereas the children which he had by the princeſs of *Hong-kila* were all dead. In effect, he rejected the petitions of both mandarins. *Thirteenth* Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

In 1349, *Tay-ping*, a lord of great wiſdom, moderation, and integrity, was at the head of affairs; and, as he could not bear to ſee innocence oppreſſed, he, in ſpite of the difficulties which lay in the way, demanded, and obtained, the recall of *Toto*. This prince, on his return, was reſtored to his place of miniſter; and, not knowing that he owed his good fortune to *Tay-ping*, who made no mention to him of the ſervice he had done him, joined with that lord's enemies in an accuſation againſt him. *Tay-ping* was hereupon turned out of place; and his accuſers were going to puſh their malice farther, when *Toto*'s mother threatened to renounce him, if he did not deſiſt; telling him, that *Tay-ping* was not culpable, and that he had done him no injury. *Toto*, who loved his mother tenderly, and did not care to give her any uneaſineſs, ceaſed to proſecute that lord. Some time after this, *Toto* came to know the obligations which he had to *Tay-ping*, and was extremely ſorry that he had done ſo much injury to his benefactor. A friend of *Tay-ping* having adviſed him to kill himſelf; he anſwered, *I have committed no fault: for me to kill myſelf, would be to confeſs myſelf guilty; let us leave the matter to heaven* (S). Hereupon he retired, with his family, to *Si-gan-fû*, in *Shen-ſi*. *Remarkable caſe.*

Towhan-temûr being deſirous that his ſon ſhould learn the Chineſe characters and literature, *Toto*, who was well ſkilled in both, was pitched on to direct the education of the young prince; and *Li-hau-wen* was appointed his preceptor. Some lamas were, at the ſame time, choſen, to inſtruct the prince in the doctrine and books of *Fo*. *Li-hau-wen* took much pains with his pupil: he made an abridgment of the *Chineſe* hiſtory to his own time, and of the claſſic books; with reflections on the cauſes of the ruin of dynaſties, and other remarks, in the *Chineſe* taſte, proper to form a prince for government. But his ſcholar had no inclination for the ſciences; and was much taken with the worſhip of *Fo* (T). He was an enemy to pains; and the ſtudy of the *Chineſe* books required a great deal of application. All that his preceptor uttered, appeared to him obſcure, *The prince averſe to* Chineſe *learning.*

(S) He ſpeaks here of the emperor, whom the *Chineſe* call the *Son of heaven*. They believe that his power comes from heaven; and that his orders ought to be obeyed like thoſe of heaven *Gaubil*.

(T) This prince ſeems to be of a different character from *Ayewſhilitata*, the prince inheritor mentioned hereafter, page 58: but, for want of the name of the prince mentioned here, we cannot pretend to determine the point.

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

full of empty words, and very unprofitable. One day he ſaid, in *Li-hau-wen*'s preſence, "That he did not yet underſtand "any thing which he had explained to him; whereas, in one "night's time, he had comprehended the whole doctrine of "*Fo*." Theſe words ſet all the literati and *Chineſe* doctors againſt the prince, of whom they ever had but a contemptible opinion; judging him not fit to govern their country: becauſe he either would not, or could not, underſtand the books, which, according to them, are ſo proper to teach the art of governing well [f].

Arbitrary proceeding.

AMA and *Swe-ſwe*, two brothers, natives of the country of *Kangli*, were at this time very powerful at court; and, though remarkable for their diſorderly courſes, had free acceſs to the palace of the empreſs *Ki*, which they were continually going to. The cenſors of the empire, and the *Chineſe* grandees, exclaimed againſt ſuch liberties; and two of them made their complaints of it to the emperor. *Ama*, upon this, by artful ſtories, ſtirred up the reſentment of the empreſs; who complained to *Towhan-temûr*, requiring, that he would puniſh the two mandarins, as calumniators, who endeavoured to ſtain her reputation. The emperor, enraged at what he had heard, baniſhed the mandarins, one of whom died in the place of his exile. This conduct appeared tyrannical to the *Chineſes*, ſince the mandarins had done no more than their duty. *Ama*, who, beſides many other bad qualities, was exceſſively lewd, appeared to them to be the perſon who contributed moſt to corrupt the emperor, whom they ſaw devoted to the moſt enormous debaucheries, and intirely to neglect affairs of government; placing all his confidence in men of diſſolute morals, and without either honour or capacity.

The Whang-ho project

In 1351, the reſolutions taken with regard to the new courſe propoſed to be given the *Whang-ho* (U), or *yellow river*, conſiderably augmented the troubles and diſcontent. *Kya-lû*, ſupported by *Toto*, as hath been already mentioned, had perſuaded the emperor to make that river paſs, as formerly, through the country of *Tay-ming-fû*, in *Pe-che-li*, and fall into the ſea of *Tyen-tſin-wey*. Mean time *Cheng-tſun*, preſident of the tribunal of public works, with the mathematicians of *Kay-fong-fû*, in *Ho-nan*, went to *Tay-ming-fû*, and other places in *Pe-che-li*, to examine the ground; and, after taking the level of

[f] Gaubil, p. 281, & ſeqq.

(U) On this occaſion, our author *Gaubil* gives an account, from the *Chineſe* authors, of the ſeveral changes which the *Whang-ho*, or *yellow river*, has ſuffered in its courſe, from the earlieſt times.

it,

it, affirmed, that to clear the old channel was impracticable; that it would require too great an expence; and that *Shan-tong* would be ruined. All sorts of means were tried to prevail with the president to change his opinion; but he answered, that he would rather die than speak contrary to his judgment in a matter of so much importance to the public. *Cheng-tsun* was hereupon dismissed, and his place given to *Kya-hû*, whose advice was followed; and to the titles of his patron [g] *Toto*, was added that of targhan [h]. *Thirteenth.* Towhan-temûr, *or* Shan-ti. *causes insurrections.*

THE works, which were made for turning the *Whang-ho*, ruined an infinite number of people, and caused new taxes to be imposed; while the peasants could not bear to see their lands taken away, and themselves transplanted elsewhere. The discontent becoming general, different chiefs of parties in every province stirred up the people; so that the mandarins were greatly embarrassed.

HAN-SHAN-TONG, born in the district of *Ching-ting-fû* (in *Pe-che-li*), who had been banished, for his misdeeds, into *Shan-tong*; taking advantage of the troubled state of things, prevailed on great numbers of people to rebel, in *Shan-tong*, *Ho-nan*, and *Kyang-nan*. They made him pass for a descendant of *Whey-tsong*, eighth emperor of the *Song*; and took an oath to obey him, sacrificing an horse, and a black ox. Those concerned in this association were distinguished by a red cap. The mandarins found means to seize *Han-shan-tong*; but his wife and children escaped. *Lyew-fû-tong* also, an intrepid man, who supported *Han-shan-tong*, in *May*, appeared in the field, near *Fong-yang-fû*, in *Kyang-nan*. He was presently joined by more than 100,000 men, and fortified himself in the districts of *Nan-yang-fû* and *Ju-ning-fû*, in *Ho-nan*. At the same juncture, a pirate, named *Fang-que-chen*, scoured the coasts of *Che-kyang* and *Kyang-nan*, with a great fleet, entered the rivers, plundered the towns and villages, and ruined trade. One of his designs was, to hinder the transportation of corn, rice, and merchandizes, to the court. The armies sent first against *Fang-que-chen* were destroyed, and their generals taken prisoners. After this, the pirate making a sham accommodation, the great mandarins concealed his revolt: they even caused titles of honour, and employments, to be given to him and his brothers. Mean time, the rebel kept the ports continually blocked up; and did, with impunity, whatever he pleased, for want of honest captains and soldiers to oppose him at sea. Han-shan-tong *and* Lyew-fû-tong *rebel.*

[g] GAUBIL, p. 284, & seqq. [h] See before.

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti. THE emperor having, on his return from *Ta-tû*, in *Auguſt*, ordered *Yeſyen-temûr*, brother of *Toto*, to aſſemble the troops, and march againſt *Lyew-fû-tong*, that general retook ſeveral places in *Ho-nan*, and put to death ſome rebels; but, in reality, *Lyew-fû-tong*'s party grew in ſtrength. In *October* *Tſû-chew-whey* took arms in *Hû-quang*, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed emperor at *Ki-ſhû-i*, in the diſtrict of *Hong-chew-fû*. He gave a name to the dynaſty which he propoſed to found: and the year 1351 is ſet down, in the hiſtory, for the firſt of his reign. In *November* a comet appeared, whoſe tail pointed towards the weſt: on which occaſion it was induſtriouſly reported throughout the empire, that heaven, by ſeveral viſible marks, made known, that it would take the empire from *Towhan-temûr*; and the hiſtory relates the ſuperſtitious reflections which were made upon the appearance of this comet.

Tſû-chew-whey

proclaimed emperor. A. D. 1352. IN 1352 *Tſû-chew-whey* took *Han-yang* and *Vû-chang* in *Hû-quang*; and, after having ſeized other poſts of importance, cauſed a fleet to be fitted out, and undertook the ſiege of *Kyew-kyang-fû*, on the *Grand Kyang*. Whether through treachery, cowardice, or diſguſt with *Towhan-temûr*'s ſervice, a great number of *Tatar* mandarins in *Hû-quang* and *Kyang-ſi* fled at the approach of the *Chineſes*; and *Polotemûr*, general of a great body of troops which encamped along the *Kyang*, abandoned his poſt, with his *Mungls*, who diſperſed merely for fear of *Tſû-chew-whey*: theſe things paſſed in the firſt months of the year. On this occaſion *Li-fû*, a *Chineſe* grandee of *Fong-yang-fû* in *Kyang-nan*, ſet the *Mungls* a fine example of fidelity to their ſovereign: he ſent couriers to all the neighbouring villages, to cut off the retreat of *Polotemûr*'s forces, and oblige them to do their duty. *Yeſyen-temûr*, a *Tatar* officer, ſeconded *Li-fû*; and, having joined their troops, defeated a detachment of *Tſû-chew-whey*'s army, conſiſting of 20,000 men. After this, *Li-fû* ordered a great number of trees to be cut down, and to be thrown, tied together, into the *Kyang*, to hinder the paſſage of the rebel fleet: which, coming down the river ſoon after in full ſail, met with this unexpected obſtacle; ſo that they could neither approach *Kyew-kyang-fû*, nor eſcape the fiery arrows, which, ſhot by *Li-fû*'s troops, burnt ſeveral barks [1].

Glorious behaviour. WHILE *Li-fû* was ſo zealouſly employed to ſerve *Towhan-temûr*, the general *Tûkyen-puwha* fled out of the city by the north gate. Moſt of the *Tatar* officers followed his pernicious example; and the army of *Tſû-chew-whey* were preparing to enter *Kyew-kyang-fû*. Upon this, *Li-fû*, taking what troops remained faithful, and with one of his nephews, who was al-

[1] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p. 285, & ſeqq.

ways

ways near him, mounted the ramparts, to prevent any ſurprize. The enemy firſt burnt the weſt gate; then came to attack the eaſtern; and, ſpite of all *Li-fû*'s efforts, entered the city. That brave man ſtill defended himſelf in the ſtreets on horſe-back; but, wanting forces, he called out aloud, *Kill me, but ſpare the inhabitants:* at theſe words he and his nephew were cut to pieces. The citizens lamented his death; and *Towhan-temûr* conferred great titles of honour on him. *Li-fû* was one of the principal mandarins of *Kyew-kyang-fû*, and the annals of that city have ranked him among the moſt illuſtrious of its governors. *Thirteenth.* Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

THIS year there happened an extraordinary earthquake at *Long-ſi* in *Shen-ſi*, which felt its ſhocks for one hundred days ſucceſſively. Bones were alſo found nine or ten feet long, whoſe antiquity could not be determined. At the beginning of the year 900,000 ſouls periſhed by famine and ſickneſs (W). The emperor ordered likewiſe, that employments ſhould be given, in the tribunals, to the *Chineſes* in the provinces ſouth of the *Kyang*; who generally, till then, were preferred to places which only concerned commerce and literature. His majeſty, about the ſame time, heard with great concern of the death of general *Tay-puwha*, who was ſlain by the troops of *Fan-que-chen*, on the coaſt of *Che-kyang*; being led, by a relation of that pirate, into the ſnare unawares: but, when he perceived that he was betrayed, he ſlew the traitor, with others whom he diſtruſted; and then, being ſurrounded on all ſides, was killed himſelf, after a brave reſiſtance. Mean time the army of the rebel *Lyew-fû-tong* diſperſed that of *Teſyen-temûr*, brother of *Toto*; who abandoned the open country to the enemy, and ſhamefully fled to *Kay-fong-fû*, capital of *Ho-nan*. *Public calamities.* *Rebels ſucceſsful.*

THE emperor ſent another general in his ſtead; and was content to ſay, that *Teſyen-temûr* did not underſtand the buſineſs of war: but ſeveral great mandarins accuſed him of having deſtroyed an army, and, by his cowardice, diſhonoured the empire of the *Mungls*. *Towhan-temûr*, inſtead of making an example of ſo great a miſdemeanor, intruſted the examination of the affair to *Toto*, who behaved very ill on this occaſion; for he not only defended his brother, but even accuſed and turned out ſeveral mandarins who had accuſed *Teſyen-temûr*. Among the lords of merit, and moſt capable of ſerving the ſtate, was *Tor-chiban*, deſcended, in the ſixth generation, from the illuſtrious *Moholi* (or *Mûhûli*). He had at firſt been mini- Toto's *injuſtice.*

(W) In the diſtrict of *Ta-ming-fû* in *Pe-che-li*, only, there died of famine, in *June*, 500,000 perſons. *Gaubil.*

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

ſter, and was very capable of re-eſtabliſhing affairs: but he was diſguſted that nobody would attend to his prudent advice; and would never be any-way concerned in the criminal intrigues of thoſe who governed the mind of *Towhan-temûr*. *Tor-chipan* was verſed in the *Chineſe* ſciences: was learned in mathematics, and the art of war. But, as he was one of thoſe who appeared moſt incenſed againſt *Yeſyen-temûr*, *Toto* cauſed him to be baniſhed: ſoon after which he died at *Whang-chew-fû*, in *Hû-quang*, at the age of forty. This ſeverity towards one of the firſt and moſt illuſtrious lords of the empire did much injury to *Toto*, and infinite hurt to the emperor's affairs.

Torchipan *baniſhed.*

The rebels worſted,

THE court was greatly alarmed at the news of the taking of *Hang-chew-Fû*, capital of *Che-kyang*, in *July*, by the troops of *Tſu-chew-whey*. Hereupon *Towhan-temûr*, fearing the loſs of the ſouthern provinces, ſent a great army under the command of *Kyau-wha* and *Tong-po-ſyau*. The army having croſſed the great *Kyang*, *Kyau-wha* demanded the advice of the other general officers. *Tong-po-ſyau* ſaid, that, as the rebels were infallibly plunged in all ſorts of debaucheries in ſo rich and delightful a city, they could not be in a condition to reſiſt; from whence he concluded, that they ought to go and attack *Hang-chew Fû*. After much debate, this advice was followed, and the city was aſſaulted with great reſolution. On the other hand, the rebels often ſallied, and fought ſeven moſt bloody battles: but, after a cruel ſlaughter of them, the city was taken. This great check much weakened the party of *Tſu-chew-whey*, who loſt there excellent officers, and more than 40,000 men. In the enemy's army they found many magicians, bonzas of the ſect of *Tau*, whom they put to death, and burned their books of magic[k].

on two occaſions.

Defeat the Mungls;

IN *Auguſt Toto* aſked leave to go and beſiege *Tſu-chew*, a city of *Kyang-nan*, poſſeſſed by the troops of *Lyew-fû-tong*; which was granted him: and, on this occaſion, *Mieulmahomo* (X), preſident of the tribunal of war, made extravagant elogies upon that miniſter. *Toto* attacked the city by the weſt gate: the

[k] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p. 288, & ſeq.

(X) This is a ſingle word: he was a foreigner. *Gaubil.*— This ſeems to imply, that the names of perſons which our author has given, for the general, conſiſt of more words than one, altho' joined together, as if but one. However, we have ſeldom divided any but ſuch as are *Chineſe* names; altho' all the reſt muſt conſiſt of two or more monoſyllables, as being written commonly from the *Chineſe* characters, and according to the *Chineſe* pronunciation.

beſieged

beſieged made a great ſally; but, being repulſed, *Tſu-chew* was taken and ruined. The miniſter was hereupon rewarded, and ordered to return to court immediately. *Thirteenth.* Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

GENERAL *Arſlân*, who commanded the *Mungls* in *Kyang-ſi*, being much beloved by the *Myau-tſe* (Y), on hearing of *Tſu-chew-whey*'s revolt, inliſted 50,000 of thoſe mountain people, and went with them to *Lû-chew*, a city of *Kyang-nan*. An army of *Myau-tſe* in the heart of *China* was a very odious ſight; ſo that they were diſmiſſed, upon the remonſtrance of *Yu-que*, who had orders to command the troops in that province. This mandarin fortified *Gan-king* on the *Kyang* exceeding ſtrongly, and kept his ground in the midſt of the rebels: for at that time moſt of the province *Kyang-ſi* was in the hands of *Tſu-chew-whey*'s party. On the other hand, the general *Sing-ki*, having re-aſſembled the troops, reduced *Kyew-kyang* and *Hû-kew*. He then marched to attack the rebels, who plundered all the places along the rivers; but, being ſurrounded, and wounded by an arrow, he was taken. *Sing-ki* had the reputation both of a good man and a hero. As ſoon as the rebels knew his name, they fell on their knees, and ſet victuals before him: they treated him for ſeven days, in a hut, with all ſorts of reſpect; and were greatly concerned that they could not cure his wound. The general, perceiving death to be near, made a ſhift to raiſe himſelf up; and, having made his reverence to the north, expired: this happened in *November*. *Sing-ki* was of an antient family of *Ning-hya*, at the great wall in *Shen-ſi*; and had done great ſervices to the empire. *take their general.*

TOTO, who was under obligations to *Ama*, being become prime miniſter, brought that lord into the management of affairs, and got him appointed one of the miniſters of ſtate. *Ama*, ſupported by the empreſs *Ki*, by degrees made himſelf independent of *Toto*, and intirely corrupted *Towhan-temûr*. He brought into the palace ſeveral young debauchés, and lamas of *Tibet*, whoſe hearts were corrupt, and minds poiſoned with ſuperſtition: their heads were filled with notions of magic and ſorcery, the conſequence of which was revelling and lewdneſs. They perſuaded the emperor, that he ſhould be overwhelmed with happineſs, if he would but practiſe their abominable art, which is called by them *Yenſher* and *Pimi* (Z). Ama *made miniſter*; A. D. 1353. *debauches the court*;

(Y) A ſort of wild and independent people, mentioned before, who poſſeſs the mountainous parts of ſeveral provinces of *China* to the ſouth-weſt.

(Z) The ſignification of theſe two words was not known to our author *Gaubil*.

This

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

This unfortunate prince, inſenſible to the evils of the ſtate, and ruin of his dynaſty, thought of nothing but to perfect himſelf in the art which the lamas taught him. It grieved all the *Tatars* and *Chineſes*, who had any zeal for the empire, to ſee that all ſorts of debaucheries were by him committed in the palace, in company with *Ama*, and his brother *Swe-ſwe*, *Tolo-temûr*, his brother-in law, and ſeveral other lords, beſides the lamas. *Ayyewſhilitata*, ſon of the emperor, and empreſs *Ki*, never would give into the debauches of his father, and did all in his power to drive the lamas from the court; but his attempts were fruitleſs. The hiſtory obſerves, on this occaſion, that, had the bones of *Ama* been cut in a thouſand pieces, he would not have been ſufficiently puniſhed, as having been the firſt cauſe of all the evil.

Supplants Toto,

FOR ſome time the pirates had taken every thing which came by ſea; ſo that *Ta-tû* ſuffered much. To remedy this, *Toto* ſent for a great number of huſbandmen from the ſouth, on whom he beſtowed utenſils, cattle, and a good deal of money. His view was, to have corn ſown in the environs of the capital, and thence be ſupplied with proviſions, which before came by ſea; but this expedient did not anſwer the purpoſe. And now things fell into greater confuſion than ever. That miniſter quarrelled with *Ama*; and this latter, to be revenged, ſupplanted him.

A. D. 1354. *who is baniſhed.*

IN *December* 1354, *Ama* impeached *Toto* of having carried on the war very ill, and converted the revenues of the empire to his own uſe. His brother *Yeſyen-temûr* was at the ſame time accuſed of being a debauchee. At this juncture *Ama* was abſolute maſter of the emperor's will; ſo that, to deſtroy a man, it was ſufficient to accuſe him, without proving the charge. They began by depriving *Toto* of his titles; after which, he and his brother were removed at a diſtance from court.

The emperor's effeminacy.

MEAN while the emperor thought of nothing but entertainments, parties of pleaſure, and new ways of gratifying his paſſions. Sixteen young girls, called the ſixteen celeſtial ſpirits, were appointed for the dance; other perſons were continually employed in prayers and ſacrifices to *Fo*; others to diſcover what was to come, by ſorcery; others to ſing, and play on muſic: theſe were all the affairs of importance which *Towhan-temûr* troubled his head about. This prince cauſed a bark to be made 120 feet long, and twenty broad. It was rowed by twenty-four men magnificently dreſſed, and deſigned either for carrying his majeſty along a great lake, from the palace of the north to that of the ſouth; or elſe for going a pleaſuring with him on the ſame lake; and, while it paſſed along, one beheld a dragon, whoſe eyes, head, and claws, were

in

in motion. In the palace was a large prefs, on which was a niche called that of *the three fages*. In the middle of the prefs was the repreſentation of a girl holding a needle, to ſhew the hours of the day and night, according to the *Chineſe* diviſion of time. When the needle was at the hour, water iſſued out. On each ſide was the figure of an angel: one holding a bell, the other a copper baſon. When the time of night came, thoſe two ſpirits beat the *Chineſe* watches, conformable to the hour marked by the needle; and, at the ſame time, ſeveral ſtatues, repreſenting lions and eagles, were in motion on the ſides. To the eaſt and weſt of the prefs was ſeen a repreſentation of the courſe of the ſun and moon thro' the zodiac. Before the figure repreſenting the twelve ſigns ſtood ſix antient immortals; who, at noon and midnight, marching two and two, paſſed a bridge called *the holy bridge*, and, entering afterwards the niche of the three ſages, returned to their firſt poſt. They highly extolled the contrivance, as well of the bark, as the other machines, the like of which they had never ſeen before; and the emperor himſelf paſſed for the inventor of them [1].

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti. *Piece of clock-work.*

AT the beginning of the year 1355, a body of rebels, from *Ho-nan*, croſſed the *Whang-ho*; and, in *February*, *Lyew-fû-tong* caufed *Han-lin-eul*, ſon of the rebel *Han-ſhan-tong*, to be proclaimed emperor. This new uſurper named miniſters and generals: he gave to his dynaſty the title of *Song*, and fixed his court at *Po-chew*, a city in *Ho-nan*. The hiſtory has marked the years which this power continued.

Han-lin-eul *proclaimed.* A. D. 1355.

TOTO, upon his diſgrace, was firſt appointed one of the mandarins of *Whay-ngan Fû* in *Kyang-nan*, and afterwards of *Etſina* (A). But, this being repreſented as too ſlight a puniſhment for his faults, his goods were confiſcated, and he was baniſhed to *Yun-nan*. *Ama*, not content with this, counterfeited an order from the emperor, for killing him as ſoon as he arrived in that province. This order was ſent to an officer of the army, who had his family with him; and, inſtead of killing the baniſhed miniſter, treated him with honour and diſtinction. But this benevolence did not continue long: for the officer, having propoſed one of his daughters in marriage, on *Toto*'s refuſing the offer, thought it done in contempt; and cauſed him to be ſlain, in the forty-ſecond year of his age. This unhappy great man was a *Merkit* by nation, and very knowing in the *Chineſe* literature, as well as affairs of govern-

Toto *ſlain.*

[1] GAUBIL. ubi ſup. p. 293, & ſeq.

(A) A city of *Tartary*, now in ruins, to the north of *Kan-chew*, in *Shen-ſi*.

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shen-ſi.

ment: but the love of glory, and his brother *Yeſyen-temûr*, made him commit many faults. His conduct, particularly with regard to *Tor-chipan*, had rendered him odious to the *Mungl* princes and grandees.

To return to the civil wars. The general *Taſhepa-tû*, arriving, in *October*, at *Huy-chew* in *Ho-nan*, obtained a great victory over *Lyew-fû-tong*. But altho' this rebel was defeated a ſecond time by another *Tatar*, yet he always retrieved his loſſes; and, after being beaten, ſtill found himſelf in a condition to undertake new deſigns. The emperor, having ordered a great council of war to be held in *July*, to conſider of means for ſecurity of the provinces attacked by the rebels; a great mandarin laid hold of the occaſion to admoniſh him of his faults: he ſaid, "that thoſe meaſures were unavailing, "while his majeſty continued to live in diſorder, and without "minding the affairs of government; adding, that he ought "to begin by looking into the ſtate of the court, and of the "empire, with his own eyes In the provinces, ſaid he, the "officers and mandarins think of nothing but pleaſure, money, and good cheer; and, after the example of the prince, "appear inſenſible at the loſs of cities and provinces." The diſcourſe of the mandarin was commended: but *Towhan-temûr* never thought of mending his conduct; and left to others the care of reforming the mandarins.

The emperor admoniſhed;

but in vain.

SECT. II.

The Riſe of Chû, *or* Hong-vû, *and Ruin of the* Ywen *Dynaſty.*

Riſe of Chû.

IT was in *June* this year that the head of a party named *Chû* (A), ſetting out from *Ho-chew* (B), paſſed the *Kyang*, and took *Tay-ping*; let us hear what the hiſtory ſays on this occaſion. The *Ywen*, coming from the north of *Sha-mo* (C), made themſelves maſters of *China*: the love of pleaſure cauſed them to degenerate; and on all ſides they ſaw revolts. Among the troops, there was no ſubordination: the years were bad, and the people could not live It was in the year of the *Black Dragon* (D) that *Tay-tſu'* raiſed troops in the city of

(A) This is the famous *Chineſe* who afterwards aſſumed the name of *Hong-vû*, and founded the dynaſty of the *Ming*, or *Tay-ming*; to whom the *Chineſes* give the title of *Tay-tſû*.

(B) A city of *Kyang-nan*.

(C) The great *Sandy Deſart* called *Sha-mo*, or *Sha-mû*, by the *Chineſes*; and, by the *Mungls*, *Kobi*, or *Gobi*, which ſignifies a deſart.

(D) Which is the twenty-ninth of the *Chineſe* ſexagenary cycle, and fifth of the *Mogul* cycle of twelve years, anſwering exactly to that of Chriſt 1352. *Gaubil.*

Hau.

Hau (E): his intention was, to give peace to the world, and relief to the people. With this view, he associated to himself men of virtue and courage: at the head of whom he reduced *Tû-chew*, a city of *Kyang-na*; and, the next year, took *Ho-chew*, where he gave evident marks of his love for the people, his greatness of soul, and his knowlege in the art of government. He was quite at a loss how to pass the *Great Kyang*, for want of barks, when an unexpected succour of 10,000 men, and 1000 vessels, came to his assistance. On board of these *Chû* embarked, with his best officers (F); and, passing eastward, they reduced *Nyew-chû-ki* and *Tay-ping* (as before-mentioned). *Thirteenth.* Towhan-temûr, *or* Shen-si. Tû-chew.

AMA, who, since the banishment of *Toto*, was prime minister, in 1356 became struck with the melancholy state to which the empire was reduced; and ashamed to see that he himself had been the principal cause of it, by what he had done to debauch the emperor's mind, and divert him from affairs of government. He was informed of the severe reflections which were made, in all places, on his conduct; and saw that he was abhorred by all the honest men in the empire. Night and day these thoughts troubled his mind; and he thought seriously how to remove the evils which he had brought in. He judged that the best way would be, to oblige *Towhan-temûr* to resign the throne to the prince appointed heir; by whom, and the empress *Ki* his mother, he was sure to be supported in his design. But, as he stood in need of other helps, he opened his mind to his father; and, after praising the talents of the prince, assured him, that the emperor was become stupid, and incapable of governing [a]. *Ama's plot discovered.* A. D. 1356.

THIS discourse happened to be overheard by *Ama*'s sister, who was married to *Tolo Temûr*, a companion of the emperor in his debauches; and she told her husband of it. This lord was sensible that he was hated by the prince, who did not love debauchery; and, judging that he had reason to fear his displeasure, in case he should become emperor, discovered to *Towhan-temûr* the design of his minister. The emperor, who was more than any thing piqued with what *Ama* had said of his stupidity, was for putting both him and his brother *Swe-* *Banished, and slain.*

[a] GAUBIL, ubi supra, p. 293, & seqq.

(E) Now *Fong-yong-fû* in *Kyang-nan*; of whose district was *Chû*, or *Hong-wû*, and most of the generals who at first associated with him. *Gaubil.*

(F) The names of them, as mentioned in the text, are, *Su-ta*, *Fong-que-yong*, *Shau-jong*, *Tong-ho*, *Li-shan-chang*, *Chang-yu-chan*, *Teng-you*, *Keng-kun-yong*, *Mau-quang*, and *Lyau-yo-g-gan*.

swe

Thirteenth-ſwe to death that inſtant: but, as both had been companions in his debauches, and their mother had nurſed the emperor Towhan-temûr, *or Ilinchipan*, he changed his reſolution; and was content to forbid them the palace, and have them watched. After this, *Shon-ti.* *Sho-ſe-kyon*, one of the miniſters, was ordered to proſecute them; and, on the repeated accuſations of the great men, they were ſentenced to be baniſhed. They ſet out accordingly, but were killed on the road. Every body believed that *Ama* had been deſtroyed for putting *Toto* to death; and few people knew the real cauſe of his misfortune.

Chû *takes* Nan-king. In *March Chû* defeated the *Mungls* near *Nan-king*, capital of *Kyang-nan*, and took that city, into which he made his entry. Being thus become poſſeſſed of it, he did no hurt to any perſon: he continued the mandarins in their employments, and did good to all the poor. From this time it was eaſy to foreſee, that, in a little while, he would be maſter of the greater part of *China*. With regard to the other chiefs who were in arms, the rebels had been now five years beſieging the city of *Whay-gan-fû* in *Kyang-nan*, defended by *Chû-puwha* the governor, aſſiſted by *Lyew-kya*, an officer of merit, with a courage and conſtancy almoſt without example. But *Chû-puwha* having accuſed to the emperor a general, in the neighbourhood, of neglect of ſervice; this latter, to be revenged, reſolved to ſacrifice the good of the ſtate, by giving him no aſſiſtance. For A. D. 1356. this purpoſe, at the beginning of the year 1356, he ordered *Lyew-kya* to decamp from before *Whay-gan-fû*, under pretence of ſending him to attack a detachment of the rebels; who thereupon inveſted the city on all ſides, dug trenches, and laid the environs under water.

Whay-gan *yields.* Mean time the treacherous general remained quiet, without ſending the leaſt ſuccours to the place, which he might eaſily have done. *Chû-puwha*, upon this, applied to the neighbouring governors of cities for aid, no fewer than nineteen times, yet received no anſwer. The inhabitants and ſoldiers, finding themſelves thus abandoned, reſolved to die with their commander, whom they loved as their father. After they had eaten all the animals, vermin, and leather, to be found in the city, they were reduced to kill thoſe who fell down through weakneſs, in the ſtreets, and feed on their fleſh. At length *Whay-gan-fû*, which, before the ſiege, was very populous, ſurrendered, for want of inhabitants to defend it. *Chû-puwha* was taken, with his ſon *Pan-ko*, fighting to ſecure the weſtern gate, and both were cut to pieces. The elogiac hiſtory of his life ſays, that, during the ſiege, he ſuſtained more than one hundred engagements with much valour. Altho' a foreigner, yet the

the *Chineſe* ſtill boaſt of the courage and fidelity of *Chû-puwha*, *Thirteenth.* and compare him to the celebrated *Chang-tſun* (G). Towhan-

In *February* the *Song* rebels having ravaged the diſtrict of temûr, *or* *Si-gan-fû* in *Shen-ſi*; the general, and prince *Alatenaſheli*, de- Shun-ti. ſcended from *Jagatay*, ſecond ſon of *Jenghîz Khân*, had thoughts of leaving the city, when a mandarin propoſed ſending for *Chohantemûr*, governor of *Ho-nan*. This general came with 5000 cuiraſſiers, and cut in pieces the body of rebels: but he was ſurpriſed to hear that *Kay-fong-fû*, capital of that province, had been taken in *Auguſt* by *Lyew-fû-tong*: and, for all the loſs which the *Song* received near *Si-gan-fû*; other rebels of the ſame party appeared near *Fong-tſyang-fû*; but *Chohantemûr*, marching twenty leagues in one day and night, fell upon and defeated them, when they leaſt expected an attack. Mean time *Chû* made great advances in *Kyang-nan*, and, among other cities, took *Chang-chew-fû* and *Yang-chew-fû*. While the rebels of *Tſu-chew-whey*'s party ſeized, this year, the capital of *Se-chwen*, and became very powerful in that province.

The general *Yû-que* was exceeding ſtrongly fortified in *Gan-* Gan-king *king*; and had placed good troops in the poſts which are on *taken* the two banks of the *Great Kyang*, in the part where that river paſſes between the mountains *Sya-kû*, in the diſtrict of *Syew-fong-hyen* in *Kyang-nan*. However, *Chen-yew-lyang*, the general of *Tſu-chew-whey*, attacked theſe important poſts; and, fighting for four days continually both by land and water, made himſelf maſter of them, in ſpite of the ſtout reſiſtance of the commander. The paſſage of the *Kyang* being thus laid open, the rebel general went and laid ſiege to *Gan-king*. *Yû-que* drove him off at firſt: but the rebels, who were encamped at *Jau-chew-fû* in *Kyang-ſi*, came and attacked the weſt gate, while *Yew-lyang* aſſaulted that of the eaſt; and both parties had actually ſcaled the walls, when *Yû-que*, at the head of the townſmen, who were willing to hazard their lives, falling boldly on, ſlew a great number of them, and made the reſt give way. For all this, the rebels returned to the charge with more fury than before; ſo that there was a great ſlaughter on both ſides.

In *January* 1358 the body of rebels which was at *Chi-chew-by* Yew- *fû* in *Kyang-nan* came and attacked the eaſt gate; that of the lyang.

(G) He was of *Nan-yang-fû* in *Ho-nan*, and one of the beſt officers of the *Tang* dynaſty. The ſiege of *Quey-te-fû*, in the ſame province, which he ſuſtained at ſeveral times in the year 757, is one of the fineſt actions to be met with in the *Chineſe* hiſtory. *Gaubil.*

ſouth

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

ſouth was undertaken by the troops come from *Jau-chew-fû*; and *Yew-lyang* aſſaulted that of the weſt; while the enemies fleet covered the *Great Kyang*. *Yû-que*, inveſted thus on all ſides, after placing the officers in their reſpective poſts; at the head of his braveſt ſoldiers, fell on the enemy, of whom he made a great ſlaughter: but, while he fought with greateſt ardour, the rebels forced the three gates, and took the city. *Yû-que*, perceiving this misfortune by the fires which were lighted on the occaſion, and having already received ten wounds from the multitude of enemies who beſet him, ran himſelf through with his own ſword. His wife, ſons, and daughters, threw themſelves headlong into a well: the officers of the garriſon likewiſe ſlew themſelves, rather than ſurrender; and a conſiderable part of the inhabitants choſe rather to caſt themſelves into the fire, than be ſubject to the rebels. *Yû-que* was eſteemed and beloved by every-body: his tomb is ſtill to be ſeen at *Gan-king*. He was born at *Lu-chew* in *Kyang-nan*; but was originally of the country of *Tan-gû* [b].

Rebels plunder Shan-tong.

In *March* one of the generals of the *Song* rebels ſpread an alarm far and near, by the reduction of *Tſi-nan-fû*, capital of *Shan-tong*. The *Tatar* commander of *Tong-chang-fû* (in the ſame province) abandoned both the city and country. About the ſame time *Mau-quey*, one of the beſt *Song* officers, came from *Ho-kyen-fû* (H); and, joining with him who had taken *Tſi-nin-chew* and *Tſi-nan-fû* (I), the rebels plundered *Shan-tong*, and the country about *Ta-tû*. The firſt detachment of the *Song* attacked an important poſt near that imperial city, whoſe commander was ſlain; and, the reſt of the *Song* troops arriving, the court was in great apprehenſions. Several of the grandees counſelled the emperor to retire, and remove his reſidence elſewhere. The miniſter *Tay-ping* oppoſed that advice, and called in troops on all ſides. *Lyew Kara-puwha* attacked the enemy ſome few leagues from the city; and, defeating them, conſtrained *Mau-quey*, who commanded them, to retire back to *Tſi-nan-fû*. *Tay-puwha*, a *Tatar* general in *Pe-che-li*, of

Take the capital.

[b] Gaubil. Hiſt. Gentel. p. 296, & ſeqq.

(H) A city in the province of *Pe che-li*.

(I) In the *French* it is only *Tſi-nin* and *Tſi-nan*. The author frequently leaving out the laſt ſyllable, which diſtinguiſhes the rank of the city, the reader is not only deprived of that uſeful information, but may be often led into a miſtake. For inſtance, meeting with *Tſin-chew*, he would be apt to take it for a city of the ſecond rank; whereas it is a city of the firſt rank in *Shan-tong*, only the final *Fû* is omitted: but this defect we have generally ſupplied.

the

the illuſtrious family of *Hong-kila*, being an enemy to *Tay-ping*, would not obey his orders; hereupon that miniſter accuſed him of neglecting the ſervice, for which he was condemned to die. *Thirteenth.* Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

MEAN time *Chû* became admired in the ſouthern provinces. In *December*, at the head of 100,000 men, he took *U-chew* (K); and, aſſembling his generals, it was determined neither to commit ſlaughters, nor plunder. While this head of a party (L) took good meaſures to maintain his footing in the ſouth, *Quan-ſyen-ſeng*, one of the *Song* generals, penetrated into *Lyau-tong*, plundered *Lyau-yang*, and then marched into *Korea*. On his return from that country, he attacked *Shang-tû*, which he took, and burnt that beautiful city, with the magnificent palace which the emperor *Hû-pi-lay* had built there. On this occaſion a mandarin preſented a memorial to the emperor, wherein he exhorted his majeſty *to reform his manners, and follow the law of heaven* (M). The mandarin was praiſed for his zeal, but that was all the effect of his harangue. The love of pleaſure had rendered *Towhan-temûr* quite inſenſible of the evils which afflicted the empire; and there are but few inſtances to be met with, of a prince, ſo powerful as he, who ſaw his dominions loſt with ſo little concern. Chû's *ſucceſſes.* Shang-tû *burnt.*

MAU-QUEY, one of the principal *Song* generals, was killed, at the beginning of the year 1359, by a *Chineſe* in *Shan-tong*. Hereupon ſeveral officers, who had ſerved under him, came on purpoſe from *Lyau-tong* to revenge his death, and ſlay the murderer. Theſe aſſaſſinations begat diviſions in the *Song* party, which from that time dwindled every day. *The* Song *dwindle.* A. D. 1359.

PEYEN-PUWHA Tekîn, an *Igûr* prince, deſcended from *Itûgû* (or *Idikût*) ſpoken of in the reign of *Jenghîz Khân*,

(K) This, we preſume, is *U-chew-fû*, in the eaſt borders of *Quang-ſi*; but are leſs ſure, as our author is not punctual in adding the final ſyllable which diſtinguiſhes the rank of cities, as we have juſt now obſerved in the preceding note.

(L) It is obſervable, that *Chû* is no-where called a rebel, as the other heads of parties are, nor his followers rebels, becauſe he proved ſucceſsful; and the *Chineſes* looked on him as their deliverer from the *Mungl* yoke.

(M) By the law of heaven is not to be underſtood the ſacred books of *Fo*, or any other revelation: for the *Chineſe* literati, who follow the doctrine of *Konfuſius*, their chief philoſopher, pretend to none: but by thoſe words is meant the law of nature, or reaſon, which is, or may properly be called, the eſtabliſhed religion of *China*; and of which the emperor, as well as all the officers both civil and military in the government, muſt be, by the conſtitution of that great and happy monarchy.

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

in the year 1358 commanded at *Ku-chew-fû* (N), a conſidera-ble city of *Che-kyang*. When this prince, who was brave and experienced, knew that *Sin-chew* (now *Quang-ſin-fû*) in *Kyang-ſi*, was beſieged, he ſet forward to ſuccour that place. At his approach, *Ta-ſhing-nû*, a prince of the blood, and general *Hay-lû-ting*, a foreigner from the weſt, came to meet, and gave up to him the command. After this he entered the city with his troops, in ſpite of *Chen-yew-lyang*, who lay before it; and, having viſited all the poſts, took an oath to defend it to the laſt extremity. *Ta-ſhing-nû*, *Hay-lû-ting*, and the other officers, did the ſame: ſuch an impreſſion had the gallant defence of *Gan-king* and *Whay-gan-fû* made on the mind of many commanders. It is needleſs to relate here in detail the aſſaults that were ſuſtained, and the ſallies which were made: the adverſe parties were continually fighting; and *Pûwha Tekîn*, with the other officers, ſhewed their valour in its full luſtre. At length, proviſions failing, the inhabitants fed on human fleſh: at the ſame time one of the rebels got into the city by a ſubterranean paſſage. Ten days together both parties fought with great obſtinacy; after which, for want of ſoldiers and proviſions, the place was taken in *June* 1359; when the three commanders before-mentioned, and other officers, choſe rather to die than ſurrender.

Sin-chew *taken* A. D. 1359.

by Yew-lyang.

Kay-fong-fû *retaken.*

WHILE theſe things were doing in *Kyang-ſi*, the general *Chahan-temûr*, who had rendered himſelf illuſtrious in 1358, by ſeveral victories gained over the rebel *Song* in *Shen-ſi*, aſſembled troops from ſeveral places; and in 1359, at a time when leaſt expected, went and beſieged *Kay-fong-fû*, capital of *Ho-nan*. This great city was then quite unprovided of every thing; and *Chahan* [c], after the example of *Su-pe-tay* [d], cauſed it to be incloſed with a ſtrong paliſade. One day he gave a general aſſault at all the gates, and took the places: but *Tſu-chew-whey*, with his maſter *Han-lin-eul*, made their eſcape.

MEAN time *Peyen-Temûr*, preſident of the tribunal of war, and *Taſhe Temûr*, general in *Che-kyang*, arrived at *Hang-chew-fû*, capital of that province; and, having gotten together great quantities of rice, ſent it up the *Whang-ho* into *Ho-nan*, where it was conveyed by land to the river *Wey*: by which it arrived ſafely at *Tong-chew*, and from thence at *Ta-tû*. A conſiderable number of troops were employed to convoy this pro-

[c] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p. 299, & ſeqq.

[d] See before, Vol. IV. l. i. c. 1, & 6.

(N) Or *Kyu-chew-fû*, written only *Ku-chew* in the *French*.

proviſion; ſo that the rebels never dared to attack them. As the ſcarcity of victuals had, for ſeveral years before, occaſioned great famines in the imperial city, this relief came very opportunely. *Thirteenth.* Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

HOWEVER, the joy which this ſupply gave the court was damped by the loſs of *Nan-chang-fû*, capital of *Kyang-ſi*, taken by *Chen-yew-lyang*. As ſoon as the news reached *Tſû-chew-whey*, the rebel emperor of the *Song*, he embarked on the *Great Kyang* for that city, reſolving to keep his court there. But his general, who had other deſigns in view, being determined to prevent him, haſted to *Kyew-kyang-fû* (in the ſame province); and, having ordered the gates to be ſhut, ſlew thoſe who were about *Tſû-chew-whey*, whom he afterwards kept as a priſoner, leaving him nothing but the title of emperor. Yew-lyang's *ſucceſs.*

THE ambition of *Ayyewſhilitata*, the prince appointed heir, cauſed no leſs troubles this year at the court of the emperor *Towhan-temûr*, which, beſides, was full of intrigues. The prince took a great deal of pains to get his father to renounce the empire; and this was the view alſo of his mother the empreſs *Ki*, who left no ſtone unturned to gain the miniſter *Tay-ping*, without whoſe concurrence nothing that way could be done. But all her efforts were ineffectual. The miniſter anſwered neither one way nor the other. The prince, upon this, thought to get *Tay-ping*, and other lords, accuſed: but the great men made the emperor ſuch pompous elogies of this miniſter, that the prince found he only loſt time in attempting to remove him. However, to be revenged of thoſe grandees, he cauſed ſeveral of them to be accuſed; and had his ends ſo far, that ſome of them were impriſoned, and ſentenced to die: among them were men of wiſdom and authority. This unjuſt proceeding gained the prince powerful enemies, and ſowed diviſion among the great men, and generals of the army. *Diſtractions at court.* *cauſed by the prince.*

ONE of the principal miniſters was *Nyew-ti-hay*, who deſcended from *Porchû*, and had governed both the eaſtern and weſtern *Tartary*. His air, his prudence, and experience, joined to his high birth, and poſt of miniſter, made him appear to great advantage. He was *Tay-ping*'s intimate friend; and it was he who ſupported that miniſter againſt the attacks of the prince, and the empreſs *Ki*. *Niew-ti-hay* fell ſick; and, finding himſelf near his end, at the beginning of the year 1360, ſpoke in praiſe of *Tay-ping*; and told his friends, that miniſter could not continue long at court. He died much regretted by the emperor, and the grandees who had at heart the honour of their ſovereign. *Tay-ping*, ſeeing himſelf now without a prop, and every day expoſed to the intrigues of his enemies, *The miniſter retires.* A. D. 1360.

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

retired to his own houſe. Thus *Towhan-temûr* loſt his beſt ſervants; and all the authority fell into the hands of two miſcreants: one an eunuch named *Pû-pûwha*; the other a great lord of *Quc-lyc*, called *Sho-ſe-kyen*. Theſe execrable men let all be loſt, never acquainting the emperor with any thing, nor minding any thing but to inrich themſelves.

Two miſcants ſucceed.

CHEN-YEW-LYANG, general of the rebel emperor *Tſû-chew-whey*, having taken from his maſter all his authority, as before has been mentioned, in *May* this year cauſed him to be killed, and aſſumed himſelf the title of emperor; giving the name of *Han* to his new dynaſty. Mean time new feuds daily aroſe among the *Mungls*. *Chahan-temûr*, governor of *Honan*, having recovered from the rebels a conſiderable part of *Shen-ſi*, pretended that thoſe conqueſts ought to make a part of his government: on the other hand, *Polo-temûr*, general of the troops at *Tay-tong-fû* in *Shan-ſi*, alledged that *Shen-ſi* was in his department. Theſe two generals were alone able to have re-eſtabliſhed the affairs of the empire; but their diſputes made a noiſe, and cauſed an irreconcileable hatred between their families. The emperor undertook to ſettle the limits of their juriſdictions: but *Polotemûr* thought himſelf injured, and took up arms againſt *Chahan*: his majeſty afterwards gave *Polo* content, and diſcontented *Chahan*, who, in his turn, made war upon *Polo*: ſo that both parties had armies in the field to oppoſe each other. The prince inheritor at length brought about an agreement between them; but it was only a counterfeit one, as will appear by the ſequel.

Han *dynaſty.*

New diſtractions.

IN *Auguſt* 1361 *Chahan-temûr* retook *Tſi-nan-fû*, capital of *Shan-tong*, with the greater part of that country. At the ſame time *Chû* wreſted *Kyew-kyang-fû*, and *Nan-chang-fû*, in *Kyang-ſi*, out of the hands of *Chen-yew-lyang*.

A Mungl *rebel*

THE emperor *Towhan-temûr* having often ſent officers into *Tartary*, to deſire the princes of his family to ſend their troops to his aſſiſtance; *Alûwen-temûr*, eighth grandſon of *Ogotay*, by *Myeli*, came at length with a formidable army. When this prince was ſome days march from the great wall, he ſent to let *Towhan-temûr* know, that he came to recover the empire, which he (the emperor) held in wrong to him; and required that he would ſurrender to him all his right and title. Hereupon *Towhan-temûr*, inſtead of receiving aid againſt his old enemies, found himſelf obliged to ſend an army againſt this new one: but his forces were beaten, and forced to retire to *Shang-tû*. *Alûwen-temûr*, encouraged by this ſucceſs, propoſed to enter *Pe-che-li*; and was already in the neighbourhood of *Shang-tû*, when the prince inheritor marched to meet him. The officers of *Alûwen-temûr*, who certainly imagined they came

delivered up.

came to ſuccour the emperor, delivered their general to the prince, by whoſe order he was ſlain in *September* [c]. *Thirteenth.* Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

MING-YU-CHEN, general of *Tſû-chew-whey*, who had ſubdued the province of *Yun-nan*, being informed that *Chen-yew-lyang* was proclaimed emperor, was reſolved alſo to be independent; and, proceeding to make conqueſts on his own account, took ſeveral places in *Se-chwen*, and the weſtern parts of *Shen-ſi*. *New rebel emperor.*

IN *June*, while *Chahan-temur* was beſieging *I-tû* in *Shan-tong*, *Tyen-fong* propoſed to viſit the quarters of the imperial camp. *Chahan* followed his advice; but, when he was entered into the traitor's tent, an officer ran him through with his ſword. *Koko-temûr*, his nephew, but ſon by adoption, having ſucceeded him in his titles and dignities, ſwore to revenge his father's death. By a paſſage which he cauſed to be made under-ground, he entered *I-tû*; then ſeizing the principal rebels, particularly *Tyen-fong*, and him who had murdered his father, he ſacrificed them to his manes. The emperor, by the death of that illuſtrious general, ſuffered a very great loſs, for he was the beſt officer in the whole empire. Chahan-temûr *ſlain.*

IT has been obſerved before, that the empreſs *Ki*, mother of the prince inheritor, was a *Korean*, and had a great aſcendant over the mind of *Towhan-temûr*. The relations of *Ki*, proud to ſee in their family a lady of ſo much dignity and authority, aſſaſſinated *Peyen-temûr* king of *Korea*. The emperor degraded *Peyen-temûr*, named another king, and declared a lord of *Ki*'s family prince inheritor of that monarchy. But the *Koreans* ordered *Towhan-temûr* to be told, that they could neither ſuffer theſe new impoſitions, nor the memory of the old king to be defamed. The empreſs *Ki* cauſed their memorial to be rejected; and a general to march into *Korea*, with forces, to execute the emperor's orders. The general, being arrived with 10,000 *Mungls* near the river *Ya-lû*, within the borders of that country, was ſurrounded by an army of *Koreans*, who cut them all to pieces; excepting ſeventeen horſe, who ran full-ſpeed to carry home the news of this misfortune. *Affairs of* Korea.

IN *January* 1363 *Ming-yu-chen* took the name of emperor at *Ching-tû-fû*, capital of *Se-chwen*, and gave his dynaſty the title of *Hya*. Mean time *Lyew-fû-tong*, who had made ſo great a noiſe, and was the ſoul of the *Song*, was killed in *Kyang-nan*. The rebels, who followed this party, again plundered *Shang-tû*; that is, what little the flames had left of it. What was ſtill worſe, the animoſities between *Koko-temûr* and *Polo-temûr* every day increaſed, each party raiſed troops to oppoſe *The* Hya *dynaſty.*

[c] GAUBIL. ubi ſup. p. 301, & ſeqq.

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

the other; and theſe domeſtic quarrels did more hurt to *Towhan-temûr* than the revolt of the *Chineſes*.

Yew-lyang

THE moſt formidable enemy *Chû* had to deal with in the ſouth was *Chen-yew-lyang*, ſtyled emperor of the *Han*: who, being ſenſibly grieved for the loſs of *Nan-chang-fû* in *Kyang-ſi*, exhauſted his coffers to raiſe new forces, and equip a fleet, with a reſolution to beſiege that city; which was furniſhed with a good garriſon, commanded by *Chû-ven-cheng*, one of the beſt generals belonging to *Chû*. He cauſed bucklers to be made for defence of his ſoldiers againſt arrows and ſtones: after this, he undertook the ſiege, which he commanded in perſon; and, having given ſeveral aſſaults, at length mounted the walls, from whence he ſhouted for joy, concluding that he was already maſter of the city: but he was much ſurpriſed to ſee new retrenchments within, very ſtrongly fortified, and conſequently that he had new fatigues to undergo.

defeated by Chû;

MEAN time *Chau-te-ſheng*, one of *Chû-ven-cheng*'s lieutenants, found a conveniency of ſending expreſſes to inform *Chû* of the danger they were in. On this notice, *Chû*, without delay, cauſed a fleet to be fitted out at *Nan-king*; on which he embarked 200,000 ſoldiers, commanded by his beſt officers, and put himſelf at their head. Then ſetting ſail, ſoon arrived with his forces at *Hû-kew* (O). As ſoon as *Chen-yew-lyang* was informed of his enemy's approach, he raiſed the ſiege of *Nan-chang-fû*, which for eighty-five days he had cloſely beleaguered; and gave orders to go and attack *Chû*, whoſe armament he met in the lake *Po-yang*, near the mountain *Kan-lan* (P), on the fourteenth of *September* (Q). *Chû*, having divided his naval force into twelve ſquadrons, *Su-ta*, *Chang-yu-chun*, and other of his commanders, attacked and routed the firſt troops of *Chen-yew-lyang*; who began to fear the conſequences of this firſt defeat. Next day all the ſquadrons united, in order to come to a general battle. During the fight, *Chû* took advantage of a high north-eaſt wind, and burnt one hundred of the enemy's ſhips; in which ſeveral of *Yew-lyang*'s brothers periſhed.

routed and ſlain.

ON the ſeventeenth (R), *Yew-lyang* attacked *Chû* with freſh fury: but, after the fight had continued from ſeven in the

(O) *Hû-kew*, ſignifies *the mouth of the lake*; for here one enters from the *Great Kyang* in the *Po-yang Hû*, or lake of *Po-yang*. It is a town of *Kyang-ſi*, twelve or thirteen leagues to the eaſt of *Kyew-kyang-fû*. *Gaubil.*

(P) In the lake, five or ſix leagues ſouth-weſt, or S. S. W. of *Jau-chew-fû*. *Gaubil.*

(Q) Called the day *U-tſe* of the ſeventh month. *Gaubil.*

(R) The day called *Sin-mau*. *Gaubil.*

morning

morning to eleven o'clock (S), he was defeated; and his loſs was ſo great, that his inſupportable pride was confounded at the ſight of his army. One of his generals attempted to ſeize the poſt of the mountain *Hyay* (T); but *Chû* ordered him to be incloſed, ſo that he could not retire. The ſame night his fleet caſt anchor at *Tſo-li*, and continued three days facing that of *Yew-lyang*; who, on the eighteenth of *October* (U), reſolving to break thro' his enemies at any riſque, made an attempt: but *Chû* prevented his deſign, and attacked him on all ſides from five to ſeven in the evening (X). The battle was fought with equal obſtinacy on both ſides: at length, *Yew-lyang* having been killed with an arrow, his fleet diſperſed. The ſon, whom he had appointed his heir, was taken priſoner; and his generals, with their troops, their horſes, and barks, ſurrendered to the victor. However, *Chang-ting-pyen*, one of his generals, eſcaped by night, in a ſmall bark, with the corpſe of *Yew-lyang*, and one of his ſons, named *Chen-li*. This famous victory did great honour to *Chû*; who not only gained a rich booty, but became conſiderably more powerful by the acceſſion of ſo many forces.

Thirteenth. Howhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti.

YEW-LYANG was one of the greateſt captains of his time; and forty-four years old when he died: but his death was of ſmall advantage to the *Mungls*, whoſe affairs grew daily worſe. A *Chineſe* grandee, abuſing the weakneſs of their power in the ſouth, ſet up for himſelf in *Sû-chew-fû*, a great and rich city of *Kyang-nan*; refuſing to let the imperial commiſſioners have the proviſions which they wanted to ſend from thence to the court. On the other hand, *Polo-temûr*, notwithſtanding the emperor's commands, entered with his troops into the diſtrict of *Koko-temûr*: but his army was routed, and two of his beſt generals taken priſoners. Mean time the prince inheritor, who could never forgive *Tay-ping* for having diſſuaded his father from reſigning the empire, ſet on *Sho-ſe-kyen* to accuſe him. That miniſter, who was void of honour, undertook the iniquitous taſk in *November*, and *Tay-ping* was baniſhed into *Tibet*: but the prince procured him to be ſlain on the road [f].

New troubles ariſe.

[f] GAUBIL. ubi ſup. p. 304, & ſeqq.

(S) From the hour of the *Dragon*, which takes up from ſeven to nine; to the hour of the *Horſe*, which includes from eleven to one o'clock. *Gaubil.*

(T) In the lake, a league and half S. S. W. of *Hû-kew*. *Gaubil.*

(U) The day *Gan-ſu* of the eighth month. *Gaubil.*

(X) From the hour of the *Dragon* to that of the *Hen*. *Gaub.*

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti. Two eunuchs and *Sho-ſe-kyen*, who were at this time abſolute maſters of the will both of the emperor and prince *Ayewſhilitata*, got a mandarin, celebrated for his probity, to be turned out of place. *Chen-tſû-jin*, a cenſor of the empire, preſented no fewer than three petitions to *Towhan-temûr*, exhorting him to put from court the two eunuchs and *Sho-ſe-kyen*; to alter his conduct, and open at length his eyes to the evils which he had brought on the empire by his irregularities: in ſhort, he told him the ruin both of the empire, and his family, would quickly arrive, unleſs he followed the rules of virtue. *Tſû-jin* was ſeconded by other mandarins: but all their repreſentations were ill received; and *Chen-tſû-jin*, in particular, was baniſhed to *Kan-chew* in *Shen-ſi*. As this was in *December*, he ſuffered much on the road by the rigour of the ſeaſon: his exile was the cauſe of great diſaffection; and the *Chineſes* complained loudly of theſe acts of injuſtice.

A cenſor baniſhed.

Chû *proclaimed king.* A. D. 1364. In *January* 1364 the generals of *Chû* propoſed to have him proclaimed emperor; but he declined it, and at firſt was content with the title of king of *U*. In this quality he appointed *Li-ſhen-chong* and *Suta* his prime miniſters and generals: he afterwards named other officers; and, having aſſembled the grandees, told them, "That they ought to conſider, that he "had not accepted the title of king, but on condition to en- "deavour to make the *Chineſes* happy: and that it was neceſ- "ſary, in the beginning of his reign, to agree upon good "laws; in which point the *Mungls* had been wanting. With "regard to the rites and ceremonies, ſaid he, uſed in religion, "I am of opinion, that, in the firſt place, each of us ought "to think ſeriouſly of reforming his own heart. He added, "As you have been my dear companions, aſſiſt me; have no- "thing elſe in view; think only of beginning well."

Takes Vû-chang-fû. In *February* that prince ſet forward, to continue in perſon the ſiege of *Vû-chang-fû*, capital of *Hû-quang*. The city was taken; and *Chen-li*, who had ſucceeded his father *Chen-yew-lyang*, ſurrendered, with the officers of his party. *Chû* gave orders to relieve thoſe in miſery, encourage the literati, and neither plunder nor deſtroy any-body. This wiſe conduct procured him an eaſy conqueſt both of *Kyang-ſi* and *Hû-quang*. The *Chineſes* ſubmitted to him in crouds: and were proud to ſee a prince ſo generous, and moderate in his paſſions; a friend to men of letters; affable, and ſtudious to govern the nation according to antient laws and cuſtoms.

Cruelty of the prince, Mean time the court of *Towhan-temûr* was divided into ſeveral powerful parties, who thought of nothing but how to ſupplant and deſtroy each other. The prince inheritor, inſtead of ſeriouſly endeavouring to gain the love and eſteem of the officers

officers, in order to engage them to ſupport the throne, minded only to gratify his private hatred againſt ſeveral lords. He made uſe of the eunuch *Pû-pûwha*, and the miniſter *Sho-ſe-kyen*, to accuſe whomſoever he would. They invented crimes; and were not aſhamed to impriſon, and even put to death, great lords, whoſe only miſdemeanour was, their oppoſing the criminal intrigues of thoſe two inſtruments of evil. One of theſe unjuſtly-accuſed lords was *Lau-ti-ſha*, who, to ſave his life, retired to *Polo-temûr* at *Tay-ting-fû* in *Shan-ſi*. The emperor was informed of the innocence of thoſe perſons, and of the murmurs which every-where were heard. Many repreſentations were made thereupon to the prince: but *Ayyewſhilitata* was little acquainted with his true intereſts; and, inſtead of deſiſting from his accuſations to mind the public good, engaged himſelf very indiſcretely in meaſures, which, he might eaſily have foreſeen, would complete the ruin of the empire (X).

Thirteenth Towhan-temûr, or Shun-ti.

KOKO-TEMUR was a mortal enemy to *Polo-temûr*; and each of them had his friends and agents at the court. In *April* the prince cauſed the general *Tûkyen-temûr* to be accuſed; and, when *Polo-temûr*, his intimate friend, pleaded his innocence, inſtead of hearing his repreſentations, they deprived himſelf of the dignity of general at *Tay-ting-fû*. As *Polo-temûr* knew that this order had been given, without the emperor's knowlege, by the brigues of *Pû-pûwha* and *Sho-ſe-kyen*, he did not obey it; and, having conferred with the accuſed lords, took up arms, with a reſolution to oblige the emperor to drive thoſe from about him who gave him ſuch bad counſel. *Tûkyen-temûr* being detached to poſſeſs the poſt of *Kuyong-quan*, the prince marched from *Ta-tû* to oppoſe that general; but was repulſed, and obliged to retire into *Tartary*. Hereupon *Tûkyen* appeared before the imperial city; which threw every thing there into confuſion. This made the emperor inquire into the affair; and, having thoroughly informed himſelf, ſent for *Tûkyen*, reſtored *Polo-temûr*, and delivered up

and his injuſtice.

Checked by Polo;

(X) To one who has read the hiſtory of the former *Mungl* emperors, it may ſeem ſurpriſing how this, who was ſo weak and bad an one, ſhould be ſuffered to reign ſo long, or the prince to deſtroy ſo many great men by falſe accuſations. But all this may be accounted for from the nature of a court where the head is bad, and the majority of miniſters and courtiers are corrupt: for then the head will never want evil inſtruments, who will aſſiſt him in all his deſigns; and, for reward or ambition, deſtroy the good men, and even one another, to ſerve his purpoſes, and ſupport his tyranny.

to

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti. to him both *Pûpûwha* and *Sho-ſe-kyen*. After this, the army under *Tûkyen* was ſent back to *Tay-tong-fû*; and the prince inheritor returned to court by his father's order [E].

who becomes miniſter,

THE prince, who now thought of nothing but to be revenged on *Polo-temûr*, made choice of *Koko-temûr* to execute his deſign. He raiſed an army of 100,000 men, divided into three bodies; and ſent a general, with 40,000 of them, to attack *Tay-tong-fû*. *Polo-temûr*, who had friends and troops every-where, left officers to guard that city; and took meaſures with *Lau-ti-ſha* and *Tûkyen-temur* to make himſelf maſter of the emperor's palace. He put himſelf at the head of his troops, and ordered *Ku-yon-quang* to be taken. In *September* the prince marched to oppoſe him, but his army was routed; and, not thinking himſelf ſafe at *Ta-tû*, whither *Polo-temûr* followed him with expedition, he left it again with a body of troops, and retired to *Ta-ywen-fû*, capital of *Shan-ſi*. *Polo-temûr*, being arrived at the city, left his forces without the gates; and, on the ninth of the ſame month (Y), entering the palace, followed by ſeveral lords, preſented himſelf before the emperor, on his knees, and aſſured him, that, with regard to what had paſſed, the fault was none of his. *Towhan-temûr*, who on this occaſion let fall tears, declared him generaliſſimo and prime miniſter. *Lau-ti-ſha* and *Tûkyen* had poſts under him; and, in all the tribunals, they had men of their own party.

and maſter at court. A. D. 1366. *POLO-TEMUR* began his miniſtry by cauſing *Tolo-temûr*, the principal companion and inſtrument of the emperor's debauches, to be killed: he drove the lamas from court, and forbad the exerciſe of their religion. Had this general ſtopped there, things might have gone well: but he paſſed the bounds of prudence; and, without the advice of his beſt friends, attempted to get the prince inheritor ſet aſide, and *Koko-temûr* degraded. Beſides this, he gave himſelf up to all kinds of debauchery, and that was what ruined him. In *March* 1366 the prince took the field, with a reſolution either to periſh, or deſtroy his enemy: his army was numerous, and commanded by *Koko-temûr*, a general of conſummate experience. As ſoon as *Polo-temûr* was informed of *Ayyewſhilitata*'s march, he cauſed the empreſs *Ki* to come out of the palace; and compelled her to ſign an order for the prince to come to her: but he did not think fit to obey it.

[E] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p. 307, & ſeqq.

(Y) The day *U-tſe* of the ſeventh month. *Gaubil.*

WHILE

WHILE *Tûkyen-temûr* was on his march to *Shang-tû*, to oppoſe the prince's party, *Yeſû* was detached to make head againſt *Koko-temûr*: but, when he arrived at *Lyang-hyang*, he took counſel with the officers, in which it was reſolved not to obey *Polo-temur*, as being a rebel. *Yeſû* went on to *Yong-ping-fû* (in *Pe-che-li*), from whence he ſent an expreſs to *Koko-temûr*; and then marched into *Lyau-tong*, to confer with ſeveral princes of the blood, who were in thoſe parts. The miniſter, incenſed at this deſertion of *Yeſû*, ſent an army to attack him: but, he having defeated it, and ſlain the general, *Polotemûr*, more enraged ſtill, marched himſelf; yet was obbliged to return without doing any thing, by a heavy rain which continued for three days and nights ſucceſſively. Mean time the empreſs *Ki*, knowing the foible of *Polo*, procured him ſeveral young girls of great beauty, by whoſe means ſhe obtained her liberty, and returned to the palace; where, underhand, ſhe effectually wrought the deſtruction of that miniſter, by amuſing and inſnaring him with the gratification of his paſſions. *Thirteenth.* Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti. *Inſnared by pleaſures;*

THINGS being in this poſture, *Ho-ſhang*, one of the principal lords of the court, obtained ſecret orders from the emperor to kill *Polo-temûr*; in which enterprize *Shang-tû-ma*, *Kinna-hay*, and *Petar*, three young lords of reſolution, engaged to aſſiſt him. They took the opportunity one day in *September*, when that miniſter came to acquaint his majeſty with the reduction of *Shang-tû*, in *Tartary*, by the general *Tûkyen-temûr*. The emperor being at this time in a great hall, with many courtiers about him, *Petar* ſeparated himſelf from the reſt; and, placing himſelf at the door, ſlew *Polo-temûr* (Z) as he was about to enter. *Lau-ti-ſha* hereupon fled towards the north: but, a proclamation being iſſued to kill him, he was taken, and put to death. *Tukyen-temûr*, who was then at *Shang-tû*, and did not hear of what had happened at *Ta-tû* till ſeveral days after, would alſo have made his eſcape with ſeveral cuiraſſiers; but was taken and ſlain. The gates of *Ta-tû* were ſhut for three days, on account of theſe troubles: but, in the mean time, ſeveral detachments of the prince's army arriving in the neighbourhood, theſe troops ſcaled the walls, opened one of the gates, and plundered great part of the city. *is ſlain.*

(Z) He was of the hord *Shan-tſû*, and one of the chief *Mungl* families, deſcended from *Polotay*, an illuſtrious officer in the army of *Jenghiz Khân*. His father *Taſhe-temûr*, grandfather *Yeſûtar*, and great grandfather *Nyew-lyen*, were famous commanders in chief of the imperial armies. *Gaubil.*

TOWHAN-

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti. *TOWHAN-TEMUR*, having thus deſtroyed his new miniſter (or rather maſter), ſent his head to the prince his ſon, with orders to repair to court. He came eſcorted by *Koko-temûr*, who was appointed miniſter. In the tenth month he was declared regulo, and generaliſſimo of the armies. He appeared at court with a train and equipage almoſt equal to that of the emperor. The prince made inſtances, that he might be permitted to carry on the war in the ſouthern provinces: but his motion was not complied with. About this time the true empreſs, who was of the *Hongkila* family, dying without any children living, *Ki*, who before was only nominally empreſs, in the twelfth month ſucceeded to the rank and honours of the deceaſed.

Koko *made miniſter.*

Cauſes new broils. AT the beginning of this year *Koko-temûr*, going into *Honan*, had great diſputes with the generals of the province of *Shen-ſi*, who would never acknowlege his authority; ſo that at length they came to hoſtilities. Thus the empire of the *Yuen* was attacked in all manners, both within and without: The great men lived independent; the emperor minded nothing but pleaſure; and the prince, beſides other great faults, had not talents to re-unite the minds of the people, and bring them to labour in concert for the good of the public [h].

Affairs of the rebels. AT the beginning of the ſame year alſo the *Whang-ho*, by its precipitate courſe northward, made great ravages in *Shantong* and *Pe-che-li*. *Ming-yu-chen*, pretended emperor of *Hya*, died in the third month; and was ſucceeded by one of his ſons, no more than ten years of age. *Han-lin-cul*, who called himſelf emperor of the *Song*, died alſo in the thirteenth month. With regard to the proceedings of *Chû*, he took *Whay-gan-fû* in the fourth month; and cauſed a ſearch to be made for old books in the fifth. In the ninth month he ſent two generals, with 200,000 men, to make war upon *Chang-ſhi-cheng*, who ſet up for king in one part of *Che-kyang* and *Kyang-nan*. They beat his troops four times, and took *Hû-chew-fû*, one of the moſt beautiful and rich cities of *Che-kyang*. At the ſame time *Chû* made himſelf maſter of *Hang-chew-fû*, capital of that province, *Shau-hing-fû*, *Kya-hing-fû*, and other important places. In the twelfth month he cauſed one palace to be built for his court, and another to honour his anceſtors in.

The prince in power. A. D. 1367. To return to the diſtracted affairs of the *Mungl* court. The prince being near *Ta-tû*, in the year 1367, the empreſs *Ki*, his mother, ſent a truſty lord to compliment him, and tell him, that ſhe preſſed *Towhan-temur* to reſign the empire. *Koko-temur*, who knew this deſign, ſent the eſcort troops into *Ho-*

[h] GAUBIL, ubi ſup. p. 309, & ſeqq.

nan;

nan; and, finding the prince appeared discontented, was obliged to go into that province himself. The emperor, who came to be informed of the differences which subsisted between *Koko* and the generals of *Shan-si*, sent an officer to decide them: but that minister slew the officer, and seemed inclined to become independent. *Towhan-temûr* was, on the other hand, sollicited to abdicate the empire: but, altho' he still refused to part with the title, yet he gave to the prince the whole power, declaring him generalissimo of the armies, and lieutenant-general of the state. This new promotion made *Koko-temûr* take new measures: he opposed the emperor's orders in favour of *Ayyewshilitata*; but, at the same time, was accused by one of his discontented officers. Hereupon *Towhan-temûr* cashiered *Koko*, disposed of his employments to others, and appointed officers to command the troops of that general. The discarded minister retired to *Che-shû* (A), a strong place in *Shan-si*, fully resolved to be revenged on the first occasion. All this could not pass without exciting great troubles; and the *Mungl* affairs grew worse than ever. *Thirteenth.* Towhan-temûr, *or* Shun-ti. Koko *cashiered.*

WHILE *Towhan-temûr* lost all by his want of conduct, everything succeeded with the prudent *Chû*. This prince, tho' of an obscure birth, and brought up from his infancy among mean people (B), yet discovered most of the grand qualities which have rendered immortal the memory of the greatest princes. He published the form of the *Chinese* government which he proposed to introduce; and took for a model that which the literati boast of so much in *Yau*, *Shun*, and the three families (or dynasties) of *Hya*, *Shang*, and *Chû*: he instituted the examinations for men of letters, and military officers; nor did he forget what concerned the tribunal of mathematics. He caused a diligent search to be made for men of merit; rewarding, like a true king, both such person found, Chû's *success*,

(A) In the Jesuit's map it is *Tse-chew*.

(B) He had been a servant in a monastery of bonzas; some say, in so mean a quality as that of scullion, under the cook: in which station he continued for many years, till, in the time of the troubles, he quitted the kitchen for the army. Many such heroes might be found among the commonalty every-where, had they opportunity to exert their genius. *Chû*, sprung from the dregs of the people, was the shame of emperors sprung from emperors; and the shade thrown by his reign on that of *Towhan-temûr*, is the stronger for the lowness of his birth. Of the same kind is the famous *Laith*, *Leith*, or *Leiz*, who, from a brasier, became king of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, about the year of Christ 871, and was one of the best monarchs who ever sat on the throne of that kingdom.

and

Thirteenth. Towhan-temûr- *or* Shun-ti. *and great qualities.*

and the perſon finding. All thoſe were acceptable to him who had any talent for military affairs, or navigation, for arts, ſciences, or mathematics. He was at no idle expence to ſerve his pleaſures; and had an averſion to every thing which tended to effeminate princes. In the palace, which he built at *Nan-king*, he forbad laying out too much in coſtly furniture, and foreign curioſities; eſpecially prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, immodeſt pictures and ſtatues. He won the hearts of the mechanics, huſbandmen, and other claſſes of the people, to whom he diſdained not to talk himſelf, and diſcourſe about matters relating to them. He took particular care alſo to make thoſe amends who had ſuffered damages, and give them conſiderable relief. Beſides theſe good qualities, he was endowed with a more than common genius; ſo that, by the conferences only which he had with the literati, he ſoon became maſter of all that is eſſential in the *Chineſe* ſciences. His valour, military ſkill, and greatneſs of ſoul, joined to his equity in the diſtribution of commendations, favours, and employments, made him highly eſteemed by the officers, who were ſtrongly attached to him[1].

Reduces the ſouth.

In the ninth month the generals *Suta* and *Chang-yu-chun* reduced *Sû-chew-fû*, and the whole province of *Kyang-nan*. They likewiſe took priſoners *Chang-ſhi-cheng*, and all thoſe of his party, with nine princes of the blood; who were all conducted to *Nan-king*, where *Chang-ſhi-cheng* died ſoon after. As for the princes, *Chû* ordered them to be treated with honour; and ſent them, under the care of a mandarin, to the court of *Towhan-temûr*. After this expedition, troops were tranſported by ſea into the province of *Quang-tong*, which, with that of *Quang-ſi*, ſubmitted of their own accord: *Fokyen* did the ſame.

Generals ſent northward.

The ſouth being thus reduced, *Chû* commanded *Suta* and and *Chang-yu-chun* to march into the north, at the head of 250,000 men, almoſt all horſe. Theſe two generals, being arrived in *Shan-tong*, publiſhed a manifeſto, well calculated to excite the *Chineſes* in favour of *Chû*, and render *Towhan-temûr* odious. In this manifeſto they ſet forth, *That it belonged to the* Chineſes *to govern the barbarians, and not to the barbarians to govern the* Chineſes. After this, they fall on the crimes of the *Mungl* emperors; and the faults of their government ſince the time of *Timûr*, who ſucceeded *Hû-pi-lay*.

Their manifeſto.

They ſhew, "that thoſe princes have ſet aſide the order of "ſucceſſion: that brothers have poiſoned their brothers; and "a ſon taken his father's wives: that there is no ſubordina-

[1] Gaubil, ubi ſup. p. 312, & ſeqq.

"tion;

" tion : that they have deſtroyed the *Chineſe* rules of govern- *Thirteenth:*
" ment; and paid no regard to the doctrine (or religion) of Towhan-
" their nation. After this, they conclude that the time is temûr, *or*
" come to drive foreigners out of the empire. Here they Shun-ti.
" draw the character of *Chû*, whom they declare to be the
" perſon choſen by heaven for the maſter of *China*; and in-
" ſtance what the people may promiſe themſelves from the
" government of ſo great a prince."

THIS manifeſto, ſpread thro' the provinces, had a very great *Subdue* effect. *Suta* and his collegue reduced the whole province of Shan-
Shan-tong, without any trouble. During this time the diſ- tong.
tractions continued in thoſe of *Shen-ſi*, *Shan-ſi*, and *Ho-nan*; occaſioned by the diſpute between *Koko-temûr* and the generals of *Shen-ſi*, concerning their reſpective juriſdictions: nor had the emperor authority enough to put an end to it.

WE are now come to the firſt day of the year 1368, which Chû *pro-*
was one of the moſt ſolemn days which the city of *Nan-king claimed*
ever beheld. Beſides the rejoicings made on account of its *emperor.*
uſhering in the year, *Chû* choſe that day to have himſelf de- A. D.
clared emperor of *China*. He went to the temple of heaven, 1368.
to make a ſolemn ſacrifice; declared his eldeſt ſon prince inheritor, and made ſeveral wiſe regulations. They give him the title of *Hong-vû* (C); and the year 1368 is reckoned for the firſt of his reign. After this, his troops entered *Ho-nan*, and preſently reduced that province. In the ſecond month *Towhan-temûr*, inſtead of endeavouring to ſtop the rapid progreſs of *Chû*, ſent troops againſt *Koko-temûr*. This general hereupon retired to *Ping-yang-fû*, in the ſouth part of *Shan-ſi*; and the other generals of the *Twen* (or *Mungls*) withdrew into other cities: more to defend themſelves againſt one another, than againſt the troops of *Chû*; whom we muſt now call *Hong-vû*, or *Tay-tſû*, which is the title given by the *Chineſes* to this founder of the *Tay-ming* dynaſty.

IN the third month the troops of *Hong-vû* reduced the *Approaches*
fortreſs and gorge of the mountains of *Tong-quan*; and, in *the capital.*
the ſeventh intercalary month, *Koko-temûr* and *Ye-ſû* were ſet by *Towhan-temûr* at the head of affairs. Hereupon the generals of *Shen-ſi*, the moſt illuſtrious of whom was *Li-tſo-tſi*, retired towards the weſt. Mean time the forces of *Hong-vû* entered *Pe-che-li*, from *Ho-nan* on one ſide, and *Shan-tong* on the other. In the ſame month *Suta* and *Chang-yu-chun* de-

(C) He gave his dynaſty the name of *Tay-ming*. *D'Herbelot*, p. 991, ſays, that, in the time of *Tamerlane*, the kings of *Kha-*
tay were called *Daymen Khân*, that is (ſays *Gaubil*), king of *Tay-ming* (or *Tay-min*).

Thirteenth Towhan-temûr, or Shun-ti.

feated *Poyen-temûr*, one of the *Mungl* generals, who was ſlain in the battle, fighting valiantly. After this action they took the city of *Tong-chew*, but twelve miles to the eaſt of *Ta-tû*; and then prepared to attack the capital of the *Mungl* empire, now reduced, in *China*, to very narrow bounds. Hereupon *Shelye-men*, one of the miniſters, went to the temple of anceſtors; and, taking the tablets from thence, retired with the prince towards the north.

The Ywen withdraw.

THE 25th of *Auguſt Towhan-temûr* nominated prince *Temûr-puwha* regent of the empire of *China*; and *King-tong* appointed for defence of the imperial city. Next morning, aſſembling the great men, princes, and princeſſes, he declared to them, that he would retire into *Tartary*. *Temûr-puwha*, and others, fell on their knees, and, weeping, offered to march out of *Ta-tû*, and attack the enemy; adding, that it was better to die, than diſhonour thus, by flight, the imperial family. The emperor was inflexible; and, the night following, in the midſt of his guards, attended by his wives, and thoſe of the prince, as well as by other princes and princeſſes, took his way towards the north. *Chang-yu-chun*, informed of *Towhan-temûr*'s flight, purſued the imperial family as far as the river *Pe* (D); and took priſoner *Maytilipala*, eldeſt ſon of the prince inheritor (E). The nineteenth of *October Hong-vû*'s army entered *Ta-tû*, after ſome ſmall reſiſtance.

Their dynaſty ends.

THUS ended the empire of the *Mungls* in *China*, after it had continued 162 years, reckoning from the firſt of *Jenghîz Khân* in 1206, to 1368; when *Towhan-temûr* withdrew out of *China*, and *Hong-fû* finiſhed his conqueſt, by reducing the imperial city. The *Chineſes* reckon only nine emperors of the *Mungls* who reigned in *China*, as hath been before remarked. How many the *Mungls* compute, does not diſtinctly appear; for *Gaubil* does not expreſly mention their number. He only ſays, in a note at the end of their hiſtory, that, if *Aſûkipa* or *Tyen-ſhun* be placed among them, the dynaſty of the *Ywen* will have fifteen emperors. But this cannot be, becauſe, as that dynaſty begins with *Hû-pi-lay*, the four preceding monarchs muſt be taken away, which will reduce the fifteen to eleven: and if the reign of *Aſûkipa*, which is doubtful, be deducted, there will be but ten; which is ſtill one more than is found on the

(D) *Pe-ho*, or *Pay-ho*, which runs by *Tong-chew* above-mentioned, and has its ſource a few leagues to the north of *Tû-ſhe-kew*, an important poſt of the great wall in *Pe-che-li*, near the gate of the ſame name; miſprinted, in the *French*, *Touchenco*. *Gaubil*.

(E) *Hong-vû* treated with much diſtinction thoſe *Mungl* princes who either fell into his hands, or ſurrendered to him. *Gaubil*.

Chineſe liſt, where *Ning-tſong*, or *Ilin-chipan*, brother of *Towhantemûr* (F), whoſe reign was but of two months, is likewiſe wanting. *Thirteenth.* Towhantemûr, *or* Shun-ti.

BUT to return to *Towhan-temûr*, who, though deprived of the moſt valuable part of his dominions, ſtill continued great khân or emperor of the *Mungls*, and reigned over *Tartary*. This prince retired, with his court, to *Ing-chang*, a city then conſiderable, twenty-five or thirty leagues to the north-eaſt of *Shang-tû*. Where he lived two years; and then died in the fourth month of the 1370, in the fifty-firſt of his age, after he had reigned thirty-five years as emperor of *China* and *Tartary*, and thirty-ſeven as khân of *Tartary* [k]: ſo that his reign was longer than thoſe of all his predeceſſors in *China* put together, excepting *Hû-pi-lay*; which is the more to be wondered at, conſidering the tyranny and weakneſs of his government. Towhantemûr *dies.*

AFTER the death of *Towhan-temûr*, his ſon *Ayyewſhilitata* aſcended the throne of the *Mungls*; and removed his court to *Karakorom*; where, according to the *Chineſe* hiſtory, he founded a new dynaſty, called the *Ywen* of the north (G). But here, for want of materials, we muſt break off the hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of *Jenghiz Khân* in *Tartary*; our author *Gaubil* having carried it down no lower than the death of *Towhan-temûr*. He indeed, in concluding that prince's reign, gave hopes of obliging the world alſo with thoſe of his ſucceſſors: but we do not find he ever performed that taſk (H). Nor are we able to ſupply the defect from other quarters: for *de la Croix* has furniſhed only a bare liſt of khâns deſcended from *Tuli*, fourth ſon of *Jenghiz Khân*, who reigned in *Tartary*; which, for the reader's ſatisfaction, we have here inſerted. Ayyewſhilitata *ſucceeds.*

1. *Mangû Khân*, ſon of *Tuli*.
2. *Kublay*, brother of *Mangû*. He was ſucceeded by *Liſt of khâns.*

[k] GAUBIL, p. 315, & ſeqq.

(F) *Ilin-chipan* muſt be included in the fifteen emperors mentioned by *Gaubil*; otherwiſe there would be only thirteen, on leaving *Aſûkipa* out of the liſt.

(G) It might be reckoned a new dynaſty by the *Chineſes*, as having no dominion over them: but muſt be conſidered only as a continuation of the ſame dynaſty, with regard to the *Mungls* and *Tartary*.

(H) This is the more to be regretted; becauſe, in all likelihood, the miſſioners will have no more footing in *China*; and, if they ſhould, none hereafter may be qualified for the purpoſe: for of all the Jeſuits, or other miſſioners into that empire, not one of them ſeems to have had either the judgment, taſte, or application, for a work of this nature, as is found in our author *Gaubil*.

3. *Timûr Khân*, his grandſon, ſurnamed *Olajaytû*, ſon of *Hakim*, or *Jetekem*; who reigned twelve years; and died in 1306.

4. *Kuſhilay* (I) *Khân*, ſon of *Jeneſek*, ſon of *Termebilay*, ſon of *Jeketem*, ſon of *Kublay*.

5. *Togyay*, ſon of *Kuſhilay*.

6. *Tayzi Khân*, ſon of *Nilûk*, ſurnamed *Bilektû*.

7. *Anûſhîrwan*, ſon of *Dara*, couſin of *Tayzi*. This emperor was a prince of excellent morals; but he gave too much power to the governors of provinces, who acted as ſovereigns, and cauſed many troubles in the empire.

8. *Tokatmir*, ſon of *Timûr Khân*.

9. *Biſûrdar*.

10. *Ayke*, ſon of *Biſûrdar*.

11. *Ilenk Khân*..

12. *Keytmûr*.

13. *Arkitmûr*.

14. *Elchi Timûr Khân*; who went to *Tamerlan*, and lived in his court, till the death of that prince; after which, he returned to *Olugh-yurt* (K), where he aſcended the throne in 1405.

15. *Waltay Khân*; who deſcended in a direct line from prince *Artikbûga*, fourth ſon of *Tuli Khân*.

16. *Orday*, ſon of *Orday*, ſon of *Malek Timûr*.

17. and laſt, *Aday*, ſon of *Arkitmûr*

THESE two laſt khâns lived ſo obſcurely, that they are looked on in the ſame light with their great anceſtor *Artikbûga*, who never was numbered among the khâns. From this time, there is no more talk, at *Olugh-yurt*, of the princes deſcended from *Jenghîz Khân*; but only of thoſe deſcended from *Kublay*, and who remained kings of *China*; of whom there is mention made [1].

from oriental authors,

WE know not well what judgment to paſs on this liſt of khâns, taken from the oriental authors: for it does not appear, from the *Chineſe* hiſtory, that there were any khâns in the eaſtern part of *Tartary*, much leſs at *Karakorom*, during the dominion of the *Mungls* over *China*; who governed that vaſt region by their generals, or lieutenants, and ſeem to have reſided at *Karakorom*. And this is the more probable, as we find *Ayyewſhilitata*, in the year 1370, removed his court to that

[1] DE LA CROIX, hiſt. Gengh. p. 400, & ſeq.

(I) This is doubtleſs the ſame name with *Hoſhila*, in the *Chineſe* hiſtory; but we will not ſay 'tis the name of the ſame perſon.

(K) *Olugh-yurt*, a city but a little way diſtant from *Karakorom*. *De la Croix*, p. 397.

capital

capital in *Tartary*; which can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to be fact, in caſe there was any khân of a collateral branch reigning there at the ſame time, as, according to *de la Croix*'s liſt, there muſt have been. Nay, according to that liſt, they continued to reign there, without interruption, during four ſucceſſions, after the fifteenth century; for *Elchi Timûr Khân* is ſaid to have aſcended the throne in 1405.

IT therefore ſeems moſt likely, that the above-mentioned liſt of khâns is ſpurious, or, at beſt, drawn up by the oriental hiſtorians, from uncertain reports and memoirs, wherein governors of provinces, or the princes of certain powerful tribes, have been miſtaken for the khâns of the *Mungls*; and the rather, becauſe *D'Herbelot* informs us, that the only ſucceſſors of *Jenghîz Khân*, who are mentioned by the oriental hiſtorians, with due exactneſs, are thoſe of the branch which reigned in *Irân*, or *Perſia* at large; of whom that author gives a liſt, and of none elſe [m]. *not exact.*

HOWEVER that be, we cannot but wonder that Mr. *Guigues*, who undertook to give an abſtract of the hiſtory of the *Turks* and *Mogols*, from the *Chineſe* annals; ſhould, in ſpeaking of the expulſion of theſe latter out of *China*, and their re-eſtabliſhment in *Tartary*, quit thoſe guides to follow the above erroneous liſt of princes given by *de la Croix*. His words are; "The poſterity of *Kublay*, who reigned in *China*, maintained their footing there, till *Hong-vû*, founder of a new *Chineſe* dynaſty, drove out *Tokatmûr Khân*. The ſon of this latter, named *Biſûrdar Khân*, repaſſed into *Tartary*, retiring beyond the great deſart; where he fixed a new dynaſty, or rather continued the *Mogol* branch, whilſt another branch, deſcended from *Hûlakû Khân*, reigned in *Perſia* [n]."

THIS is related by Mr. *Guigues*, as if taken from the *Chineſe* hiſtorians, whom he quotes in the ſame place. But it appears, from the above hiſtory, that the emperor and his ſon, who were forced out of *China* by *Hong-vû*, were different princes: nor does *de la Croix* ſay *Tokatmir* reigned in *China*; or that *Biſûrdar* either paſſed from thence into *Tartary*, or was his ſon. Beſides, if that liſt was to be followed, as nine *Mogol* emperors reigned in *China*, *Ayke*, the tenth khân, muſt have been him who was expelled that country: for the princes mentioned therein are reckoned not from *Kublay*, but from his father *Tuli*. What renders Mr. *Guigues*'s memoir of leſs ſervice is, that he does not, by references, or otherwiſe, ſufficiently diſtinguiſh the words of different authors, either from one another, or his own conjectures. Gingues *cenſured.*

[m] D'HERBEL, bibl. orient. p. 382. art. Genghez Khanian.
[n] GUIGUES, mem. ſur l'orig. des Huns & des Turcs.

In fine, for want of a continued hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of *Jenghiz Khân* in the eaſt parts of *Tartary*, we muſt content ourſelves with ſuch fragments of it as are to be met with, and thoſe relating to affairs only near our own times.

CHAP. XIV.

Hiſtory of the Mungls, *after their Expulſion out of* China, *to the preſent.*

The Mungls, *driven*

AYYEWSHILITATA ſucceeded his father *Towhan-temûr* in the empire of *Tartary*, as hath been already mentioned: but we meet with nothing concerning the reign of either him or his ſucceſſors, for above 200 years after; excepting that he, and the other princes of his family, had great wars to maintain againſt *Hong-vû*, and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, in *China*. *Sû-ta*, *Chang-yu-chun*, *Li-ven-chong*, and other generals of that nation, paſſed the great wall, and harraſſed the *Tartars* with frequent invaſions [a]. Nor were the latter on their ſide backward, when any opportunity offered, to repay the injury, and endeavour to recover their footing in *China*; the loſs of whoſe rich and fruitful provinces they greatly regretted. As the extracts relating to the *Ming* dynaſty, given by *Couplet* and *Du Halde*, ſpeak of the wars which the *Chineſes* had with the *Tatars*, during the reigns of thoſe princes, it may not be amiſs to bring together here, what little thoſe authors ſay concerning them.

beyond the deſart,

AFTER the death of *Hong-vû*, who drove the *Mungls* out of *China*, and proſecuted the war againſt them in *Tartary*; *Ching-tſu*, or *Yong-lo*, his fourth ſon, and third emperor, purſuing vigorouſly what his father had begun, puſhed them beyond the great kobi, or deſart, above 200 leagues north of the great wall, with a deſign to extirpate them: but, on his return from his third expedition (A), he was prevented, by death, which happened in 1425 [b]. The *Mungls*, taking heart after *Yong-lo*'s deceaſe, to be revenged for the damages that prince had done them, invaded the empire, in the reign of *Swen-tſong*, the fifth emperor: but this monarch, at the head of his army, marched againſt, and defeated, them. *Swen-tſong* died in 1435, and was ſucceeded by *Ing-tſong*, only nine years old. The

[a] GAUBIL, hiſt. de Gentch. p. 317, [b] DU HALDE's China, Vol. II. p. 255.

(A) Theſe expeditions againſt the *Mungls* are not mentioned in the reign of *Hong-vû*, by either *Couplet*, or his tranſlator *Du Halde*.

Mungls

Mungls (B), taking advantage of this emperor's youth, made continual irruptions into the provinces of *China* which lay nearest their country, and committed all sorts of rapine. At length *Ing-tsong*, in the year 1449, and fourteenth of his reign, marched beyond the great wall, at the head of a numerous army. But his troops, weakened for want of provisions, were intirely defeated; and himself, being taken prisoner, carried into the remotest part of *Tartary*. *take the emperor prisoner,* A. D. 1449.

At the news of this surprising event, the empress sent a great quantity of gold, silver, and silks, for her husband's ransom; which the *Mungl* king received: but, after he had brought the captive emperor to the borders of *China*, he carried him back again, not thinking the ransom large enough. Nevertheless, a new agreement taking place, some of the great lords were sent to receive *Ing-tsong:* but the khân was displeased, thinking all the chief men of the empire ought to have come to meet so great a monarch, with the greatest pomp. He was conducted, by a numerous retinue, to the frontiers of *China*; and, when near the mountain *Tang-kya-lin*, sent to acquaint the court, that he renounced the empire to his brother *King-ti*, who had usurped the crown from the son of *Ing-tsong*, who afterwards ascended the throne a second time. In the reign of his son and successor *Hyen-tsong*, ninth emperor of the *Ming*, the *Mungls*, from time to time, came and plundered the provinces; but, in 1465, the second year of his empire, he cut in pieces their army. From thenceforward we hear nothing of their depredations, till the year 1504, which was remarkable for their irruptions, and the great booty they carried away. *who is ransomed.*

In 1509, the *Mungls* renewed their ravages, the year before the death of *Hyau-tsong*, the tenth emperor; whose successor, *Vû-tsong*, in 1518, would needs march against them incognito, in quality of generalissimo; from which design he was, with much difficulty, dissuaded by his ministers. Next year, he prepared to retire into either *Kyang-nan* or *Che-kyang*. Hereupon his ministers presented fresh memorials: representing, that, as the *Tatars* (or *Mungls*) would look on this journey as a shameful flight, they would grow more insolent; and that his absence would expose the northern provinces to their irruptions: but he was no less obstinate this time than the former, till, at last, he was diverted from his design by an inundation, which he took for a bad omen. His successor, *Shi-tsong*, or *Kya-tsing*, repaired the great wall which separates *The Mungls ravage* A. D. 1518. *the Chinese provinces.*

(B) Called all along *Tartars* in our authors; but we use the name *Mungls*, for sake of uniformity, as well as propriety and distinction.

A. D. 1550. *China* from *Tartary*. For all this, in 1550, the twenty-ninth of his reign, the *Mungls* drew near *Pe-king*, with an army of 60,000 men; but it was intirely cut to pieces, and above 200 officers taken priſoners. Next year, the *Tatar* king ſent an ambaſſador, to aſk the emperor's pardon, and leave for his ſubjects to ſell horſes in his dominions. *Shi-tſong* readily conſented: but finding afterwards, that this permiſſion was the ground of continual quarrels between the mandarins and the merchants, and often occaſioned revolts, he abſolutely prohibited that trade.

Ceaſe their attempt. ABOUT the year 1560, *Lyew-han*, general of the *Chineſe* army, marching beyond the great wall, the *Mungls*, on news of his arrival in their territories, fled, and hid themſelves in their foreſts: ſo that there were no more than twenty-eight of them killed in this expedition, and the whole booty taken was only 170 dromedaries. In 1574, the ſecond year of *Shin-tſong*, or *Van-lye*, eleventh emperor of the *Ming*, the *Mungls* made an irruption into *Lyau-tong*, but were intirely routed; A. D. 1582. and, in 1582, they received a notable defeat, by the general *Li-chin*, loſing 10,000 men. Next year, the rivers were frozen; which facilitating their irruptions into the empire, they came in ſwarms; but were cut to pieces by the *Chineſe* troops. After this, we are told, that the *Mungls* (called weſtern *Tatars*, and *Tan-yu* (*) by the *Chineſes*) gave over to diſturb the empire, and lived quietly within their own territories; while the *Manchews* (named in the *Chineſe* hiſtories eaſtern *Tatars*, and *Nyu-che*, or *Nu-che*) began to grow formidable, and, at length, ſubdued both the *Mungls* and *Chineſes* [c].

Submit to the Manchews. HAD the ſucceſſors of *Yong-lo* vigorouſly proſecuted what he had begun, they might have intirely reduced the *Mungls* to a ſtate of ſubjection: but, as they neglected that affair, or purſued it but remiſsly, thoſe enemies of *China* began, by degrees, to take heart, and ſpread. Hereupon the princes of the houſe of *Jenghîz Khân*, each ſeizing a territory, formed different hords, and grew into little ſovereignties. The title of emperor of the *Mungls* remained to the chief of theſe princes, called *Chahar Khân*, or *Hân*; who was deſcended from the emperor *Kublay*, or *Hû-pi-lay*, by the elder branch. And to this khân the other *Mungl* ſtates (including doubtleſs the *Kalkas*), and the *Eluths* themſelves, were tributary; till, about the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, having made his government in-

[c] COUPLET, mon. ſinic. tabl. p. 81.—DU HALDE, ubi ſupra, p. 220, & ſeqq.

(*) Or *Tanju*, from the title of their antient emperors. See Vol. IV. p. 42, & ſeqq.

ſupport-

ſupportable, by his cruelties and debaucheries, his ſubjects called in the founder of the *Manchew* monarchy. Thus the *Mungl* prince became a vaſſal to the *Manchew* empire; and was obliged to quit the title of hân (or khân), for that of vang, or wang, given him by the great grandfather of the late emperor *Kang-hi*, who ſubdued intirely the *Mungls* about the great wall.

THIS prince, called by the *Chineſes Tyen-tſong*, who began his reign in 1627, on the death of his father *Tyen-ming* [d]; take-ing advantage (as ſome write) of the inteſtine diviſions which, at that time, reigned among the *Mungl* princes, found means to reduce them, one after another, not excepting the chief of the family, who retained the name of emperor; and was forced, by his own ſubjects, to ſubmit like the reſt, in the year 1630. After the conqueſt of *China*, the title of king (vang) was beſtowed on him, and ſeveral other of the moſt potent princes of the *Mungl* family. But, in the minority of the emperor *Kang-hi*, the vaſſal khân reſolved to attempt not only to throw off his new yoke, but even, if poſſible, to recover the empire of *China*. With this view, he began to reunite the other princes in his intereſt, by a league; which coming to *Kang-hi*'s knowlege, before the deſign took effect, he immediately ſent a ſmall body of troops from *Lyau-tong*, againſt the revolter (*Chahar Khân*). The *Mungl* prince ſeeing himſelf attacked, before he was prepared for his defence, was obliged, with what forces he could bring together in haſte of his own, to fight the emperor's army: the event was, that he was intirely defeated, and, in the purſuit, taken priſoner, with his brother and children [e]. *Revolt, but ſubdued.*

FROM this time, the *Mungls* remained obedient to the power of the *Manchews*, who at preſent reign in *China*: although, we are told, that the head of the *Mungl* princes, who are deſcended from *Towhan-temûr* (the laſt *Mungl* emperor of *China*), and very numerous in *Tartary*, ſtill preſerves a great ſuperiority over the princes of the other branches deſcended from *Jenghîz Khân*, and his brothers; who are at preſent chiefs of the *Tatar* tribes, known under the denominations of *Mungls* and *Kalkas* [f]. On this occaſion, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that, as both theſe nations are the ſame people (at leaſt conſidered as ſuch), under different names, the *Mungls* are thoſe who always remained in *Tartary*, and the *Kalkas* ſuch as were driven out of *China*: who, by way of diſtinction, perhaps, took that name from the river *Kalka*, one of thoſe on whoſe banks they ſettled; as a third branch or nation of *Mungls* go, at preſent, by the *Remain ſubject.*

[d] DU HALDE, ubi ſupra, p. 225. [e] BOUVET, hiſt. of Kang-hi, p. 18, & ſeqq. [f] GAUBIL, ubi ſupra, 317.

name of *Elûths*, or *Alûths*, known commonly in *Europe* by the denomination of *Kâlmûks*.

Kalkas *independent*

THE nation of *Kalkas*, *Khalkhas*, or *Halhas*, for ſo the word is variouſly pronounced, or written, which is the moſt numerous, as well as celebrated, of all the *Mungl* branches, preſerved their independency for fifty or ſixty years after the *Mungls* had loſt theirs. The princes of this branch had at firſt a monarch, under the title of khân, or king, although tributary, as the other *Kalkas* were, to the *Mungl* prince *Chahar Khân*, before-mentioned. But the *Kalkas* increaſing vaſtly in time, and thoſe deſcendants of *Kublay*, who had only the title of tayki, growing numerous, the more powerful among them became, by degrees, independent of one another, and of the khân himſelf, to whom they paid only a ſlight homage. Before the war broke out between them and the *Elûths*, towards the end of the laſt century, they were divided into ſeven ſtandards, with each its chief; three of whom received, of the great lama of *Tibet*, the title of khân: although moſt of the taykis, who were under them, acted as ſovereigns in their reſpective territories; and paid their khâns no farther deference, than to allow them the firſt place in their aſſemblies, held to determine differences, and conſult about public affairs.

under three khâns.

THE eldeſt of theſe three khâns was named *Shaſſaktû*, and poſſeſſed the country to the eaſt of the *Elûths*, extending from mount *Altay* to the rivers *Selinga*, *Orkhon*, and *Tûla*. The ſecond, *Tûſhetû*, or *Tûſhektû Khân*, was the moſt powerful of the *Kalka* princes: his territories reached from the three laſt-mentioned rivers to mount *Kentey*, whence the *Kerlon* and *Tûla* derive their ſources. The third, *Checking Khân*, reſided towards the ſource of the *Kerlon*, along which river his people ſpread themſelves, to its fall into the lake *Dalay*, or *Kûlon*, and alſo beyond, as far as the province of *Solon*. Theſe two laſt princes took the title of khân forty or fifty years ago (C); but the firſt long before. Theſe *Kalkas* were ſo powerful before the wars, as to give uneaſineſs to the emperor of *China* himſelf. They were no fewer than 600,000 families, and very rich in flocks and horſes: but they were almoſt ruined and deſtroyed by that calamity; the occaſion of which is as follows.

Troubles ariſe.

A TAYKI, or *Kalka* prince, called *Lobzang-hum Tayki*, whom our author *Gerbillon* ſaw at the aſſembly of the ſtates of *Tartary*, attacked *Shaſſaktû Khân*; and having taken him priſoner, not only put him to death, but ſeized his eſtate, with part of his ſervants. The reſt, with his children, fled to *Tûſhetû*

(C) That is, about 1650 or 1660.

Khân,

Khân, who ſending an account of what had happened to all the heads of ſtandards and principal taykis, invited them to join againſt the uſurper. They immediately aſſembled their forces, attacked *Lobzang-hum*, took and ſent him to the great lama, to be puniſhed; requeſting that pontiff to inveſt the eldeſt ſon of *Shaſſaktû Khân* with his father's dignity. Their requeſt was granted, and the ſon re-eſtabliſhed in his father's territories; but neither his flocks nor ſubjects were reſtored: for *Tûſhetû* had ſeized them for his own uſe, by advice of his brother, who was one of thoſe *Ho-ſo's*, or *living Fo's*, ſo numerous in *Tartary*.

THIS lama, called *Tſing-chung-tumba* (D) *Khûtûktû*, had been eight years a diſciple of the great lama at *Tibet*; where he had acquired ſuch a reputation in the ſchool, that he reſolved to ſet up for himſelf, pretending to be a living *Fo* as well as his maſter. He played his part ſo well, that thoſe *Kalkas* adored him as a divinity; and his brother went regularly, on ſet days, to worſhip him, gave him the upper-hand on all occaſions, and was intirely managed by him. This pretended immortal, by his pride and ill conduct, occaſioned the deſtruction of his family, and the empire of the *Kalkas*. *Shaſſaktû Khân* (E) being thus kept out of his effects, contrary to a decree of the aſſembly; ſent ambaſſadors to the grand lama, intreating him to interpoſe his authority with *Tûſhetû Khân*, and his brother the lama, for a reſtitution. The dalay lama accordingly diſpatched a lama envoy, who, being corrupted with preſents, contented himſelf with fair promiſes. *Shaſſaktû Khân*, deſpairing of juſtice from that quarter, ſent his ſecond ſon, to beſeech the emperor of *China* to eſpouſe his intereſt. At this time the *Kalka* princes paid a dromedary and nine white horſes, by way of tribute, to *Kang-hi*, for a free trade to *China*; although they were not very regular in the payment. Hereupon his majeſty diſpatched an ambaſſador to the great lama, to engage him to ſend, by a time appointed, a perſon of conſideration into the country of the *Kalkas*; in order to meet a grandee of his court, to diſpoſe thoſe princes to an accommotation, and to prevent a war [z].

Khûtûktû's *pride.*

China *interpoſes.*

MEAN time, *Shaſſaktû Khân* dying, his eldeſt ſon, who was in alliance with *Kaldan*, khân of the *Elûths*, his neighbour on

[z] GERBILLON ap. Du Halde, ubi ſupra, Vol. II. p. 259.

(D) His name is written differently in *Gerbillon*'s tracts, almoſt as often as it occurs; *viz. Chepzuin-tamba, Chempſin-tamba*, and *Chunpezun-tumba*.

(E) By this the ſon ſeems to have had the ſame name as the father; or *Shaſſaktû* was a title which deſcended in the family, as well as that of *Khân*.

the

Commiſſioners meet.

the weſt, ſucceeded him as khân. The envoy of *China*, and that of the dalay lama, being arrived at the court of *Tûſhetû Khân*, they convened a ſecond time the ſtates of the *Kalka* princes. The imperial envoy, named *Arghi* (F), ſat as preſident of the tribunal; which is much of the ſame dignity with the ſix tribunals at *Pe-king*. As the envoy of the great lama (G) repreſented his maſter, every one yielded him the firſt place, excepting the brother of *Tûſhetû Khân* (H); who being alſo a lama, and profeſſing himſelf a living *Fo*, pretended to be equal to the high-prieſt himſelf, and would be treated with the ſame diſtinction. The envoys of *Kaldan*, who were alſo at the aſſembly, to ſupport the intereſt of their maſter's friend (I), exclaimed againſt the pretenſions of the *Kalka* lama, which they looked on as an incroachment on the reſpect due to their common pontiff; and, on his making no conceſſion, retired in great diſcontent. In ſhort, to avoid a greater quarrel than that which they came to determine, the envoy of the dalay lama, was obliged to conſent, that the king of *Kalka*'s brother ſhould ſit oppoſite to him. After this, affairs being ſoon regulated in the aſſembly, *Tûſhetû Khân*, and the khûtûktû his brother, ſolemnly promiſed, that they would faithfully execute what had been there agreed upon. But, when the eſtates were ſeparated, inſtead of keeping their engagement, they delayed performing it, as before-mentioned, under divers pretences.

Kaldan *offended.*

MEAN time, the *Elûth* king, offended at the little regard paid to his envoys, and the affront offered the dalay lama, in the perſon of his legate, being preſſed alſo by *Shaſſaktû Khân* to haſten the reſtitution of his effects; ſent an ambaſſador to *Tûſhetû Khân*, and the lama his brother, to exhort them to perform their promiſe: and eſpecially to complain of the latter's diſputing precedence with the legate of the dalay lama,

(F) *Bentink*, in his notes on *Abulghazi Khân*'s hiſtory of the *Turks*, &c. names him *Averna Akanayba*, p. 549.

(G) He was doubtleſs a lama; but *Bentink* ſays, he was the dava (or tipa) of *Tibet*, who is the great lama's viceroy, who governs in his name in ſecular affairs.

(H) *Bentink* calls him *Zain*, or *Zuzi (Juji) Khân*, prince of the *Monguls*; by which muſt be underſtood the *Kalka Monguls*, or *Mungls*, or *Juji* and *Tûſhi*, whence *Tûſhitû* ſeem to be uſed ſynonymouſly, as in *Juji* or *Tûſhi*, the eldeſt ſon of *Jenghîz Khân*.

(I) According to *Bentink*, the quarrel of *Kaldan* againſt *Zain Khân* was on his own account. But we muſt prefer the account of *Gerbillon*, who received his information from the *Chineſe* envoy, and the mandarins who accompanied him. Indeed the quarrel became, in part, *Kaldan*'s own afterwards.

who had been their common maſter (K). The khûtûktû could not bridle his rage, but loaded the ambaſſador with irons; and having ſent a threatening letter to *Kaldan*, put himſelf, with the khân his brother, at the head of a great body of troops, to ſurprize *Shaſſaktû Khân*. That prince, who expected nothing leſs, falling into the lama's hands, was drowned by his order: he alſo put to death one of the moſt conſiderable tayki's, and ſeized his effects. Not content with this, he invaded the territories of the *Elûth Khân* (L); and ſurpriſing a brother of his (M), cut off his head. Then fixing it on a ſpear, expoſed it to public view; at the ſame time ſending a domeſtic of that unfortunate prince with a moſt abuſive letter to *Kaldan*.

THE khân, although thoroughly enraged, yet ſtifled his reſentment, till he was in a condition to declare it. Mean time, he aſſembled his people, and next ſpring, 1688, approached the territories of *Tûſhetû Khân*. The khûtûktû, who expected no leſs, had demanded ſuccours of the other *Kalkà* princes; alleging, that he had put to death *Shaſſaktû Khân*, for having entered into a league with *Kaldan*, to make war on all the other *Kalkas*. Hereupon moſt of thoſe princes came, with conſiderable forces, to the rendezvous on the frontiers. The khân of the *Elûths* being advanced, and finding the enemy's army much ſuperior to his own, thought it beſt to encamp, in hopes that diviſions would ſoon ariſe in the army of the *Kalkas*. As he had conjectured, the chief of one of the moſt numerous ſtandards decamped firſt, by night, with all his people. *Chechíng Khân* ſoon followed his example; and all the reſt, one after another, marched off, leaving *Tûſhetû Khân*, and the khûtûktû his brother, with none but the troops of their own ſtandard.

Invades the Kalkas. A. D. 1688.

As ſoon as *Kaldan* underſtood this, he fell upon the enemy, who, making no reſiſtance, were eaſily routed (N); the two brother chiefs, and their families, having had much ado to eſcape, with the loſs of almoſt all their baggage, beſides the greater part of their army and flocks. All the *Kalkas* of *Tû-*

Makes great havock.

(K) For *Kaldan* himſelf had been bred a lama at *Laſſa*, as appears afterwards.

(L) According to *Bentink*, *Zain* (or *Tûſhetû*) *Khân*, invaded the *Elûth* dominions, by the advice of *Kang-hi* emperor of *China*, Excepting in this particular, and the occaſion of the war, mentioned a note or two before, *Bentink*'s account agrees pretty well with that of *Gerbillon*.

(M) *Bentink* calls him *Dorzizap*; and ſays, he was ſlain among thoſe of the khân's vanguard, which was defeated.

(N) *Bentink* ſays, he got the victory, by feigning a flight, and thereby inducing *Zain Khân* to divide his forces, in order to purſue him.

Shetû

Shetû Khân's family, wherever found, were put to the ſword. He himſelf was obliged to abandon his camp, and the khûtûktû his reſidence, where every thing was plundered or burned; and two fine temples, which the latter had erected at his own expence, were intirely demoliſhed. *Kaldan*, after this, ſent troops, with orders to deſtroy the country with fire and ſword; but eſpecially to kill all the *Kalkas*, who now fled on every ſide (O). *Tûſhetû Khân*, and his brother, having retreated to the ſouthern part of the deſart, near *China*, ſent to beſeech the emperor *Kang-hi* to take them under his protection, and defend them from an enemy, whoſe ambition and cruelty they highly exaggerated. His majeſty hereupon ſent an officer, to know of *Kaldan* his reaſon for carrying on the war. The khân anſwered, with reſpect, "That he had undertaken it to "revenge the death of his brother; and reſolved to continue "it: that he thought no prince would give refuge to ſo wicked "a man as the *Kalka* lama; who being the principal author "of ſo many barbarities, he was determined to purſue him, "wherever he retreated: that his puniſhment equally con- "cerned the emperor; ſince he had ſo notoriouſly violated the "oath made before his majeſty's ambaſſador, at the aſſembly "of the ſtates, and ſhewn ſo little regard to his mediation."

Purſues the khûtûktû.

THE khûtûktû knowing, that if *Kang-hi* abandoned him, he muſt infallibly fall into the hands of his enemy, as the dalay lama was his utter adverſary; in order to ſecure himſelf, offered to become the emperor's perpetual vaſſal, with his brother, family, and ſubjects: likewiſe to engage all the other *Kalka* princes; ſeveral of whom, during this negotiation, followed his example. *Checking Khân* dying the ſame year, his widow alſo beſought his majeſty to receive her ſon for his vaſſal, and inveſt him with the title of khân, which was not to deſcend to his family. *Kang-hi*, on this, exhorted the *Elûth Khân* to be content with the deplorable condition to which he had reduced his enemies, and deſiſt: but *Kaldan* remonſtrated, that the emperor was equally concerned to puniſh the violation of a treaty guarantied by himſelf and the dalay lama. However, he offered to withdraw, provided the *Kalka* lama was delivered up, to be judged by the ſovereign pontiff. But the *Chineſe* monarch thinking it unworthy his dignity to abandon princes applying to him for refuge; and, beſides, having nothing to fear from the *Ruſſians*, ſince the late treaty of *Ni-pochew* (or *Nerchinſkoy*), took the *Kalka* princes under his protection, and granted them

(O) According to *Bentink*, he ſent to the place of his reſidence nine camels loads of ears and locks of hair; whence he judges a horrible ſlaughter was made: and then, with 30,000 men, drove his enemy within the wall of *China*.

part

part of his lands in *Tartary* to settle on: which gave occasion to the war between him and the khân of the *Elûths* [h].

THIS prince, towards the end of *July* 1690, advanced, at the head of a small but well disciplined army, to the frontiers of the empire. He slew or enslaved all the *Kalkas* encamped along the *Kerlon*, whose course he had followed for the conveniency of forage; and pursued the murderers of his brother to the very retreat which the emperor had assigned them. On the first rumour of *Kaldan*'s march, his majesty drew together all the *Mungl* forces which had been his subjects from the beginning of the *Manchew* monarchy; and, being encamped without the great wall, are in some sort the out-guards of the empire. These, reinforced by some *Manchew* troops (who served as convoys to the presidents of the militia), and the *Mungl* officers, were ordered to the frontiers, to observe the motions of the *Elûths*. The two presidents, with a design to surprise the khân in his camp, amused him with a treaty of peace; and, when he was least on his guard, attacked him in the night: but they were vigorously repulsed, and pursued within their own territories, where they secured themselves by taking post on the mountains. *Invades the empire;*

ON this advice, *Kang-hi* sent a great army from *Pe-king*, which he designed at first to command in person: but, on being dissuaded by his council, appointed his next brother generalissimo, and ordered his eldest son to accompany him. *Kaldan* was posted to advantage about fourscore leagues from *Pe-king*; where, altho' he wanted artillery, and had but very few troops, he resolutely waited for the enemy. At first his van-guard suffered much from the *Chinese* cannon, which obliged him to get out of their reach, by changing his post: but as he had a great marsh before him, which prevented his being surrounded, he defended himself with great bravery till night, when both parties retired to their camps (P). The general of the ordnance, who was the emperor's maternal uncle, was killed, towards the end of the action, by a musket-shot, as he was drawing off the artillery. *fights the* Chinese;

[h] GERBILLON ap. Du Halde, p. 260.

(P) According to *Bentink*, the khân defeated several bodies sent by *Amulon Bogdoy Khân* (so the *Russians* call the *Manchew* emperors of *China*), one after the other; and that his troops were so brave, or those of the emperor so bad, that, at one time, 1000 *Kalmûks* (or *Elûths*) beat 20,000 *Chinese*; and another time 10,000 overthrew 80,000.

comes to a treaty; NEXT day produced a treaty, of which the reſult was, that *Kaldan* ſhould have leave to retire with his army; firſt taking an oath, before his *Fo*, never to return into the territories of the emperor, or his allies. In his retreat, part of his troops periſhed for want; and his nephew *Tſe-vang Raptan*, whom he had left regent, withdrew into a remote country, with all who were diſpoſed to follow him. This was ſuch a terrible blow to *Kaldan*, that he was three or four years recruiting his army (Q). However, the imperial generals, at their return to *Pe-king*, were impeached, altho' they had the better in the engagement: for it is a law among the *Manchews*, that, if a general gives battle, and obtains not a complete victory, he ought to be puniſhed. The emperor's brother, with ſome other general officers, were ſentenced to loſe three years of their revenue, and the reſt to be degraded five degrees. They would have ſuffered much more, but for the interpoſition of his majeſty: who, on the other hand, beſtowed extraordinary honours on the memory of his uncle, killed in the action, whoſe eldeſt ſon ſucceeded to his poſts; and rewarded all who diſtinguiſhed themſelves, as well as the kindred of the ſlain and wounded. Next year *Kang-hi* held an aſſembly of the ſtates of *Tartary*, wherein all the *Kalka* princes, with one conſent, paid him ſolemn homage.

renews hoſtilities; THE khân of the *Elûths* continued in the territories formerly belonging to *Shaſſaktû Khân*, and *Tuſhetû Khân*, till 1694; when, being recruited with freſh troops, he ſcoured the banks of the *Kerlon*, and cut to pieces all the *Kalkas* who fell into his hands. Thence advancing to the borders of *Korchin*, he ſent propoſals to the chief prince, to join with him againſt the *Manchews*. "What greater indignity (ſays he), "than from maſters to become ſlaves? We are *Mungls*, and "under one law: let us unite our forces, and regain the "empire, which is ours by inheritance. I will ſhare the glory "and fruits of my conqueſts with thoſe who will ſhare "the danger. But if there ſhould be any *Mungl* princes, as "I hope there are none, ſo baſe as to chuſe ſlavery to the "*Manchews*, our common enemy, let them expect to feel the "firſt efforts of my arms." The king of *Korchin*, as a proof of the fidelity which he had ſworn to the emperor, ſent him the letter, which made his majeſty a little uneaſy: for, altho' he knew the *Elûths* were too weak to venture to attack him, yet he did not like a confederacy of the *Mungl* princes, ſupported

(Q) It could not then have been ſo ſmall as 'tis repreſented; but it had perhaps ſuffered before in the expedition.

by

by the dalay lama; he therefore resolved either to extirpate the *Elûths*, or compel them to a firm and lasting peace.

With this view, in 1696 he invaded *Tartary* with three armies, in order to inclose them on all sides (R). One of these armies obtained a complete victory; while that under the emperor struck every place with terror. In short, this year, or the next, all these *Tatars* were either destroyed, subdued, or dispersed. The destruction of the *Elûths* was so great in this last war, that, in all these vast countries, there remained no more than ten or twelve thousand families of them (S); and the death of *Kaldan* in 1697, while the emperor was marching to seek him out in his retreat, completed their ruin: the remains of these unfortunate *Elûths* being obliged to implore his majesty's clemency, or take shelter with *Tse-vang Raptan*, the only surviving prince of that people. The war thus ended, we are told that *Kang-hi* became absolute master of all the empire of the *Kalkas* and *Elûths*; and extended his dominions in *Tartary* as far as the great deserts and forests which make the frontiers of *Russia*[1]. But this is to be understood of the *Elûth* dominions gained chiefly from the *Kalkas* on the east of mount *Altay*: for it does not appear, that the *Chinese* made any conquests in the country to the west of that grand barrier which remained in possession of *Tse-vang Raptan*.

is intirely routed.

Having brought down the history of the two first *Mungl* branches, the *Mungls* properly called, and the *Kalkas*, to the present time, it remains to handle that of the *Elûths*: but here our memoirs are still more scanty and imperfect. It does not appear, from any authors yet come to our hands, either when, or on what occasion, the *Mungl* tribes, who go under the denomination of *Elûths*, threw off their dependency on the *Mungl* khâns reigning at *Karakorom* (or in the eastern parts of *Tartary*), and assumed that name; or by what steps they arrived at so great a power, as to become superior to the other two branches of *Mungls*. There is one circumstance, however, namely, that the khâns of the *Elûths* are not descended from *Jenghîz Khân*, but *Timûr Beg*, or *Tamerlan*, which might afford some light into the question, provided we were sure they were all of the same family from the first of them; for then it would follow, that their empire did not be-

The Elûths *history.*

[1] Gerbillon. ap. Du Halde, p. 257. 261.

(R) *Bentink* says, his army consisted of 300,000 men, accompanied with 300 pieces of cannon.

(S) Our author *Gerbillon* says, that *Raptan* found no more *Elûths* remaining when he came to succeed his uncle.

gin

gin till after the year 1400, perhaps about the time of *Yong-lo*: who, having reduced the ſucceſſors of *Hû-pi-lay*, or *Kublay Khân*, and the *Mungls* in the eaſt, to a very low ebb, gave thoſe more at a diſtance, in the weſt, an opportunity of throwing off their dependence, and ſetting up a khân or khâns of their own.

Onchon's *misfortune.* HOWEVER that be, we find nothing conſiderable of the *Elûths*, till about eighty years ago (T); at which time, we are told, all the *Elûth* branches were united under one chief, or king, called *Ochirtu-chechin Khân*. Prince *Ablay*, his brother, having rebelled, was defeated, and forced to retire a vaſt way towards *Siberia*. The khân had under him ſeveral petty princes of his family called Tayki (U), who were abſolute in their reſpective territories, and paid him what homage and tribute they pleaſed. One of them, *Patûrû Hûm*, was very rich, and had been much honoured for his exploits in the wars of *Tibet*. He left ſeveral children, of whom *Onchon*, the eldeſt, ſucceeded him. This prince, during the wars with the *Haſſak Pûrûks* (X), falling ſick of the ſmall-pox in his camp, was, according to the cuſtom of the *Mungls* in that diſtemper, left alone in his tent; which the *Mohammedan Tatars*, poſted oppoſite to the *Elûths*, took poſſeſſion of, and, with proper care, recovered the ſick prince.

Slain by Sengha. *ONCHON*, not thinking it proper to diſcover his quality, ſerved three years as a common ſlave; during which, the ſecond brother *Sengha*, not doubting of his death, married his wife. At length the prince diſcovered himſelf to the *Haſſaks*; and promiſing, upon oath, in caſe they releaſed him, never to renew the war, they ſet him at liberty, and gave him a guard of one hundred men to eſcort him into his own territories. Being arrived on the borders of them, he diſpatched a courier to acquaint his brother with his adventure and return. *Sengha*, greatly ſurpriſed, conſulted his wife, to know whom ſhe would chuſe in ſuch a conjuncture. The lady anſwered, that ſhe had married him on a preſumption that her firſt huſband was dead: but, ſince he was living, ſhe was in-

(T) This muſt be underſtood from the time *Du Halde* wrote, not *Gerbillon*; otherwiſe it will carry this fact back to about the year 1610, which is too high up for the father of *Kaldan*: we therefore ſuppoſe *Chechin Khân* to have been in this power about the year 1650 or 1655.

(U) Or *Tayghi*. The *Ruſſians* call them Taytha, and Taythi.

(X) So the *Elûths* call the *Uzbek Tartars*, who, in return, nickname them *Kâlmûks*; and from them this name came to us, by way of the *Ruſſians*.

diſpenſably

diſpenſably obliged to return to him. *Sengha*, whoſe love was equal to his ambition, under pretence of honour, ſent truſty perſons to maſſacre the prince, and all his retinue. The crime being committed, he gave out, that he had defeated a party of *Haſſak Pûrûks*, without mentioning any thing of his brother. But, the murder ſoon coming to light, one of the brothers, by the ſame mother as *Onchon*, aſſembled forces to revenge his death; and, having killed *Sengha*, reſtored the ſon of *Onchon* to his father's poſſeſſions.

KALDAN, third ſon of *Patûrû-hum Tayki*, by *Sengha*'s mother, had been educated by the grand lama of *Tibet*, as one of his principal diſciples; after which he ſettled at the court of *Ochirtû-cheching Khân* (*), who treated him with great marks of diſtinction. This prince, having had notice of the foregoing tranſactions, aſked leave of the high pontiff to quit the profeſſion, in order to go and revenge the death of his brother. Leave being granted, he immediately formed an army of *Sengha*'s old domeſtics, and ſome troops lent him by *Ochirtû*; with which he took vengeance on the murderers, and ſeized on all the effects of his brother, as well as the eſtates of *Sengha*. He then married the prince's chief wife, the daughter of *Ochirtû Khân*; and, his forces increaſing daily, he found himſelf in a condition at laſt to diſpute the kingdom with his father-in-law, to whom he owed his preſent fortune. Kaldan's revenge.

A QUARREL between their ſubjects was a pretence for declaring war; after which he marched with his army into the country of *Ochirtû*, who received him at the head of his troops. The fight was near the great lake *Kizalpû*, where *Kaldan* got the victory; and, having taken his father-in-law priſoner, cauſed his throat to be cut, the better to ſecure the conqueſt of his dominions: thus he became the head of all the *Elûths*. The great lama, to reward his perfidiouſneſs and cruelty, gave him the title of khân (Y), that is, king, or emperor. From that time *Kaldan* (Z) enjoyed his conqueſts, and had no wars *Created khân.*

(*) The *Ochiurti Khân* of *Avril*'s imperfect account. See his Trav. p. 150, & ſeq.

(Y) *Gerbillon* ſays it ſhould be written *Hân*, inſtead of *Khân*; *Hami* for *Kami*; *Halkas* for *Kalkas*; and the like. But, as the *H* is a ſtrong aſpirate, or guttural, it ſeems beſt expreſſed by *Kh*, as it ought to be written, and not with a ſingle *K* or *C*, as is commonly the practice.

(Z) *Bentink* calls him *Boſio* or *Boſugto Khân*; rather, perhaps, *Buſſuktû Khân*. *Buſſuk* ſignifies *broken*, the name given by *Ogûz Khân* to his three eldeſt ſons, according to *Abûlghâzi Khân*. Hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 21. *Buſſuktû* ſeems to have been his title, or ſurname, and *Kaldan* his proper name. The ſame author ſays he uſually encamped on the lake *Yamiſh*, and in the neighbouring deſarts.

but with the *Haſſak Pûrûks* (or *Uzbeks*) till 1688, when he invaded and ſubdued the *Kalkas*: but, carrying his reſentment too far (A), he was ruined in his turn by the emperor of *China* [k], as hath been already ſet forth.

Totally defeated. *BENTINK* relates the circumſtances of the khân's death, which might be more eaſily known to the *Ruſſians* than the *Chineſes*. According to this author, the loſs of the laſt battle did not ſo much afflict the *Elûth* prince as the death of his wife *Guni*, or *Ani*, who was ſlain in the route. Her body having been found among the dead, the emperor cauſed the head to be cut off, and carried it along with him to adorn his triumph. Proviſions and forage beginning to fail in the neighbouring mountains, where he had with difficulty eſcaped, moſt of his followers and horſes died for hunger; ſo that he returned almoſt alone into his own dominions, where he ſpent two years in great affliction, expoſed to the reproaches of his ſubjects. Perceiving he had nothing for it but to negotiate the affair, he ſent his ſon *Septenbaldius* to the dalay lama, to deſire his mediation, which he before ſlighted. But *Abd'ollah Beg*, governor of the city of *Khamul* (B), altho' dependent on the khân, cauſed him and his ſmall retinue to be ſeized in paſſing thro' his government, and ſent them to the emperor; who cut off their heads, and confirmed the traitor in his poſt.

Poiſons himſelf. THE news of this diſaſter threw the khân into deſpair. He aſſembled all his ſubjects, exhorted them to live in peace and unity; and then, giving them liberty to retire every one where he pleaſed, took poiſon, and died. This was the end of *Boſlo Khân*, a prince of great genius and valour; who, by a ſeries of ſucceſſes, had made himſelf terrible to all his enemies, and acquired a great deal of glory.

Succeeded by Raptan *KALDAN* was ſucceeded by his nephew, eldeſt ſon of *Sengha*, called *Tſe-vang Raptan* (C). This *Raptan* is ſaid before to have left his uncle's court, while abſent in the war;

[k] GERBILLON ap. Du Halde, p. 257.

(A) We think *Kang-hi* was to blame for protecting, and not giving up, the murderers of his ally and brother, whom *Kaldan* had a right to demand.

(B) *Khamil*, or *Hami* (as the *Chineſes* pronounce it), at the very eaſtern extremity of *Little Bukkâria*, and edge of the great deſart between it and *China*.

(C) This is the name he went by in *China*, and perhaps among the *Mungls*, who are ſubject to *China*. *Bentink* calls him *Zigan Araptan*, which is the name uſed by the *Ruſſians*. Which of them is the true name, if either be, we cannot tell; all nations having that ill cuſtom of corrupting or impoſing names. However, that of *Araptan*, *Raptan*, or *Rabdan*, as it is alſo ſpelt, doubtleſs belongs to it. Perhaps *Zigan* is a corruption of *Tſe-vang*.

and,

and, by carrying away the greater part of his forces, much diſtreſſed him in his affairs[l]. The occaſion of his deſertion was this. A princeſs, daughter of *Ochirtû Khân*, had been promiſed him in marriage: but *Kaldan*, falling in love with her, took her from him; and, not content with this injuſtice to his nephew, hired aſſaſſins to murder him; who, miſſing their blow, only ſtruck out one of his eyes. But *Bentink* ſays, his eye was ſhot out accidentally, by one of his domeſtics, when hunting; and that his flight happened a little before the war in 1688, on the following occaſion. The khân, who bred up at his court three of his brother's ſons, took an averſion to the eldeſt; and, finding no cauſe to put him to death, he had recourſe to a man of great ſtrength, who, under pretence of wreſtling with the young prince, handled him ſo roughly, that a few days after he died. *Zigan Araptan*, the youngeſt of the three, alarmed at ſuch a proceeding, which the khan would have put off as an accident, fled with his friends and domeſtics: nor could his other brother *Dankhinambû*, whom the khân ſent after him, prevail with him to return. Altho' his eldeſt brother might have been of a haughty turbulent ſpirit, as the other repreſented; yet he was reſolved, he ſaid, not to truſt an uncle who was capable of committing ſo unnatural a crime. *his nephew.*

As ſoon as *Araptan* (or *Raptan*), who kept hidden all this while, heard of his uncle's death, he preſented himſelf to the *Kalmûks*, and demanded the ſucceſſion; which they could not deny him, as being next heir. The *Bûkhars* (or thoſe of *Little Bukhâria*), whom *Buſſuktû Khân* (or *Kaldan*) had conquered ſome time before, followed their example; and the other provinces, which refuſed to come in of themſelves, were obliged to it by arms. When things were thus ſettled, the *Bukhars* conducted him one day to an agreeable grove, conſiſting of not more than a hundred trees, very buſhy, and of a particular kind: where, after being feaſted by him for ſome days, they ſolemnly inveſted him with the title of *Kontaiſh*, which ſignifies a *grand monarch*; forbidding, under pain of death, to call him by his former name. This prince well deſerved that diſtinction, as having been endowed with great talents: he was remarkable for his genius and mildneſs (D), courage and piety[m]. *His inſtalment.*

THE

[l] BENTINK apud Abûlgh. hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 252, & ſeq.
[m] Idem ibid. p. 253. GERBILLON ap. Du Halde, p. 257.

(D) *Bentink*, as an inſtance of his moderation, tells us, that he not only pardoned the domeſtic who had ſhot his eye out, but

Conquers Tibet.

THE new khan at firſt lived quietly in his territories, with all but the *Uzbeks*, and encouraged agriculture; his flocks not affording competent ſubſiſtence to his people: but his actions afterwards ſhewed, that he was no leſs enterpriſing than his uncle *Kaldan*. Not long after his advancement to the throne, *Yarkian* (*Irghen*, or *Jurkent*), capital of *Kâſhgar*, revolting, he reduced it by force, and ſeverely puniſhed the rebels. About the year 1703 *Ayuka* (or *Ayuki*), one of his couſins, flying from his court, under pretence that he was in fear of his life, paſſed the river *Jaïk*, with the tribe of *Torgaüts*, and put himſelf under the protection of *Ruſſia*[n]. About 1716 *Kontaiſh* conquered *Tibet*[o]: but, four years after, the provinces of *Khamil* and *Turfân*, in *Little Bukhâria*, were taken from him by the *Chineſes*, on the following occaſion. *Kontaiſh* having been informed, that there was, to the eaſt of the *Great Gobi* (*Kobi*), or *Deſart*, at the foot of the mountains which ſeparate his lands from thoſe of *China*, a gold mine, ſo rich, that it might be worked without much trouble, he ſent one of his murſas (E), with 10,000 men, to take poſſeſſion of it; but the *Chineſes* and *Mungls*, falling on them in great numbers, routed, and purſued them to the deſart. This the *Kalmûks* repaſſed, by favour of certain very fertile vallies, hidden by the high mountains which croſs the *Gobi* on that ſide from weſt to eaſt, and were till then unknown to the *Chineſes*.

Loſſes in Bukhâria.

THE late emperor *Kang-hi*, to try if any advantage could be made of this diſcovery, ſent a powerful army that way, with a good train of artillery, under his third ſon (F); accompanied, as was ſaid, by a Jeſuit, very underſtanding in fortifications and fire-works, to aſſiſt him with his advice in this expedition. That prince, having paſſed the deſarts by the ſame road which the *Kalmûks* followed in their retreat, entered the provinces of *Khamil* and *Turfân*; and, finding that *Kontaiſh* advanced to meet him with a fine and numerous cavalry, againſt whom he durſt not venture his army in the vaſt plains of thoſe provinces, he bethought himſelf of building forts at proper diſtances, which he took care to furniſh very well with

[n] GERBILLON, ubi ſup. p. 257. BENTINK, ubi ſupra, p. 539.
[o] GERBIL. ibid. p. 384. 386.

alſo gave him his liberty, to make him amends for the danger he had run of loſing his life on that occaſion, by the enraged *Kalmuks*.

(E) A corruption of the *Perſian* word *Mirza*, which ſignifies *Prince*.

(F) He ſucceeded his father in 1726, under the name or title of *Yong-ching*.

cannon

cannon and infantry. By favour of thoſe forts he advanced continually forwards in the lands of *Kontaiſh*, and made himſelf at length intire maſter of the aforeſaid provinces; the *Kalmûks* not being able all that while to bring him to a battle.

HEREUPON *Kontaiſh*, who ſaw it was impoſſible for him to repel the *Chineſes* without infantry and ordnance, the uſe of which had been till then unknown to the *Kalmûks*; in the year 1720 ſent embaſſadors to *Peter* I. emperor of *Ruſſia*, then at *St. Peterſburg*, offering to become tributary to him, provided he would ſend 10,000 regular troops, with cannon, to his aſſiſtance; obliging himſelf, with that ſmall aid, to drive the *Chineſes* out again: but the war with *Sweden*, which was then on foot, joined to the views which the emperor *Peter* began to have upon *Perſia*, hindered him from accepting of theſe advantageous propoſals. Mean time the *Chineſes* ſeized all which belonged to *Kontaiſh*, lying to the eaſt of the deſarts, towards the frontiers of *China*, and have there ſettled colonies of *Mungls*; but did not meddle with the territories of the dalay lama [p]. However, that prince muſt have recovered thoſe territories not long after; ſince we are informed by *Gaubil*, that, in 1726, the *Tatars* of *Hami* (or *Khamil*) and *Turfân*, as well as *Akſû*, *Kâſhgar*, *Irghen* (or *Jarkien*), and *Anghien* (G), were then under his protection. His reſidence was called *Harkas* (or *Urga*), on the river *Ili* [q] (by ſome called *Konghis*), of which an account has been given in our deſcription of *Tartary*.

Offers to Ruſſia.

Recovers Turfân *and* Khamîl.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

The Hiſtory of Juji, *or* Tuſhi Khân, *and his deſcendants, who reigned over the* Kipjâks, *with that of the khâns of* Krim Tartary.

THE *Kipjâks*, or *Kipchâks* (A), inhabit the weſtern part of *Tartary*; and formerly their country was of very great extent, compriſing the vaſt plains reaching in breadth from the *Caſpian* ſea to the borders of *Ruſſia*, which then

Kipjâks, *their country.*

[p] BENTINK, ubi ſup. p. 546, & ſeq.

[q] SOUCIET. Obſ. Math. &c. p. 176, 177. 180.

(G) *D'Anville*, in his map, places this town on the river *Sir*, or *Sihûn*, about ſixty miles N. W. from its ſource; but *Gaubil*, in *Souciet* (*Obſ. Math.* p. 179.) ſays, it lies ſome leagues to the ſouth of the ſource of that river.

(A) They are called alſo *Kipchâks*, *Kapjâks*, and *Kapchâks*, by authors,

then was contained within narrow bounds; and extending from the *Nieper*, or *Boriſthenes*, weſtward, a conſiderable way in *Tartary*, to the eaſt of the *Caſpian* ſea: ſo that not only the kingdom of *Aſtrakhân* and *Kaſſan*, belonging at preſent to the *Ruſſian* empire, but likewiſe all *Little Tartary*, and ſome other neighbouring provinces of *Europe*, were included in it, forming, in the whole, a large empire. This is to be underſtook of *Kipjâk* in its greateſt extent: nor does it ſeem to have been leſs, by more than theſe laſt-mentioned countries, when *Juji*, eldeſt ſon of *Jenghîz Khân*, reduced it under his dominion.

1. Jugi Khân.

We have already mentioned the exploits of *Juji*, or *Tuſhi* (B), who accompanied his father in the war againſt *Mohammed Karaſm Shâh*. The khân was ſo pleaſed with his conduct, that he ſoon after gave him the ſovereignty of *Kipjâk*, the country of the *Jetah*, or *Getes*, and *Turkeſtân*. This prince ſettled his reſidence in *Kipjâk*: where, after making conſiderable conqueſts, he died in the year 1226, ſix months before his father; much regretted both by the *Mungls*, and his new ſubjects. We have but few materials from whence to give our readers a ſatisfactory hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of *Juji Khân*, in this part of the *Mungl* empire: for we are beholden chiefly to no more than two funds, and thoſe very ſcanty ones, being little elſe than liſts or catalogues of the khâns: one, communicated by *Abûlghâzi Khân*, of *Karazm*, in his hiſtory of the *Turks*, *Moguls*, and *Tatars*; the other by *De la Croix*, at the end of his hiſtory of *Jenghîz Khân*. Theſe catalogues diſagree likewiſe conſiderably with each other, as to the names and number of the khâns, as well as the dates of actions. For inſtance, *De la Croix* reckons forty-one khâns to *Haji Keray*, or *Gheray Khân*; and *Abulghâzi Khân* only ſeventeen: but we chuſe to follow the latter, as he was a deſcendant of *Juji*, and reigned in a country not far from *Kipjâk*. Whence it may be preſumed, that he was better acquainted with the hiſtory of that region than the *Perſian* authors, from whom *De la Croix* made his extract; and the rather, as we have already obſerved, *D'Herbelot* informs us, that the oriental authors have not tranſmitted the hiſtory of any of the branches of the *Mungl* empire with tolerable exactneſs; excepting that which reigned in *Perſia*, of which *Hulagû* was the founder.

authors, as hath been already taken notice of. Their land is named *Daſht Kipjâk*, or the *Plain of* Kipjâk, from its being a champain country, conſiſting of wide extended plains.

(B) And *Chuchi*, as written in the *Chineſe* hiſtory.

Upon

2. Batû Khân. A. D. 1226.

Upon the death of *Juji Khân*, his father ſent immediately his brother *Belgatay Utezkim* into *Daſht Kipjâk*, in order to create *Batû* (C) (or *Badû*), khan, in the room of his father. That prince went to meet his grand uncle, and conducted him to the uſual place of his reſidence, where he was put in poſſeſſion of the throne; but the ſolemnity was ſcarce over, when news arrived of the death of *Jenghiz Khân*. Hereupon *Utezkim* returned immediately to *Karakum* (or *Karakorom*), and was followed by *Batû*, called alſo *Saghin Khân*, accompanied by his brothers, excepting *Togay Timûr*, the youngeſt; who, on this occaſion, was left as regent during his abſence. Being arrived at court with the reſt, they aſſiſted at the inſtalment of *Ugaday*, or *Oktay Khân*, whom afterwards they accompanied in his expedition to *Kitay*.

His conqueſts.

The grand khân, pleaſed with the conduct and bravery which he had obſerved in *Batû Saghin Khân*, at his return gave him a numerous army to go and ſubdue the *Urûs*, or *Ruſſians*, *Cherkaſſians*, *Bulgars*, and other neighbouring nations. He likewiſe ordered his ſon *Kayuk*, who ſucceeded him, *Mangu* (or *Mengko*), ſon of *Tawlay* (or *Toley*), and *Baydar*, ſon of *Jagatay Khân*, to bear him company in this weſtern expedition.

On his return to *Kipjâk*, *Togay Timûr* feaſted him and all the princes ſplendidly for three days. After this, *Batû* gave, in his turn, a feaſt, which laſted forty days; at the end of which he ſet forward on his intended conqueſts. His expedition was crowned with the ſucceſs which, ſays our author, every-body knows; and the khân, having filled all the weſt with the glory of his great exploits, at length returned to *Daſht Kipjâk*, where he died ſome time after, in the capital, of the country, called *Kok-Orda* [a]. *De la Croix* puts this event of his death in 1256 (D); and ſays, he conquered the *Alans*, *Aſſites*, *Ruſſians* or *Muſcovites*, *Bulgars*, and ſeveral other nations: that, croſſing thro' *Ruſſia*, he even ravaged *Poland*,

[a] Abulghazi Khan. hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 193, & ſeq.

(C) Called alſo *Baatû*, *Bati*, and *Badû*; which, according to *Kondamîr*, ſignifies *ſtrength* and *hardneſs* in the *Mogul* language. *D'Herbelot*. Bibl. orient. art. Batû.

(D) *D'Herbelot*, from *Kondamîr*, or *Mirkond*, does the ſame; ſo that he reigned thirty years. *Batû* was of the religion of *Jenghîz Khân*, which conſiſted ſolely in the worſhip of God. He, by his authority, eſtabliſhed *Mangû Khân* on the throne of the *Mungls*, in the eaſt of *Tartary*; and even facilitated the conqueſt of *China*. Bibl. orient. p. 190, art. Batû.

Moravia, and *Dalmatia*. Then marched into *Hungary*, with a deſign to go and beſiege *Conſtantinople*, but was prevented by death; which contradicts *Abulghâzi Khân*'s account, who ſays he died in *Kipchâk*. *De la Croix* adds, that *Batû* performed ſeveral other conſiderable exploits, and was reported to have been the moſt liberal and generous prince in the world [b].

3. Burgha Khân. *BATU Saghin Khân* was ſucceeded by his brother *Burgha*: who, on that occaſion, gave a very magnificent feaſt to all his vaſſal lords; and diſtributed ſeveral conſiderable preſents among the chief of them. Nor did he forget to ſend ſome of an extraordinary richneſs to *Koplay* (*Kublay*, or *Hû-pi-lay*) *Khân*, in order to obtain his confirmation of the choice which his ſubjects had made of him in the room of *Batû*. *Burgha Khân* reigned with no leſs glory than juſtice, and was much dreaded by all his neighbours. One time, as he was on the road to viſit *Koplay Khân*, he met with merchants of great *Bukhâria*; and, falling into diſcourſe with ſome of them about the *Mohammedan* worſhip, was ſo affected with the account they gave of it, that he forthwith embraced that religion. He alſo in time brought over his younger brother *Togay Timûr*, who accompanied him; and, at his return, publiſhed an order for all his ſubjects to embrace *Mohammediſm*: but he died, ſaith our author, before he could complete ſo ſalutary a work, after he had reigned twenty-five years [c]. *De la Croix* ſays, he reigned but ten, and that he died in 1266; but, by *Abulghâzi Khân*'s account, which we prefer, his death muſt have happened in 1281. The firſt of theſe authors, beſides taking notice that *Bereke*, as he calls *Burgha*, turned *Mohammedan*, adds, that he was engaged in a very bloody war with *Hûlakû Khân* of *Perſia*; and that afterwards, being deſirous to execute part of *Batû*'s deſign, he marched as far as *Conſtantinople*, ravaging all the country in his paſſage [d].

4. Mangû Timûr Khân. *BURGHA Khân* had for his ſucceſſor his brother *Mengû Timûr* (E), who was a prince of much courage and conduct. Some time after his advancement to the crown, he gave a tribe, ſubject to him, called *Ak Orda* (or *The White Orda*), to *Behadr Khân*, ſon of *Sheybani Khân*; and the cities of *Kaffa* and *Krîm* to *Orân Timûr*, ſon of *Togay Timûr*. After this

[b] De la Croix, hiſt. Gengh. p. 387. [c] Abulgh. ubi ſup. p. 195. [d] De la Croix, ubi ſup. p. 387.

(E) *De la Croix* ſays, he was named *Mongatmur*, or *Mankûtem*; that he was the ſon of *Dogan*, the ſon of *Batû*, and ſurnamed *Kilk*, which was the name of *Jenghiz Khan*'s great great grandfather. Hiſt. Genghiſc. p. 387, & ſeq.

he took the field againſt the *Bulgars*; and having, in two years, made conſiderable conqueſts on that ſide, returned to his own dominions. From thence he not long after marched towards the country of *Irân* (or *Perſia* at large), againſt *Abka* (or *Abaka*) *Khân*, who came to an amicable agreement with him; which continued with ſo much friendſhip, that every year they ſent each other preſents. But his ſucceſſor *Ahmed*, ſon of *Hûlakû Khân*, having been ſlain by his (*Abka*'s) ſon *Argûn*; as ſoon as the news reached the court of *Mengû Timûr Khân*, he ſent *Tarkay* and *Turkuchay*, two of his generals, with 80,000 men, towards the frontiers of *Irân*. On advice of this, *Argûn Khân* detached *Amîr Togâtur*, one of his beſt officers, with a good body of troops, to meet them, and followed in perſon with all his forces. The two armies coming to an engagement, in a place called *Karabakh* (F), that of *Mengû Timûr* was defeated; which afflicted him ſo much, that he died ſoon after [e].

5. Tuda Mengû Khân.

UPON his deceaſe, *Tuda Mangu* (G), ſon of *Batû Khân*, aſcended the throne of *Kipjâk*: but, as he overburdened his ſubjects with taxes, *Tokhtagû*, ſon of *Mengû Timûr Khân*, thought himſelf obliged to repreſent to him the injuſtice of his conduct. This was taken ſo ill by the khân, that he was conſtrained to leave the country; however, he found means to return thither not long after, at the head of a powerful army; and, having gained a battle, in which *Tuda Mangû* was ſlain, got himſelf to be acknowleged khân.

6. Tokhtagû Khân.

TOKHTAGU Khân (H) reigned with the univerſal applauſe of his ſubjects, and ſubdued a great number of neighbouring cities: but he was carried off by death in the midſt of his conqueſts, after a reign of ſix years; and was buried in the city of *Shari Sarayjik* (I), purſuant to his laſt directions.

7 Uzbek Khân.

UZBEK ſucceeded his father *Tokhtagû*; and, though but thirteen years old, reigned with much prudence and reſolution.

[e] ABULGH. ubi ſup. p. 195, & ſeq.

(F) Or *Karabag*, called alſo *Karabag Arrân:* a noted place in *Arran* (a part of *Armenia* near the river *Arras*), famous for ſeveral battles fought there.

(G) In place of this prince *De la Croix* puts *Kazas*, ſon of *Tazaz* (called alſo *Tudakenkay*), ſon of *Dogan*.

(H) *De la Croix* calls him *Tokta*, or *Belgaba*.

(I) This ſeems to be the ſame place with *Shari Saray:* the ruins of which are on the eaſt ſide of the *Wolga*, a little to the north of *Zariza*, or *Zaraygrood*; a *Ruſſian* city, on the weſt ſide, in the part where that river and the *Don* approach each other.

tion.

tion. He introduced the *Mohammedan* worſhip thro' all the provinces of his dominions; which procured him the affection of his ſubjects to ſuch a degree, that, as a proof of it, they aſſumed the name of *Uzbeks*, which they have ever ſince retained, and never had before. After this event, *Uzbek Khân* tried his fortune twice againſt *Abu Saïd Khân*, who reigned in *Irân:* but without reaping any advantage by thoſe expeditions; and died at his return from the laſt [f]. According to *Kondâmîr*, the firſt of theſe expeditions was in the year 1318; the ſecond in 1335; occaſioned by *Uzbek*'s laying claim to the crown of *Irân* [g]. An account of theſe expeditions will be given hereafter in the reign of *Abûſaïd*, one of the ſucceſſors of *Hûlagû*. *De la Croix*, probably by ſome miſtake in the pointing of his author, calls this prince *Ertek*; and ſays, he is reckoned the founder of the tribe named *Rûs Ertek:* it ſhould be *Rûs Uzbek*. He makes him alſo the ſon of *Tûl*, the ſon of *Kilk* [h] before-mentioned

8. Jani Bek Khân

UZBEK Khân had, for his ſucceſſor, in the throne of the *Kipjâks*, his ſon *Jani Bek*, who got the reputation of a very virtuous and devout *Mohammedan*. He uſually reſided in the city of *Shari Sarayjik*, and continually applied himſelf to the good of his ſubjects. During his reign, *Malek Aſhrâf*, ſon of *Timûr Tâſh*, had ſeized the kingdom of *Azerbejân* in *Irân*, and the neighbouring provinces: but, as he was a great tyrant, and led a ſcandalous life, many of his ſubjects left the country, and went over to *Janibek Khân*. Among the reſt was *Mohûzo'ddîn*, a chief man of the law: who, one day, in expounding the *Korân* in the *Masjîd* (or moſk), before the khan, and a great many perſons of rank, took an occaſion to touch on the ſcandalous life of *Malek Aſhrâf*; and then addreſſing himſelf to *Jani Bek*, told him, that, in caſe he did not do his utmoſt to put an end to the infamous conduct of that tyrant, both he (the preacher) and his ſubjects would accuſe him, before the throne of God, of all the evil which might accrue from thence.

conquers Azerbijân.

THIS menace made ſuch an impreſſion on the mind of *Jani Bek Khân*, that he, without delay, aſſembled all his forces, and marched into *Irân:* where, having defeated and ſlain *Malek Aſhrâf*, he ſeized all his dominions, with his treaſures, which he divided among his ſubjects, amounting to 400 camels load in goods and jewels, beſides other valuable effects. After this, leaving his ſon *Birdi Bek* to govern the conquered

[f] ABULGH. ubi ſup. p. 197, & ſeq. Bibl. orient. art. Abûſaïd ben Algiaptu. ubi ſup. p. 388.

[g] D'HERBELOT,

[h] DE LA CROIX,

provinces

provinces, he returned to his own dominions. There falling ſick immediately on his arrival, he diſpatched couriers to his ſon, that he might ſee him before he died; but, finding death not willing to allow him ſo much time, he enjoined the lords of his court to acknowlege *Birdi Bek* for their ſovereign. Soon after this he expired, and was buried in *Shari Sarayjik*, in the year of the *Hejrah* 758 (of *Chriſt* 1356), after he had reigned ſeven years [i]. *De la Croix*, with more probability, places the death of *Jani Bek* in 1349 (K). The ſame author ſays, that he marched by the way of *Derbend* (in *Shîrwân*) into *Azerbejân*; which had been uſurped from the children of *Abûſaïd* by *Malek Aſhrâf*, who had been his wazîr, or vizîr [k].

9. Birdi Bek Khân.

BIRDI Bek, being detained, by affairs of importance, in the provinces of *Irân*, for two years after his father's death (L), at length arrived; and, having ſpent three days in lamenting that loſs, cauſed himſelf to be publicly acknowleged khân. After this, he abandoned himſelf intirely to tyranny, and a brutiſh life. As he reckoned he had a long time to live, he put to death all his relations; for fear any of them ſhould attempt to thruſt him out of the throne, which he poſſeſſed ſo unworthily. But his debaucheries ſoon put an end to his life, which happened in *Hejrah* 762: and as, with this khân, the poſterity of *Mengû Timûr Khân* became extinct, the ſceptre of the countries of *Kipjâk* was conferred on the other deſcendants of *Juji Khân* [l]. Hej. 762. A. D. 1360.

10. Urûs Khân.

AFTER the death of *Birdi Bek Khân*, *Urûs Khân*, ſon of *Badakul Oglan*, ſon of *Khoja*, ſon of *Avas Timûr*, ſon of *Togay Timûr*, youngeſt ſon of *Juji Khân*, ſeized the ſceptre of the *Kipjâks*, and reigned for ſome years very peaceably: till at length *Toktamiſh* (M) (or *Tokatmiſh*), deſcended from *Togay Timûr*, by another branch, attempted to thruſt him from the throne: but, his troops having been defeated by *Urûs Khân*, he was obliged to fly for refuge to *Amîr Timûr* (or *Tamerlan*), who reſided at *Samarkant*, in *Great Bukhâria*. A few

[i] ABULGH. ubi ſup. p. 198. [k] DE LA CROIX, ubi ſup. p. 388. [l] ABULGH. ubi ſup. p. 199.

(K) Taking from thence ſeven years, for that khân's reign, it will bring the death of *Uzbek Khân* to 1342. This does not agree with the account of *Abulghâzi Khân*, who ſays, it happened at his return from his ſecond expedition againſt *Abûſaïd Khân*; which, from the date of *Kondamîr*, happened ſeven years before. Perhaps *Jani Bek* reigned longer than ſeven years.

(L) *De la Croix* ſays he left *Tauris* immediately.

(M) *Toktamiſh* was the ſon of *Tokul Khoja Oglan*, ſon of *Saritza*, ſon of *Avay Timûr*, ſon of *Togay Timûr*.

days

days after *Idighi Mangap*, who had put himſelf into the ſervice of *Tokatmiſh*, followed him; with tidings, that *Urûs Khân*, and all his forces, might eaſily be ſurpriſed, becauſe he marched at a great rate towards *Great Bukhâria*. *Idighi Mangap* was the ſon of *Kutluk Kaba*, a man of diſtinction among the tribe of *Ak Mungls* (or *White Mungls*), whoſe daughter *Timûr* had given in marriage to one of his ſons, of which marriage *Timûr Kutluk* was the iſſue. Upon this advice *Amîr Timûr* ſent *Tokatmiſh* with a numerous army againſt *Urûs Khân*; whom having defeated and ſlain in the battle, he found no difficulty to aſcend the throne in 777 [m] (of Chriſt 1375).

Hej. 777. A. D. 1375.

Defeats Tokatmiſh.

As we meet with a more particular account of this war between *Tokatmiſh* and *Urûs Khân* in the life of *Timûr Bek*, written by *Sharîfo'ddin Ali*, a *Perſian* author, it may be proper to give an abſtract of it on this occaſion. While *Timûr* was on his return from his expedition againſt *Kamro'ddin*, prince of *Jetah*, or the *Getes*, in the year of the *Hejrah* 777; he received advice that *Tokatmiſh Aglen*, jealous of *Urûs Khân*, was on the road, to put himſelf under his protection. Hereupon he ſent an *Uzbek* officer of diſtinction to bring him to court; where he arrived ſoon after that monarch had reached his capital. He was received with the greateſt honours by *Timûr*; who alſo beſtowed on him the government of *Sabran*, *Otrâr*, *Saganak*, *Sayram*, *Saray*, and other cities of the empire of *Kipjâk*, which were in his poſſeſſion. The prince was ſcarce ſettled in his new department, before he was obliged to march againſt *Kotluk Buga*, ſon of *Urûs Khân*; and altho' this latter was ſlain in the fight with an arrow, yet *Tokatmiſh*, leaving his country to be plundered by the enemy, was obliged to fly to *Timur*; who received him with greater honour than at firſt, and ſent him back with freſh forces.

Invades Timûr's *dominions.*

As ſoon as *Tukta Kaya*, eldeſt ſon of *Urûs Khân*, had advice of this, he marched with a very numerous army, and defeated *Tokatmiſh*; who, in his flight, was purſued, and wounded in the hand with an arrow, as he paſſed the river *Sihûn* (or *Sîr*). Being gotten to the other ſide, he entered a wood alone, naked and wounded: where caſting himſelf on the ground, to get ſome reſt, his doleful moan ſoon brought thither one of his old captains, who found him juſt recovered from a ſwoon; and, after taking proper care of him, brought him to *Bokhâra*. *Timûr*, who was there encamped, ordered another equipage to be made for him, as magnificent as the former. Mean time a commander, named *Aydekû*, of the tribe

[m] Abulgh. ubi ſup. p. 200.

of

of *Mangût* (N), brought advice from the court of *Urûs Khân*, that he was marching againſt *Timûr*, and ſought every-where for *Tokatmiſh*: at the ſame time embaſſadors arrived from the khân, to demand that prince to be given up; otherwiſe to declare war. *Timûr* anſwered, that he would protect *Tokatmiſh*, and ſoon meet their maſter in the field; as he did at *Saganak*, twenty-four leagues from *Otrâr*.

THESE vaſt armies were ready to engage, when there fell a prodigious quantity of rain and ſnow, followed by ſo exceſſive a cold, that the limbs both of men and beaſts loſt all motion. At the end of three months, during which this weather continued, *Timûr*, weary of being ſo long in ſight of the enemy, and yet out of action, ſent a detachment to attack them in the night; which, meeting with 3000 horſe, commanded by *Timûr Malek Aglen*, ſon of *Urûs Khân*, defeated them, the prince himſelf being wounded in the foot with an arrow. Hereupon *Urûs Khân*, deſpairing of ſucceſs, returned home. *Timûr* likewiſe marched back to *Great Bukhâria*: but, as ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted, he ſet forward again, with deſign to invade *Kipjâk*; and made ſo much expedition, that, in fifteen days and nights, he arrived with his army at *Jeyran Kamiſh*, that is, *The reeds for deers*, a town in that country, whoſe inhabitants he found faſt aſleep. Here, being informed that *Urûs Khân* was dead, he eſtabliſhed *Tokatmiſh* ſovereign of *Kipjâk*, and the reſt of the empire of *Tuſhi* (or *Juji*); after which he returned to his own dominions [n]. *Returns, and dies.*

THIS account of *Urûs Khân*'s death is doubtleſs more exact than that of *Abulghâzi Khân*; becauſe, had he been killed in battle, it would have afforded a ſubject of triumph to *Timûr*'s hiſtorian. *De la Croix* places no fewer than nine khâns between *Birdi Bey*, or *Bek*, and *Urûs Khân*; whoſe names, according to him, are, *Kildi Bek*, another of *Jani Bek*'s ſons; *Norûz*, who pretended to be a ſon of *Jani Bek*; *Cherkes Khân*, who was likewiſe ſet up for a ſon of the ſame prince, ſuch were the conjunctures of that time; *Kheder Khân*; *Mazûd Khân*, ſon of *Kheder Khân*; *Bazarchi Khân*; *Tokay*, ſon of *Shahi Khân*; *Tokluk Timûr Khân*, *Tokay*'s nephew; *Mûrâd Koja Khân*, brother of the former [o]. But theſe are not to be *Confuſion in* Kipjâk.

[n] Hiſt. TIM. BEK. l. ii. c. 20—23. p. 178—186. [o] DE LA CROIX, hiſt. Gengh. p. 388, & ſeq.

(N) This ſeems to be the *Idighi Mangap* of *Abulghâzi Khân*, in the tranſlation of whoſe hiſtory the names are often very erroneouſly written; but we cannot ſay where the fault lies in the preſent inſtance.

conſidered

conſidered as ſo many khâns, who reigned ſucceſſively one after the other; but rather as pretenders, or uſurpers, who laid claim to the whole, or ſeized part of it, and reigned at the ſame time, till they were ſuppreſſed by the forces of *Urûs Khân*. But to return to *Tokatmiſh*:

11. *Tokatmiſh Khân*

ALTHO' *Tokatmiſh* ſeemed to be now ſecurely eſtabliſhed in the throne of *Kipjâk*, yet his poſſeſſion did not long continue quiet: for *Tukta Kiya*, eldeſt ſon of *Urûs Khân*, dying ſoon after his father, his brother *Timûr Malek Aglen* aſcended the throne; and, in 778, marching with a powerful army againſt *Tokatmiſh*, after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, once more intirely vanquiſhed him. But, by means of a very fleet horſe, given him by the emperor, to ſerve him on ſuch occaſions, he eſcaped, and got alone to court, all his troops being diſperſed. The generous *Timûr* again recruited his loſſes, and ſent him back with ſeveral commanders, who had orders to replace him on the throne of *Kipjâk*: which they accordingly did, in the city of *Saganak*; and, purſuant to cuſtom, ſprinkled on him gold and precious ſtones. Mean time *Orki-timûr*, taken priſoner in the late battle, made his eſcape, and informed *Timûr Bek*, that *Timûr Malek* ſpent both night and day in debauches: that he ſlept till ten in the morning, which is dinner-time, no one daring to awake him, whatever affairs of importance required it; and that all the people of *Kipjâk* deſired *Tokatmiſh* for their ſovereign. On this news, the emperor ſent to adviſe that prince to march with all expedition to attack his rival, who had paſſed the winter at *Karatal* (O). *Tokatmiſh Aglen* immediately departed from *Saganak*; and, coming up with the enemy, defeated them; by which victory he recovered the throne. *Timûr Bek* was ſo rejoiced at this news, that he ſpent many days in feaſting, and releaſed many priſoners. As for *Tokatmiſh Khân*, he returned to paſs the winter at *Saganak*; and, raiſing a great army in ſpring following, went and reconquered the kingdom of *Saray* (P) and *Memak*, with the reſt of the empire of *Tuſhi Khân* [P].

Hej. 778. A. D. 1376.

eſtabliſhed by Timûr;

invades his dominions.

WHEN *Timûr Kutluk*, before-mentioned, grew up, he went to dwell in the country of the *Kipjâks*, and *Idighi Mangap* put himſelf under his protection. This greatly diſpleaſed *Tokatmiſh Khân*; who, having beſides entertained a ſuſpicion that *Timûr Kutluk* ſought to ſupplant him, endeavoured, without

[P] Hiſt. TIM. BEK, l. ii. c. 24, 25. p. 187—190.

(O) *Karatal*, a place in *Kipjâk*.

(P) Of which *Shari Sarayjik*, or *Saray*, above-mentioned, was the capital.

noiſe,

noiſe, to get rid of ſo dangerous a rival. But *Timûr Kutluk*, having diſcovered the khân's deſign, fled for refuge to *Great Bukhâria*, whither he was followed ſix months after by *Idighi Mangap*. Mean time, while *Amîr Timûr* invaded *Irân* with all his forces, *Tokatmiſh Khân* entered *Great Bukhâria*, then deſtitute of troops, with a great army; and, having taken *Samarkant*, put to the ſword a great number of the inhabitants. After this, he ſet out for his own dominions: but *Amîr Timûr*, who, on the firſt news of that prince's march, had returned homewards, followed him with ſo much diligence, that he overtook him on the banks of the *Atel* (or *Wolga*). *Tokatmiſh Khân*, finding there was no way to avoid a battle, gave it with all the reſolution imaginable: but, the good fortune of *Timûr* having prevailed over all the conduct of the khan, this laſt was obliged to eſcape by flight, after having loſt all his army in the engagement.

Timûr Kutluk *retires.*

AFTER the battle, *Timûr Kûtluk*, who was in the action, with *Amîr Timûr*'s conſent, went to look for his ſubjects, whom he had baſely abandoned, for fear of *Toktamiſh Khân*; and, having met with a great number of them on the banks of the *Atel*, prepared to march with them to *Samarkant*. But *Idighi Mangap* adviſed him not to put it in *Amîr Timûr*'s power to deprive him of his ſubjects, by diſtributing them in the cities belonging to his dominions: he told him, that would neceſſarily reduce him to a ſtate of abſolute dependence on *Timûr*; and therefore counſelled him to go ſettle elſewhere with his people: which the other accordingly did; and retired ſo ſecretly, that it is not known whither he went[q] (Q). *De la Croix* puts two of *Urûs Khân*'s ſons between him and *Tokatmiſh*, whom he makes the twenty-third khân; *viz.* *Tokta Kaya*, (eldeſt ſon of *Urûs*, who died in 1376, the ſame year with his father), and *Timûr Malek Aglen*[r].

12. Kaverchik Khân.

TOKATMISH Khân, at his death, left eight ſons (R): but *Kaverchik*, ſon of *Urûs Khân*, ſeized the *Kipjâk* ſceptre, and reigned after him.

HE

[q] ABULGH. ubi ſup. p. 201, & ſeq. [r] DE LA CROIX, ubi ſup. p. 389.

(Q) *Timûr* made ſeveral expeditions, beſides this, into *Kipjâk*, againſt *Tokatmiſh*, which ſhall be related in the reign of that prince; who, as *De la Croix* obſerves, defeated him in 1388, 1391, and 1395.

(R) Their names were, 1. *Jalalo'ddin*; 2. *Jabar Birdi*; 3. *Kayuk*; 4. *Karim Birdi*; 5. *Iſkander*; 6. *Abû-ſaïd*; 7. *Khoja*; 8. *Kadir Birdi*: but, of the ſix mentioned by *De la Croix*, three are not to be found among them;

13. Barak Khân. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Barak Khân* [s]. *De la Croix* makes this the thirty-eighth khân, placing fourteen between *Tokatmiſh* and him, in the following order: *Timûr Kutluk Aglen*, ſon of *Timûr Malek*, who had ſerved *Timûr* in the wars againſt *Tokatmiſh Khân*: *Shadi Bek*, notwithſtanding the inſtallation of *Koyrichak Aglen*, by *Timûr*, in *April* 1395: *Pulâd*, ſon of *Shâdi Bek*, altho' *Timûr* did not acknowlege him for khân: *Timûr*, ſon of *Timûr Kutluk*, altho' not acknowleged by *Timûr*, who had inſtalled *Idekû Khân*: *Jalalo'ddîn*; *Kerim Birdi*; *Kepek Khân*; *Bahhira*; *Kadir Birdi*. Theſe five laſt were ſons of *Tokatmiſh Khân*: *Kadir Birdi* was killed in battle againſt *Idekû*, before-mentioned. The ſame, *Idekû*; *Sidi Ahmed*; *Derviſh*, ſon of *Alſhi Khân*; *Kuchuk Mehemed*, ſon of *Tokatmiſh*; *Dolet Birdi Khân*, ſon of *Taſh Timûr*; *Barrak Khân*, ſon of *Kavarjik* [t]. It appears from this great number of competitors for the *Kipjâk* throne, that the country was in much confuſion; which daily increaſed, inſtead of ſubſiding.

14. MahmatKhân. Upon the demiſe of *Barak Khân*, *Mahmat* (S), ſon of *Hajan Oglan*, ſon of *Jabina*, ſon of *Tolak Timûr*, ſon of *Saricha*, ſon of *Avas Timûr*, ſon of *Togay Timûr*, ſeized the ſceptre of the country of the *Kipjâks*.

15. Jani BekKhân. *MAHMAT Khân* had for his ſucceſſor *Abûſa'id*, ſurnamed *Jani Bek Khân*, ſon of *Barak Khân*, who left nine ſons: *Iraji*; *Mohammed*; *Kaſim*, who gave battle to *Mohammed Khân Sheybani*, in which the latter loſt his life; *Aytik*; *Janiſh*; *Kamber*; *Tamiſh*; *Awſſak*; and *Jayik*. The *Uzbeks* affirm, that the khâns of *Turkeſtân* are deſcended from *Janiſh Soltân*, fifth ſon of *Jani Bek Khân*.

16. Ghiazo'ddîn Khân. After the death of *Jani Bek*, *Ghiazo'ddîn*, ſon of *Timûrtaſh*, ſon of *Mahmat Khân*, poſſeſſed himſelf of the throne of *Kipjâk*, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Haji Garay* [u]. *De la Croix*, inſtead of multiplying the number of khâns from *Barak*, or *Barrak*, inſerts only two in his liſt; *Kayazo'ddîn Shadi Bek*, and *Mehemed*, ſon of *Timûr Khân* [w]. It may be preſumed, that *Kayazo'ddîn* is the ſame with *Abûlghâzi Khan*'s *Ghiazo'ddîn* (or *Gayatho'ddîn*, according to the pronunciation

[s] Abulgh. ubi ſup. [t] De la Croix, ubi ſup. p. 389, & ſeq. [u] Abulgh. ubi ſup. p. 203. [w] De la Croix, ubi ſup. p. 390.

them; *viz. Kepek Khân*, *Bahhira*, and *Kuchuk Mehemed Khân*. The other three are, *Jalalo'ddîn*, *Kerim Birdi*, and *Kadir Birdi*, who, according to that author, were all khâns in the order mentioned hereafter in the text.

(S) Or rather, perhaps, *Mahmûd*.

of

of the *Arabs*), notwithſtanding that *Haje Keray* is repreſented as the ſon of *Mehemed*, by the authors made uſe of by *La Croix*; who are not to be depended on ſo much as the khân of *Karazm*, for the genealogy of the princes of his own nation, and the country from whence the *Uzbeks*, his ſubjects, originally came.

17. Haji Garay Khân.

HAJI Garay (*) (*Ghyeray*, or *Keray*) *Khân*, who ſucceeded his father *Ghiazo'ddîn*, left eight ſons: *Dawlat Yar*; *Nûr Dawlat Khân*; *Haydar Khân*; *Kutluk Saman*; *Kildiſh*; *Mengli Garay Khân*; *Yam Gurji*; and *Avas Timûr*. Theſe ſons, after their father's death, divided his dominions among them; but their deſcendants did not long enjoy their reſpective poſſeſſions: for the *Urûs* (or *Ruſſians*) ſeized the whole country of *Kipjâk* in the year 961 of the *Hejrah* (of *Chriſt* 1553); and, ſince that time, we hear no more mention of the poſterity of *Haji Garay Khân*. All we know for certain is, that the khâns of *Krîm* are ſprung from one of his ſons: but, as that country is at too great a diſtance from us, we cannot ſay which of them it is [x].

THIS is all the account given by *Abûlghâzi Khân* of the khâns who have reigned in *Kipjâk*; to which ſomething, by way of ſupply, may be added from *La Croix*, relating to *Haji Keray Khân*, and his ſucceſſors in *Krîm Tartary*. According to this author, *Haji Keray Khân* died in 1475, and left twelve ſons; which great number of princes was the cauſe that the empire of *Kipjâk* fell into confuſion, ſo that three of them were ſeen to reign as khâns at the ſame time. This occaſioned a war which ruined ſeveral provinces, whereof the *Ruſſians* got poſſeſſion: in ſhort, the great empire of *Kipjâk* had been utterly ruined, if *Soltân Mohammed* II, who ſubdued *Conſtantinople*, touched with the misfortunes of thoſe princes, had not taken care to ſuccour them. For this purpoſe, he ſent *Ghedik Ahmed Paſha*, who took the city of *Kaffa* (T) from the *Genoeſes*, and then that of *Mankûb*.

Khâns of Krîm.

HERE he found *Mengheli* or *Menkeli Keray*, ſon of *Haji Keray Khân*, who loſt his liberty with the reſt of the inhabitants. He had been khân of *Kipjâk* for ſome few days; but, having been vanquiſhed by his brothers, fled for refuge to the Chriſtians, and

[x] ABULGH. ubi ſup. p. 203, & ſeq.

(*) Whence this name, ſee *Nouv. Mem. des Miſſ. Levant*, tom. i. p. 134.

(T) This city fell early into the hands of the *Tatars*: but they did not keep it long; for, about 1266, the *Genoeſes* took it from them, and eſtabliſhed there the ſeat of their commerce in the eaſt; but it was taken from them in 1474, after they had been in poſſeſſion of it about 208 years.

waited an opportunity to remount the throne; on which *Mohammed* ſoon after replaced him [y]. According to the *Turks*, Hej. 876. *Kyeffa* (or *Kaffa*), with the reſt of *Krîm*, was taken in 876 A. D. of the *Hejrah*, which anſwers to that of *Chriſt* 1471. If 1471. ſo, the death of *Haji Keray* muſt have been four or five years earlier, at leaſt, than *La Croix* puts it; eſpecially if, as they ſay, *Mengheli Keray* had been a long time in war with his brother, before he took refuge with the *Genoeſes*. They add farther, that the ſoltân not only appointed this prince khân of the *Krîm*, on certain conſiderations, but alſo ſent him with an army of *Othmâns* into *Kapchâk* (or *Kiſjâk*); which he ſoon recovered by their aſſiſtance, after defeating and killing his brother. This was the firſt khân of *Tartary* appointed by the *Turks*; and the firſt who, in the *Krîm*, ordered the *Khotba*, in the name of the *Othmân* emperor, to be uſed in the prayers [z]. They aſſume the title of *Padiſhâh*, or emperor.

Khâns of Krîm Tatary.

18. Mengheli Keray Khân. 1. *MENGHELI Keray* (or *Ghyeray*) *Khân* ſucceeded his father. *La Croix* reckons him the forty-ſecond khân of *Kiſjâk*: but he was no more than the eighteenth, according to *Abûlghâzi Khân*; whoſe numbering thus far, being more exact, we ſhall follow in the margin, to carry on the ſucceſſion of the khâns of *Kiſjâk*: and at the ſame time begin a new reckoning with this prince at the head of the article, and continue it thro' the ſubſequent reigns, to ſhew their number, as khâns of *Krîm* and *Little Tartary* only; of whom *La Croix* has furniſhed a pretty accurate liſt, with the dates of their reſpective deaths, or advancement.

19. Mehemed Keray Khân. 2. *MEHEMED Keray Khân* ſucceeded his father *Mengheli Keray Khân*, in the dominion of *Kiſjâk*, as well as that of the *Krîm*. And here it may be proper to obſerve, that all the khâns, who ſucceeded *Mengheli Keray*, took or retained the name of *Keray*, *Geray*, or *Ghyeray*, as the *Turks* and *Tatars* pronounce it.

20. Gâzi Keray Khân. 3. *MEHEMED* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Gâzi Keray Khân*, who was depoſed, after a reign of ſix months.

21. Saadet Keray Khân. 4. *SAADET Keray Khân*, who gave his brother *Sahhib Keray Khân* in hoſtage to *Soltân Selim* I. emperor of the *Othmâns*. From this time the *Turks* gave one thouſand and fifty aſpers *per* day as a penſion to the khâns of *Krîm Tartary*, and other penſions to the lords of the *Tatar* court, as appears from the book *Kunho'l Akhbar*.

[y] La Croix, ubi ſup. p. 390.

[z] Cantemir, hiſt. Othm. p. 112, & ſeq.

5. *IS-*

5. *ISLAM Keray Khân*, ſon of *Mehemed Keray*. In his reign the kingdom was divided between two factions; one adhered to *Saadet Keray Khân*, the other to *Iſlâm Keray Khân*. At length, in 1517, the two parties came to blows on the banks of the *Niepar*, or *Boriſthenes*; and, thoſe on *Iſlam Keray*'s ſide gaining the advantage, *Saadet Keray* was obliged to fly to *Conſtantinople*, where the *Othmân* emperor gave him a penſion to ſubſiſt on. After this, *Iſlâm* was killed by, 22. Iſlam-Keray Khân.

6. *SAHHIB Keray Khân*, who ſeized the throne; but was himſelf, after having reigned a long time, depoſed by *Soleymân* II. ſoltân of the *Turks*. The *Ruſſians*, who had been vaſſals to the *Tatars* till the reign of *Czar* or *Tſar Ivan Baſiliwitz*, took the city of *Kazân*, or *Kaſân*, ſituate on the river *Kaſânkâ*, a little to the eaſt of the *Wolga*, from this khân, on the ninth of *July* 1552[a]; and, in a year or two more, conquered the kingdom of *Aſtrakhân*, to the ſouth of that of *Kazân*, with the reſt of *Kipjâk* to the weſt of the river *Jaïk*: ſo that *Sahhib Keray Khân* may properly be ſaid to be the laſt khân of the race of *Juji Khân* who reigned in *Kipjâk*; excepting that part called *Little Tartary*, which became a part rather by conqueſt than original occupation. After the ſubjugation of this large country, the ſeveral tribes of *Kipjâks* and *Tatars* ſubmitted to the *Ruſſians*, and ſtill remain in their antient territories. 23. Sahhîb Keray Khân.

7. *SAHHIB Keray* was ſucceeded by *Dolet* (or *Dawlat*) *Keray Khân*, ſon of *Mobarek*, ſon of *Mengheli Keray Khân*, and died in 1577. 24. Dolet Keray Khân.

8. *DOLET Keray* had for his ſucceſſor *Mehemed Keray Khân*, who was depoſed for having diſobeyed the *Othmân* ſoltan. 25. Mehemet Keray Khân.

9. *ISLAM Keray Khân* (U), who had been impriſoned at *Rhodes*, was reſtored: he died in 1588. 26. Sahhîb *reſtored.*

10. *GAZI Keray Khân* ſucceeded: he was a learned prince, an excellent poet, and able muſician. The *Othmân* ſoltân increaſed his penſion to about five pounds *Engliſh per* day; becauſe he had done great ſervices to the *Turkiſh* empire, in the war with *Perſia*, where he diſcovered all the qualifications requiſite in a great officer: yet he was depoſed for ſome time, but was afterwards reſtored; and died in 1607. 27. Gâzi Keray Khân.

11. *FATEH Keray Khân*, who was depoſed almoſt as ſoon as he was advanced to that dignity. 28. Fateh Keray Khân.

[a] La Croix, ubi ſup. p. 391.

(U) This muſt be a miſtake for *Sahhib Keray*, who was impriſoned at *Rhodes*: *Iſlâm Keray* was killed.

29. Selamet Keray Khân. 12. He was ſucceeded by *Selâmet Keray Khân* (ſon of *Dolet Keray Khân*), who died in 1610.

30. Jani Bek Keray Khân. 13. *JANI Bek Keray Khân* ſucceeded *Selâmet Keray*; and, in 1617, marched into *Perſia* by order of the *Port*. He likewiſe went to beſiege *Kaffa*, at the head of 40,000 *Tatars*: nevertheleſs, he was depoſed in 1621; but re-eſtabliſhed ſix years after, in 1627.

31. Mehemet Keray Khân. 14. *JANI Bek* had for his ſucceſſor *Mehemet Keray Khân*, who was killed the ſame year.

32. Anayet Keray Khân. 15. *ANAYET Keray Khân*, ſon of *Gâzi Keray Khân*, depoſed in 1637; and afterwards put to death the ſame year at *Conſtantinople* [b]. According to other accounts, he was indeed ſlain this year by a nephew of his competitor *Kantemîr*; which latter was put to death at *Conſtantinople*, for killing a *Tatar*. As *Anâyet* had ſhaken off much of his reſpect for the *Othmân* emperor, his murder was applauded at the *Port*; who ſet up his brother, then at *Jamboli* in *Rum-ili*, or *Thrace*, in his room [c].

33. Behadr Keray Khân. 16. *BEHADR Keray Khân*, ſon of *Selâmet Keray Khân*, ſucceeded *Anâyet*, and died in 1641 [d]. This khân is called *Bekhir Gheray* by others.

34. Mehemed Keray Khân. 17. *MEHEMED Keray Khân*, another ſon of *Selâmet Keray*. He was depoſed in 1644, and reſtored: in 1664 he was depoſed a ſecond time.

35. Iſlam Keray Khân. 18. *ISLAM Keray Khân*, a ſon alſo of *Selâmet Keray*. He carried on a war with *Poland* for fourteen years, and died in 1653.

36. Adel Keray Khân. 19. *ADEL Keray Khân*, ſon of *Chûbân Keray Khân*. He was depoſed in 1671; and ſent back priſoner to *Rhodes*, from whence he had been taken.

37. Selîm Keray Khân. 20. *SELIM Keray Khân*, who reigned in 1673. We are informed by prince *Kantemir*, that the *Turks*, diſtruſting the fidelity of *Selîm*, after the battle of *Vienna*, advanced *Kior Gyeray*, of the *Chûban Gyeray* family, to the dignity of khân; but that in a few months he was depoſed, and the antient race of *Gyeray* replaced on the throne. That author adds, that it is thought the *Chûban Gyeray* will never riſe to the ſame honour again, altho' they may enjoy the office of galga ſoltân, nûro'ddîn, and the like, which are in the power of their relations [e]. But, if the memoirs of *La Croix* be true, one of the family of the *Chubân Gyeray* (X) *Khâns*, was on the

(X) *Chûban*, or *Choban*, *Gyeray*, ſignifies *Gyeray the ſhepherd*. The *Chûban Tatars* live on the *Aſiatic* ſide, over-againſt the *Krim*, between it and *Chirkaſſia*.

[b] La Croix, ubi ſup. p. 391, & ſeq. [c] See hereafter, the hiſtory of the Othmân Turks. [d] La Croix, ubi ſup. p. 392. [e] Cantem. hiſt Othm. not. p. 113.

throne of *Krîm Tartary* before, in the perſon of *Adel Keray Khân*. The reaſon aſſigned for the ſuppoſition, that none of the *Chubân Gyeray* family will be advanced for the future, is, that they are of a ſpurious race: which reflection they retort, in their turn, on the *Gyerays* of *Krîm*. However, they are allowed, by the *Othmân* emperors, to live at *Jamboli* (formerly *Janoſoli*), before-mentioned, which is the deſtined ſeat of the *Tatar* princes [f]. He was famous in the late war; for, in one campaign, he beat the *Ruſſians*, *Poles*, and *Germans*. After he had been twice khân, he abdicated, on his return from *Mekka*; but being made khan the third time by the *Port*, in place of his ſon, the latter revolted; yet was reduced by his brother ſoltan *Gazi Keray*, in 1702, when the khân was about forty. He was very handſome and well-made *: was ſucceeded by ſoltân *Gazi*, named

21. *DOLET Keray Khân*, ſon of *Selîm Keray Khân*. This prince was much beloved by his ſubjects, and accounted a great ſoldier: but he was depoſed by the *Port*, and ſent firſt to *Rhodes*, and then to *Khio*. 38. Dolet Keray Khân.

22. *KAPLAN Keray Khân*. This prince having been defeated in *Chirkaſſia*, by ſome rebels, whom he went to reduce, the ſoltan depoſed him, in 1708; and re-eſtabliſhed in his room *Dolet Keray Khân* [g], who had been depoſed before him, and is, according to *La Croix*, the ſixty-fourth khân of *Kipjâk*. 39. Kaplan Keray Khân.

23. *DOLET Keray Khân*, who began his ſecond reign in 1708. 40. Dolet Keray Khân.

BOOK IV.

The Hiſtory of the princes of the race of Jenghîz Khân, *who have reigned in the* Great *and* Little Bukhâria, *with part of* Karazm.

CHAP. I.

A deſcription of Great Bukhâria.

BUKHARIA, *Bokhâria*, *Bokâria*, *Bogâria*, or *Bohâria*, as it may be variouſly pronounced, is the name given at preſent to all that region or tract of land lying between *Karazm* and the great kobi or ſandy deſart, bordering on *China*. It ſignifies the country of the *Bukhârs*: *Bukhâr*, as Bukhâria *in general*.

[f] CANTEM. hiſt. Othm. note, p. 113. * Nouv. Mem. des Miſſ. Levant, vol. i. p. 102, & ſeqq. 130, & ſeqq. [g] LA CROIX, ubi ſupra, p. 393.

Abû'lghâzi Khân informs us, being a *Mungl* word, importing, *a learned man*; becauſe all thoſe (formerly) who had a mind to be inſtructed in the languages and ſciences, went, for that purpoſe, into *Bukhâria*[a]. Hence it appears, that this name was impoſed originally by the *Mungls*, who conquered this country in the time of *Jenghîz Khân*. This vaſt region is divided into two parts, the *Great* and the *Little Bukhâria*. It ſeems ſomewhat ſtrange, that the above-mentioned author, who ſpeaks frequently of the former, ſhould never once mention the latter: which name, perhaps, may not be ſo much in uſe with the *Uzbeks*, or may have come in uſe only ſince the *Elûths* or *Kalmûks* conquered the countries comprized under that denomination, in the laſt century. Both names are in uſe with the *Ruſſians*, and it is from them that they came to other *Europeans*.

Its ſeveral names.

THE country of *Great Bukhâria* is nearly the ſame with that called by the *Arabs Mawara'lnahr*; which ſignifies, *what lies beyond the river*, meaning the *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, the *Oxus* of the antient *Greeks*, and is little other than a tranſlation of *Tranſoxana*, the name given formerly to thoſe provinces. Under this denomination was comprized all the extent of country poſſeſſed by thoſe powers, the *Greeks* and *Arabs*, beyond the above-mentioned river; which country, at different times, had different dimenſions. Indeed, for the general, *Mawara'lnahr* ſignified all the ſpace or lands intercepted between the *Jihûn* and the *Sihûn*, now called *Sîr*, which ſeparated them from the territories of the *Turks*, who, during the dominion of the *Arabs* in thoſe parts, ſpread themſelves very far over *Great Tartary*. However, although *Abúlghâzi Khân*, in ſome places, ſeems to uſe the words *Great Bukhâria*, and *Mawara'lnahr*, to denote the ſame country; yet, in other places, the firſt name ſeems to be more limited, and even reſtrained, to the territories of the khan of *Bukhâra*, or *Bokhâra*, one of the three provinces into which *Great Bukhâria* is at preſent divided.

Mawara'lnahr.

Turân.

GREAT Bukhâria is alſo compriſed under the name of *Turân*, or the country of the *Turks*: which is likewiſe given, by the *Arabs* and *Perſians*, to the country ſituated to the north of the river *Amû*, in oppoſition to *Irân*, or *Perſia* at large, lying to the ſouth of that river; and includes a conſiderable part of what fell to the ſhare of *Jagatay Khân*, ſecond ſon of *Jenghîz Khân*, from whoſe deſcendants, the *Uzbeks*, of the race of *Juji*, or *Tûſhi Khân*, conquered it. But here it may be requiſite to obſerve, that *Abû'lghâzi Khân* employs the

[a] ABU'LGH. hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 108.

word

word *Turân* in a different ſenſe, namely, to denote the regions lying between the river *Sîr* and the icy ſea, or perhaps more particularly *Siberia*; except the word *Turân* has, through ſome miſtake, been inſerted inſtead of *Tûra*, as the *Engliſh* tranſlator of that author is inclined to think [b].

Jagatay Uzbek.

AFTER the conqueſt of this country by the *Mungls*, and grant thereof to *Jagatay Khân*, it took the name of *Jagatay*, or *Zagatay*, as our geographers write it; given to it by the *Perſians*, or perhaps the *Mungls* themſelves, in honour of the new proprietor. This name continued ſo long as the khâns deſcended from him reigned in thoſe parts. Upon their expulſion by the *Uzbeks*, the *Perſians* gave it the name of the country of *Uzbek* [c], as before they had done to that part of *Tartary* beyond the *Sîr*, which they then inhabited: but it does not appear that the *Uzbeks* themſelves called either country after their own name; at leaſt, *Abû'lghâzi Khân* never does. However that be, they have been communicated, by their neighbours, to the *Europeans*; whoſe geographers, for the general, ſtill uſe them, and even thoſe which have been long ſince out of uſe among the *Aſiatics*.

Situation and extent.

GREAT Bukhâria (which ſeems to comprehend the *Sogdiana* and *Baktriana* of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, with their dependencies), is ſituated between the 34th and 46th degrees of latitude, and between the 76th and 92d degrees of longitude. It is bounded on the north by the river *Sîr*, which ſeparates it from the dominions of the *Elûths*, or *Kalmûks*; the kingdom of *Kâſhgar*, in *Little Bukhâria*, on the eaſt; by the dominions of the *Great Mogul*, and *Perſia*, on the ſouth; and by the country of *Karazm* on the weſt: being about 770 miles long, from weſt to eaſt; and 730 miles broad, from ſouth to north.

Soil and produce.

ACCORDING to *Bentink*, nature has denied nothing to this fine country, to render living in it agreeable: the mountains abound with the richeſt mines; the valleys are of an aſtoniſhing fertility in all ſorts of fruits and pulſe; the fields are covered with graſs the height of a man; the rivers ſwarm with excellent fiſh; and wood, which is ſcarce all over *Grand Tartary*, is found here in great plenty: in ſhort, it is the beſt cultivated, and beſt inhabited, of all the northern *Aſia*. But all theſe bleſſings are of very little uſe to the *Tatar* inhabitants, who are naturally ſo lazy, that they would rather go rob and kill their neighbours, than apply themſelves to improve the benefits which nature ſo liberally offers them [d].

[b] ABU'LGH. hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 452, & ſeq. [c] TEIXEIRA, hiſt. Perſ. p. 319. [d] ABU'LGH. ubi ſupra, p. 299.

Diviſion into provinces.

GREAT Bukhâria is divided into three large provinces, namely, *Proper Bukhâria*, *Samarkant*, and *Bâlk*, each of which has commonly its particular khân: altho' ſometimes one, by conqueſt, is maſter of two provinces, as happened to be the caſe about thirty years ago, when the khân of *Proper Bukhâria* was in poſſeſſion alſo of *Samarkant*; and this may ſtill be the caſe, for any thing we know, at this diſtance, to the contrary.

1. *Province of* Proper Bukhâria.

Proper Bukhâria.

THE province of *Proper Bukhâria*, or *Bokhâria*, is the moſt weſtern of the three; having on the weſt, *Karazm*; on the north, a deſart called by the *Arabs Gaznah*; on the eaſt, the province of *Samarkant*; and on the ſouth, the river *Amû*. It may be about 390 miles long, and 320 broad. *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, in the hiſtory of his own wars, mentions ſeveral provinces and towns belonging to *Proper Bukhâria* (ſome of which the *French* editor gives an account of), as the provinces of *Duraganata* and *Gordiſh*, large provinces towards *Karazm*; *Kujin* and *Karmina*, towards the middle of the country. The towns are chiefly *Bokhâra*, *Zam*, *Wardanſi*, *Karakûl*, *Siunjhala*, *Karſhi*, *Zarjui*, *Nerſem*, and *Karmina*.

Bokhâra *city.*

THE city of *Bokhâra*, or *Boghar*, as our *Jenkinſon* calls it, is, according to that author, ſituated in the loweſt part of all the country; and, by his own obſervation, in 39 degrees 10 minutes of latitude; twenty days journey from *Urkenj*, the capital of *Karazm*. It was, in 1559, of great extent, and fortified with a high wall of earth; was divided into three parts, whereof the caſtle of the khân, who reſides here, made one; the murſas, officers of the court, and thoſe belonging to the khân's retinue, took up the ſecond part; the third, which was the biggeſt, being poſſeſſed by the burghers, merchants, and other inhabitants. In this laſt diviſion, every trade or profeſſion has its particular quarter. The houſes are generally only of earth; but the temples, and many other ſtructures, as well public as private, are of ſtone, ſumptuouſly built, and gilded; eſpecially the baths, which are ſo artfully contrived, that the like is not to be ſeen any-where elſe.

Water unwholſome.

A LITTLE river runs through the city, whoſe water is very bad, breeding in the legs of ſuch as drink it, worms an ell long, between the fleſh and the ſkin; which working out about an inch every day, are rolled up, and thus extracted; but if they break in the operation, the patient dies. For all this inconvenience, it is there forbidden to drink any other liquor than water and mares milk; ſuch as break that law being whipped through the markets. There are officers appointed to ſearch all houſes for aqua vitæ, wine, or brag (or braga); and in caſe any be found, they break the veſſels, ſpill the drink, and puniſh

nish the owners: nay, often if a man's breath smells of strong liquor, he incurs a handsome bastonado. This great strictness is owing to the metropolitan (or head of the law) in *Bukhâria*, who is more obeyed than the king himself: he even depose him at pleasure; as he served both the king who reigned when our author was there, and his predecessor, slaying him in his chamber in the night.

THE king (or khân) has neither great power nor wealth. As his revenues are but small, he is maintained chiefly by the city: for he takes the tythe of all things sold there, to the great impoverishment of the people; and when he wants money to pay his debts, sends his officers to seize goods from the shop-keeper, upon credit, whether they will or not. Thus he acted, to pay *Jenkinson* for some pieces of kersey. However, that merchant was very civilly treated by him, who reigned when he was there, in the year above-mentioned. He often sent for, and discoursed with, him, about the laws, religion, and power, of the *European* countries. At his request, likewise, he sent 100 men in pursuit of robbers (who had attacked his karawân), and recovered part of his goods.

Language. As the country of *Boghâr* was formerly subject to the *Persians*, the *Persian* language is still spoken there. But the *Boghârians* are continually at war with the *Persians* their neighbours, on account of religion, although both nations are *Mohammedans* (but of different sects) They likewise quarrel with them, because they do not shave the upper lip, as they, and all other *Tatars*, do: for this reason, they call them kafrs, that is, unbelievers, as they do Christians. They have no gold coin in *Bukhâria*; and only one piece of silver (A), worth twelve pence *English*, which the king raises and falls so frequently, that their copper money, called *Puli*, is more current, whereof 100 make the silver piece.

coin.

and trade. As to the trade of *Bokhâra*, *Jenkinson* observes, that, in his time, there was a great resort of karawâns, from *India*, *Persia*, *Bâlk*, *Russia*, and other countries: but he adds, that the merchants are so poor, and bring so few wares, which yet they must wait two or three years to sell, that there are no hopes of any trade in this place worth following. The *Indians* brought nothing but white calicoes; and carried back wrought silks, red hides, slaves, horses, and such-like: but would not deal with our author for woollen cloths, which they had from the *Persians* and the *Russians* [e].

[e] JENKINSON's voyage to Boghar. in Purch. pilgr. Vol. III. p. 239, & seq.

(A) *Bentink* says, the money of *Persia* and the *Indies* is current here also.

BEN-

BENTINK obſerves farther, that this city is conveniently ſituated for trade with the above-mentioned countries; and that the duties do not amount to quite three *per cent.*: but that the extraordinary oppreſſions which the foreign merchants have met with, have reduced commerce there to a very low ebb. However, that from hence the dominions of the *Great Mogul*, and part of *Perſia*, are ſupplied with all ſorts of dried fruits, of an exquiſite flavour [f].

Karmina *city.* THE ſame author gives an account of three or four more of the cities belonging to *Proper Bukhâria*. Firſt, *Karmina*; this place is ſituated in a province of the ſame name, towards the borders of *Karazm*, to the north-weſt of *Bokhâra*; and is but inconſiderable at preſent.

Wardanſi. *WARDANSI* lies to the weſt of *Karmina*, near the borders of the ſame country. It is a pretty large ſcambling town, inhabited by the *Bukhârs*, who traffic into *Perſia* and *Karazm*.

Karſhi. *KARSHI* ſtands to the north of the river *Amû*, and is, at preſent, one of the beſt cities in *Great Bukhâria*, being large, populous, and better built, than any other in that country (B). The neighbouring lands are exceeding fertile, in all ſorts of fruits and pulſe; and its inhabitants drive a great trade in the north parts of the *Indies*.

Zamin, *or* Zam. *ZAMIN* (C) is a ſmall town on the right (or north-ſide) of the *Amû*, towards the borders of *Perſia*, remarkable for nothing but its paſſage over that river; which is of great advantage to the *Uzbeks* of *Great Bukhâria*, in their expeditions on that ſide [g].

2. *The province of* Samarkant.

Bounds and extent. THIS province, which is called *Mawara'lnahr* by *Bentink*, lies to the eaſt of *Proper Bukhâria*, and north of *Bâlk*. It extends as far as the the borders of *Kâſhgar*, in *Little Bukhâria*; being about 540 miles long, from weſt to eaſt; and 500 broad, from ſouth to north.

[f] ABU'LGH. hiſt. Turks, p. 465, & ſeq. [g] Ibid. p. 464, & ſeq.

(B) It lies between *Bokhâra* and *Samarkant*. *Timûr Bek* (or *Tamerlan*) uſually encamped with his army near this city, which ſtands on the river *Tûm*. *Nakſheb*, *Neſef*, and *Karſhi*, are the ſame place; it had this laſt name from the palace which *Kep.k* built, two leagues and an half diſtant; for *Karſhi*, in the *Mungl* language, ſignifies a palace. *De la Croix*, hiſt. Tim. Bek. p. 65. book i, cap. 13.

(C) Called alſo *Samin*, or *Zam*.

THIS

THIS country was formerly full of flouriſhing cities; but moſt of them are, at preſent, either intirely ruined, or much fallen to decay. The capital of the province, and indeed of all *Great Bukhâria*, taken in the largeſt ſenſe, is *Samarkant*, or *Samarkand* (D), ſituated on a river, and in a valley, both which bear the name of *Sogd*; from whence the *Sogdiana* of the antients had its denomination. It is ſeven days journey to the north-eaſt of *Bokhâria*; and, according to the obſervation of *Ulug Beg* (grandſon of *Timûr Beg*, or *Tamerlan*), who reigned here in 1447, lies in 39° 37′ 23″ of latitude. Although it falls ſhort, at preſent, of being ſo ſplendid as in times paſt, yet, *Bentink* ſays, it is ſtill very large, and well peopled. It is fortified with ſtrong bulwarks of earth; and its buildings are much in the ſame condition with thoſe of *Bokhâra*: ſome of the private houſes are of ſtone, dug out of quarries which are near the town [h]. *Abû'lfeda* ſays, that the ſtreets were paved in his time: that it had a wide ditch round the walls: and that water was conveyed from the river, by leaden pipes, into the city [i]. Samarkant *city*.

THE academy of ſciences in this city is one of the moſt eminent to be found among the *Mohammedans*, who reſort thither to ſtudy, from all the neighbouring countries. The ſilk-paper made here is ſaid to be the moſt beautiful in all *Aſia*, and therefore in great requeſt throughout the eaſt. The ſoil produces pears, apples, raiſins, and melons, of an exquiſite taſte; and in ſuch plenty, that the empire of the *Great Mogul*, and part of *Perſia*, are ſupplied with them. The little river (that is, the *Sogd*), which paſſes by the town, would be of great uſe to the place, by opening a communication with the neighbouring dominions, if the inhabitants had but the induſtry to make it navigable. *Its advantages*.

THE other remarkable cities in this province were, *Otrâr*, *Zarnuk*, *Taſhkunt*, *Kojand*, *Kaſh*, *Saghanian*, *Waſhjerd*, and *Termed*: but of theſe we meet with ſcarce any account in modern travellers. *Otrâr*, called by the *Arabs Farâb*, is the moſt diſtant city from the capital, and lies almoſt due north. It ſtands in the moſt north-weſt part of the province, on a ſmall river, which, two leagues thence, falls ſouthward into the *Sîr*. This place is famous for the death of *Timûr Beg*, in *Other cities*. Otrâr.

[h] ABU'LGH. hiſt. Turks, p. 462. [i] ABU'LF. deſcr. Choraſmiæ, p. 62.

(D) *Kant*, *Kent*, and *Kunt*, as 'tis variouſly pronounced by people who ſpeak different dialects of the *Mungl* or *Turkiſh* language, ſignifies a city or town; of which *Kand*, or *Kend*, are made by other nations.

1405 [k]; and, though not conſiderable at preſent, was the capital city of *Turkeſtân*, when that kingdom or empire was in its flouriſhing ſtate, under *Kavar*, or *Kur Khân*, as hath been already [l] ſet forth.

TASHKUNT, at preſent, belongs to *Turkeſtân*; four days journey to the ſouth of which, and ſeven north-eaſt of *Samarkant*, ſtands *Kojand*, or *Kojend*, and *Khojend*, on the *Sîr*, being a famous paſſage over that river, as *Termed* is over the *Amû*. *Saghanian* and *Waſhjerd* are ſeated on the river *Saghanian*, which falls into the *Amû*. *Kaſh*, or *Keſh*, lies not far to the eaſt of *Karſhi*, and ſouth of *Samarkant*. *Timûr Beg* was prince of this city, before he roſe to his future greatneſs.

Kojand.
Termed.
Kaſh.

To theſe places may be added *Anghien*, which is the moſt eaſtern town of note in all *Great Bukhâria*: ſtanding near its borders, towards *Kâſhgar*, and not far from the ſource of the *Sîr*, on whoſe northern ſide it is ſituated; in the latitude of 40 degrees, according to the Jeſuits map of *Tibet*, drawn from the journals of *Chineſe* and *Tatar* travellers.

3. *The province of* Bâlk.

Bounds and extent.

THE province of *Bâlk*, or *Bâlkh*, lies to the ſouth of the province of *Samarkant*, and eaſt of *Proper Bukhâria*. 'Tis about 360 miles long, and 250 broad.

BENTINK obſerves, that although this province is the ſmalleſt of the three, yet, being extremely fertile, and thoroughly cultivated, the prince draws a fair revenue out of it. The country particularly abounds with ſilk, of which the inhabitants make very pretty manufactures.

THE *Uzbeks* ſubject to the khan of *Bâlk*, are the moſt civilized of all the *Tatars* inhabiting great *Bukhâria*, owing, in all likelihood, to their commerce with the *Perſians*; neither are ſo given to thieving as the reſt: they are likewiſe more induſtrious; but in other reſpects are the ſame ſort of people.

THE country of *Bâlk* is divided into ſeveral provinces; the moſt remarkable whereof are, *Khotlân*, or *Katlân*, *Tokhareſtân*, and *Badâgshân*. Its chief cities are, *Bâlk*, *Fariyab*, *Talkhân*, *Badâgshân*, and *Anderâb*.

City of Bâlk.

THE city of *Bâlk* is ſituate towards the borders of *Perſia*, about 50 miles to the ſouth of *Termed*, and on the river *Dekaſk*; which, about 40 miles from thence, to the north-weſt, falls into the *Amû*. *Bentink* informs us, that *Bâlk* is, at preſent, the moſt conſiderable of all the towns poſſeſſed by the *Mohammedan Tatars*, being large, fair, and well peopled.

[k] ABU'LGH. ubi ſupra, p. 462, & ſeqq. [l] See before.

Moſt

Moſt of its buildings are of ſtone or brick; and its fortifications conſiſt of earthen bulwarks, lined on the outſide with a ſtrong wall, high enough for its defence. The khan's caſtle is a great ſtructure, after the eaſtern faſhion, built almoſt wholly of marble, dug out of the neighbouring mountains. The chief cauſe to which this prince owes his preſervation, is the jealouſy which reigns among the neighbouring powers; ſo that he is always ſure of being aſſiſted by one, when attacked by another.

As foreigners have free liberty to trade in this city, it is become the reſort of all the buſineſs carried on between *Great Bukhâria* and the *Indies*. To this the fine river, before-mentioned, which paſſes through its ſuburbs, contributes not a little. Goods pay 2 *per cent.* going and coming; but paſſengers pay nothing at all.

ANDERAB is the moſt ſouthern city poſſeſſed, at preſent, by the *Uzbeks*; being ſituated at the foot of the mountains, which divide the dominions of the *Great Mogul* and *Perſia* from *Great Bukhâria*. As there is no other way of croſſing thoſe mountains towards *India*, with beaſts of carriage, but by the road through this city; all travellers, and goods, from *Great Bukhâria*, deſigned for that country, muſt paſs this way, paying 4 *per cent* On this account, the khân of *Bâlk* maintains a good number of ſoldiers in the place, which otherwiſe is of no great ſtrength. For the reſt, *Anderâb* is very rich and populous, conſidering it is but ſmall. The neighbouring mountains yield noble quarries of lapis lazuli, in which the *Bukhârs* drive a great trade with *Perſia* and *India*. Anderâb.

BADAGSHAN (or *Badakſhân*) is a very antient city, and exceeding ſtrong, by its ſituation, at the foot of thoſe high mountains which ſeparate *Hindûſtân* from *Great Tartary*. It belongs to the khân of *Proper Bukhâria*, and ſerves him for a kind of ſtate-priſon, to ſecure thoſe he is jealous of. Although the town is not very big, yet it is well enough built, and very well peopled The inhabitants are inriched by the mines of gold, ſilver, and rubies, which are in the neighbourhood. They who live at the foot of the mountains gather a great quantity of gold and ſilver duſt in ſpring, brought down by the torrents, when the ſnow melts on the top [m]. Badagſhân.

THE mountains above-mentioned are called, in the *Mungl* language, *Bêlûr Tâg*, or *the dark mountains*; in which riſes the river *Amû*, there called *Harrat Badagshân* ſtands on the north ſide of it, above 100 miles from its ſource, 230 from *Bâlk*, and 210 from *Anghien*, in the province of *Samarkant*. *Its ſituation.*

[m] BENT. ap. Abû'lgh. ubi ſupra, p. 466, & ſeq.

It

It is a great thoroughfare for the karawâns deſigned for *Little Bukhâria*, which take the ſame road.

Of the inhabitants of Great Bukhâria, *their manners and cuſtoms.*

Inhabitants. THE inhabitants of *Great Bukhâria* are of three ſorts. 1. The *Bukhârs*, who are the antient inhabitants. 2. The *Jagatays*, or *Mungls*, who ſettled there under *Jagatay Khân*, ſecond ſon of *Jenghîz Khân*. And, 3. The *Uzbek Tatars*, who are the preſent poſſeſſors.

The Bukhârs *perſons.* 1. ALL the great towns, both of *Great* and *Little Bukhâria*, from the borders of *Karazm*, as far as *China*, are inhabited by the *Bukhârs*; who, being the antient people of thoſe provinces, have that name given to them throughout the eaſt. But the *Tatars* commonly call them *Tajiks*; which word, in their language, ſignifies nearly the ſame as burgeſs, or citizen (E). The *Bukhârs* are well-ſet, and very fair, conſidering the climate; have generally large eyes, black, and lively; their faces are well-ſhaped; their noſes hawked; hair black, and very fine; their beards thick. In ſhort, they have nothing of the deformity which appears in the *Tatars*, among whom they inhabit. The women are generally large, and well-ſhaped, with fine complexions, and very beautiful features.

Their dreſs. BOTH men and women uſe calico ſhifts and drawers, over which the men wear a veſt of quilted ſilk, or calico; which reaches to the mid-leg, and is tied about the middle by a ſilk-crape girdle, which goes ſeveral times round. When they go abroad, they fling over it a long cloth gown, faced, and even lined in winter, with fur. Their head is covered with a round cloth bonnet, like the *Poliſh*, with a large fur border: ſome wear turbans, like the *Turkiſh*. Their boots are made like the *Perſian* buſkins, but not altogether ſo neat; and they have a very ſingular art of preparing horſe-hides for the purpoſe. The women wear long gowns, full, and looſe, of the ſame materials. They let their hair hang in treſſes, adorned with pearls, and other jewels. Their bonnet is ſmall, flat, and coloured. Their ſlippers like thoſe worn in the north of the *Indies*.

Religion and trade. ALL the *Bukhârs* profeſs the *Mohammedan* religion, nearly after the *Turkiſh* form, excepting in ſome few ceremonies.

(E) They give them this appellation, as a nickname, by way of contempt for their living wholly in towns, and following merchandize; whereas the *Tatars* prefer the field, and treat commerce as a baſe, mean employment.

They live by following mechanic trades, or commerce, which is wholly in their hands: but, as seldom any foreign merchants arrive among them, especially in those parts where the *Mohammedan Tatars* are masters, they resort in numerous karawans to *China*, the *Indies*, *Persia*, and *Siberia*, where they traffic to considerable advantage. Although they possess all the towns of these provinces, they never meddle with arms, leaving the business of war and government to the *Elâths*, or *Kalmûks*, and *Uzbek Tatars*, who are in possession, the latter of *Great*, the former of *Little*, *Bukhâria*; to whom they pay tribute, which is regulated every year. On this account, the *Tatars* despise them extremely, as cowardly, simple people; of which several instances occur in *Abû'lghâzi Khân*'s history.

THE *Bukhârs* are utterly at a loss as to their origin; further than that, by tradition, they came thither from some distant country. They are not divided into tribes, like the *Tatars*, and many other eastern people; whence many surmise, that they are the descendants of the twelve tribes carried, by *Salmanassar* king of *Assyria*, into *Media*; to which, their having the appearance of *Jews*, and many customs like theirs, seems to add weight. But our author thinks such conformities too weak for convincing proofs; and we are of opinion, that the *Bukhârs* not being divided into tribes, is an argument against, instead of for, that idle notion. *Their origin unknown.*

2. *The* Jagatay Tatars.

EVER since the reign of *Jagatay Khân*, second son of *Jenghîz Khân*, who had, for his share, *Great Bukhâria*, and part of *Karazm*, those provinces bore the name of *Jagatay*, and his *Tatar* (or *Mungl*) subjects, whom he brought along with him, that of *Jagatay Tatars*; till *Shabakht Soltân*, having driven out the descendants of *Timûr Beg* (or *Tamerlan*), the name of *Jagatay* gave place to that of *Uzbeks*. Yet our geographers continue to give the name *Jagatay* to *Great Bukhâria*, although it has ceased above 200 years ago. However, it is still used, to distinguish the descendants of the *Tatars* who first possessed that region, from those who are the present masters of it, although both, making now but one mixed body, are comprised under the general name of *Uzbeks*. On the other hand, the troops, and other crown officers, of the *Great Mogul* of *Hindûstân*, are called *Jagatays* by the orientals, because they were the *Jagatays* who conquered that country [n], *The* Jagatays.

[n] BENT. ap. Abû'lgh. ubi supra, p. 458, & seq.

under

under ſoltân *Babr*, after he had been expelled out of *Great Bukhâria*.

3. Uzbek Tatars *of* Great Bukhâria.

Uzbeks *dreſs, diet.*

THE *Uzbeks*, who poſſeſs this region, are generally reputed the moſt civilized of all the *Mohammedan Tatars*, although they are great robbers, like the reſt. They are cloathed, both men and women, like the *Perſians* (but not ſo neatly), as low as their boots, which are very clouterly; and the chief of them wear a plume of white heron feathers on their turbans. Their moſt delicious victuals are pillaw (which is rice ſodden in broth) and horſe-fleſh. Their common drink is kumis (or kammez) and arak, both made of mares milk. Their language is a mixture of the *Turkiſh*, *Perſian*, and *Mungl* tongues; yet they are able to underſtand the *Perſians*, and the *Perſians* them. Their arms are much the ſame with thoſe uſed by the reſt of the *Tatars*, *viz.* the ſabre, the dart, the lance, and the bow, of a larger ſize than ordinary, which they manage with much ſtrength and dexterity. They have uſed muſkets for ſome time paſt, after the *Perſian* manner. When they go to war, a great part of their cavalry wear coats of mail, and a little buckler, to defend them.

Robuſt and brave.

THE *Tatars* of this country value themſelves on being the moſt robuſt and valiant of all the *Tatars*; and they muſt needs be people of courage, ſince the *Perſians*, naturally very brave, are, in ſome meaſure, afraid of them. The women alſo of *Great Bukhâria* pique themſelves on account of their valour. *Bernier* relates a very romantic ſtory, which was told him by the khân of *Samarkant*'s ambaſſador ſent to *Aureng Zeb*. The truth is, that theſe women often go to war with their huſbands; and do not fear engaging hand-to-hand with the enemy, when occaſion requires it. They are, for the moſt part, very well made, and tolerably handſome; nay, ſome of them may paſs for perfect beauties in any country.

Always at war.

THE horſes of the *Uzbeks* have neither breaſts nor buttocks: with the neck long and ſtreight, like a ſtick; with the legs very high, and no belly: they are, beſides, frightfully lean. But, for all this ſorry appearance, they are exceeding ſwift, and almoſt indefatigable; very eaſily maintained withal: for a little graſs, or moſs, though ever ſo indifferent, ſatisfies them in time of need; ſo that they are the fitteſt horſes in the world for the uſe which the *Tatars* make of them. Their maſters are commonly at war with the *Perſians*, their incurſions being encouraged by the fine plains of *Khoraſſân*: but the mountains, inacceſſible to their cavalry, hinder them from penetrating into the

the dominions of the *Great Mogul*. Such of them as feed on their cattle, live under portable huts, like their neighbours the *Kalmûks*, encamping where-ever they ſee convenient. But they who cultivate lands, dwell in the villages and hamlets; very few of them living in the cities or towns, which are all poſſeſſed by the *Bukhârs*, or antient inhabitants °. We ſhall ſpeak of the origin, and other particulars, relating to the *Uzbeks*, when we come to the hiſtory of *Karazm*.

CHAP. II.

A Deſcription of Little Bukhâria.

THE name of *Little Bukhâria* is given to this country, not becauſe it is leſs in dimenſions than the *Great Bukhâria*, being in reality much larger: but becauſe it is inferior to it, as to the number and beauty of its cities, goodneſs of the ſoil, abundance of inhabitants, and the like. The adjuncts of *Great* and *Little* ſeem to have been impoſed, by the *Uzbeks*, to diſtinguiſh ſuch part of the *Bukhârs* country, as is poſſeſſed by themſelves, from that which was not ſubdued by them; and yet the name of *Little Bukhâria* is never uſed by *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, who ſpeaks of *Kâſhgar*, *Yarkian*, and other countries belonging to it, without compriſing them under any general denomination. Before the *Uzbeks* conquered part of the *Bukhârs* country, the whole went by the name of *Jagatay*, or the country of *Jagatay*, ſon of *Jenghiz Khân*, to whoſe ſhare it fell. It was alſo called, by the *Perſians*, the kingdom of *Kâſhgar*, from that province, which was the neareſt and principal part of the whole. In the hiſtory of *Timûr Bek*, *Little Bukhâria* is conſidered as part of *Moguliſtân*, and the country of *Jetah*, or the *Jetes*; whom the *Perſian* geographers place in that part of *Tartary* which lies contiguous on the north. *Its name;*

LITTLE Bukhâria is ſurrounded by deſarts: it has, on the weſt, *Great Bukhâria*; on the north, the country of the *Elûths*, or *Kalmûks*, in *Tartary*; that of the *Mungls* ſubject to *China*, on the eaſt; on the ſouth, *Tibet*, and the north-weſt end of *China*; from both which countries it is ſeparated by two kobis, or deſarts, of vaſt extent, which communicate with each other. It is ſituated between the 92d and 118th degrees of longitude, and between the 35° 30′ and 45th degree of latitude; being in length, from eaſt to weſt, about 850 miles; and in breadth, from ſouth to north, 580: but, if its dimenſions be taken according to its ſemicircular courſe from *bounds and extent;*

° ABU'LGH. ubi ſup. p. 459, & ſeq.

the ſouth to the north-eaſt, its length will be 1200 miles, but its breadth never exceed 140.

air, mines; THIS region is populous and fertile enough; but the great elevation of its land, joined to the high mountains which bound it in ſeveral parts, eſpecially towards the ſouth, renders it much colder than it ought naturally to be (A) by its ſituation. It is very rich in mines of gold and ſilver; but the inhabitants reap little benefit by them, becauſe neither the *Elûths* (or *Kalmûks*), who are maſters of the country, nor the *Bukkârs*, care to work in them. However, they gather abundance of gold every ſpring out of the gutters made by the torrents which fall from all ſides of thoſe mountains, when the ſnow melts; and from hence comes all that gold-duſt which the *Bukhârs* carry into *India*, *China*, and *Siberia*. Much muſk is likewiſe found in this country; and all ſorts of precious ſtones, even diamonds; but the inhabitants have not the art of either cutting or poliſhing them [a].

precious ſtones.

Nature of the ſoil; ALL *Little Bukhâria* conſiſts of one long chain of mountains, with its branches extending through the kobi, or ſandy deſart, which, towards the foot of thoſe hills, is interſperſed with fruitful plains; ſo that it may be compared to a long reef of rocks and iſlands riſing in the ſea. *Regis* obſerves, that between the cities in this country there are no villages (B): whence it happens, that, in travelling a whole day from one to the other, there is not an houſe of entertainment to be found. He attributes this partly to the genius of the *Tatars*, who prefer tents to houſes; and partly to the nature of the country, which is ſo divided by branches of the kobi, that it is habitable only in ſome particular places.

diviſion. *LITTLE Bukhâria* contains ſeveral diſtinct ſtates, or countries; but their exact number, bounds, and dimenſions, are not aſcertained by authors. In the time of *Goes* the Jeſuit, who travelled thro' it in 1603, it conſiſted of two kingdoms, *Kâſhgar* in the weſt, and *Chalis* in the eaſt, both under one ſovereign: at preſent it may be conveniently divided into

[a] ABU'LGH. hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 469, & ſeq.

(A) This ſeems to be contradicted by *The preſent State of* Bukhâria, where this country is ſaid to abound with all ſorts of fruits and vines; but that the heat is ſo exceſſive, that there is no bearing it without-doors. *Abû'lgh.* Hiſt. Turks, p. 477.

(B) Yet *Bentink*, and the author of *The Deſcription of* Bukhâria, ſay, the towns, which are about twenty, have a great number of villages depending on them. *Abû'lgh.* Hiſt. Turks, p. 471.

four

our parts; the kingdom of *Kâſhgar*, and the provinces of *Akſû*, *Turfân*, and *Khâmil*, called by the *Chineſes Hami*.

1. *KASHGAR* is the moſt weſtern province of the four; or lies, more properly, to the ſouth of *Akſû*. It hath, in the weſt, *Great Bukhâria*; from whence it is ſeparated by a double chain of mountains, with deſarts between them. On the ſouth lies *Tibet*; and, to the eaſt, the great kobi, or deſart, which extends as far as eaſtern *Tartary*. It may be about 430 miles in length from ſouth to north, and 350 broad from weſt to eaſt: within this compaſs we do not meet with more than eight or nine towns mentioned by authors, of which only three are of any great conſideration, *viz. Kâſhgar*, *Yarkian*, and *Khotam*. Kâſhgar province.

1. *KASHGAR*, written by the Jeſuits *Haſikar*, is called alſo *Ardukand*, according to *Abû'lfeda*. It lies to the north-weſt of the other two cities, towards the frontiers of *Great Bukhâria*, at the foot of the mountains which ſeparate that province from the leſſer. It ſtands on the eaſt bank of a river which falls from thoſe mountains, and loſes itſelf in the deſart, thirty or forty miles diſtant from the city. It was formerly the capital of the kingdom: but, as *Bentink* obſerves, is very much declined ſince the *Tatars* have been maſters of it: however, there is ſtill a pretty good commerce carried on with the neighbouring countries, tho' very inconſiderable to what it was [b]. This city, before *Jenghîz Khân*'s conqueſt, was, for a time, the capital of *Turkeſtân*, or the dominions of the *Turks*, in *Tartary*; likewiſe of the weſtern *Lyau*, or *Karakitayans*: ſince then alſo it has been the ſeat of kings deſcended from *Jagatay Khân*, who ſeem to have reigned there till the conqueſt of *Little Bukhâria* by the *Elûths* in 1683. City of Kâſhgar.

The city of *Yarkian*, or *Yerkian*, according to *Bentink*, who writes *Yerkeen* and *Yerkehen* (C), is at preſent the capital of all *Little Bukhâria*, and ſituated to the north of *Kâſhgar*, on the banks of a ſmall river, whoſe waters are not reckoned wholſome. But, as to its ſituation, he was probably miſinformed: for the Jeſuits, in their map of this country (which they include in that of *Tibet*), place it to the ſouth-eaſt of *Kâſhgar*, about ninety miles diſtant, and on a river, which riſes in the mountains, about the ſame diſtance to the ſouth-weſt, and falls into the lake of *Lop*, about ſix hundred miles from its ſource. The ſame author adds, that *Yarkian* is large, Yarkian the capital.

[b] Abu'lgh. ubi ſup. p. 471.

(C) Others, *Irken*, *Irghen*, *Jarkan*, *Yarkhan*, *Yurkend*, and *Hiarkhan*.

and pretty well built in the eaſtern way, altho' moſt of the houſes are of ſun-burnt bricks. There is a caſtle in this city, where the khân of the *Elûths* comes to reſide for a time, when his affairs require it; whence it is miſtaken by ſome for the place of his uſual reſidence. The country round *Yarkian* is very fertile in all ſorts of fruits and pulſe.

THIS city muſt needs be very populous, and the *Bukhârs* rich, as it is the centre of all the commerce carried on between the *Indies* and the north of *Aſia*, *Tibet*, *Siberia*, *Great Bukhâria*, and *China*. The late emperor of *Ruſſia*, *Peter* I. intended to have ſettled a regular trade with *Yarkian*, by the river *Irtiſh*, which would have proved very advantageous to his dominions.

Khotam, *or* Hotom. THE city of *Khotam*, or *Hotom*, is variouſly writted by authors: 'tis called by *Marco Polo*, *Kotam*; *Hotom*, in the map of the Jeſuits; *Koton*, in other maps; *Khateen* by *Bentink*; and *Khoton* by the oriental hiſtorians. *Abû'lfeda* ſays, it was incredibly large, and that its inhabitants were originally of *Kitay* [c]. It was probably built by the *Karakitayans* (D) beforementioned, who conquered this country, and founded a dynaſty there in 1124 [d]. This city lies to the ſouth-eaſt of *Yarkian*, on the river *Hotomniſolon*, according to the above-mentioned map. According to *Bentink*, it is ſubject to the grand khân of the *Elûths*; and ſtill in a pretty flouriſhing condition, on account of its great traffick with *Tibet* and the *Indies*. Liberty of conſcience is allowed here by the inhabitants, who are moſtly *Mohammedans*, to all their pagan neighbours. The houſes are built with bricks, and the circumjacent country is exceeding fruitful. The citizens pay a certain tribute to the khân of the *Elûths* for his protection, and are not incommoded by his people.

Country of Akſû. 2. THE country of *Akſû* lies to the north of *Kâſhgar*, and weſt of the province of *Turfân*, about 350 miles in length, and ſeventy in breadth. *Akſû* (E), the chief town in this region is frequently mentioned by travellers; but no account given of it, farther than that it belongs to the kingdom of *Kâſhgar*. According to the Jeſuits map, it ſtands on the north

[c] Deſcr. Choraſm. p. 80. edit. Hudſon. [d] See before, Vol. IV. p. 57.

(D) Whether the name be *Khoton*, *Koton*, or *Hoton* (which, in the *Mungl* language, ſignifies a city), or *Khotom*, ſeems uncertain.

(E) *Akſû* ſignifies *white water*; perhaps from the quality of its river.

ſide

ſide of a ſmall river, which runs ſouth-eaſt, and loſes itſelf in the ſands. The river *Ili* has its ſprings in the mountains in the north-eaſt part of this province; and runs north-weſtward into *Tartary*, where it falls into the lake *Palkati*, about 120 leagues from its ſource. On the eaſt-ſide of this river, towards the ſaid lake, the late khâns of the *Elûths* uſed to fix their encampments, called *Harkas*, or *Urga*, as others write it. More to the weſt riſe the *Chui Muren* and *Talas Muren*; on which laſt ſtands the town of *Sayrâm*, according to the information of the Jeſuits. Both theſe rivers, after a courſe of about 180 miles, fall into a lake ſituate in *Great Tartary*.

3. To the eaſt of *Akſû* lies the province of *Turfân*; which may be about 200 miles long, and 80 broad. It contains ſeveral towns, of which *Turfân* is the chief. *Goes* repreſents it as a ſtrong, well-fortified city: but the later miſſioners give no account of its preſent ſtate, farther than that it is a conſiderable city, and that it is ſix days journey from *Hami* (or *Khamîl*), over a branch of the kobi, or deſart; but ten days, by the hills, to the north of this laſt city, which is the ſafer way. Turfân *province.*

4. THE province of *Khamul*, *Khamîl* (F), or *Hami*, as the *Chineſes* call it, is about 180 miles long, and 80 broad. It contains only one ſmall city, of the ſame name; but is full of houſes, and has a few villages, as laid down in the Jeſuits map. The inhabitants are a large-bodied people, and very robuſt; well-ſhaped, and very neat in their houſes. It ſtands ninety leagues from the gate in the great wall of *China* called *Kyayuquan*, and has lands enough round it; yet extends no farther, becauſe that whole tract is nothing but a dry ſand, and the moſt barren part of all *Tartary*. Khamîl *province.*

THIS country, tho' formerly inhabited by idolaters, is now free from them, being poſſeſſed by *Mohammedans*. The ſoil ſcarce produces any fruit, except melons; but thoſe of an excellent flavour, and which will keep beyond the ſeaſon, ſo as to be ſerved up at the emperor of *China*'s table all the winter [e]. *Gerbillon* indeed ſays, the country produces plenty of good fruits, beſides melons and grapes [f]. But then he was not in theſe parts, as the other miſſioners were, from whom we have taken the former account. *Religion.* *Soil.*

[e] DU HALDE, Deſcr. China, Vol. II. p. 253. [f] Idem ibid. p. 262.

(F) *Marco Polo* and *Goes* the Jeſuit, write *Khamul*, *Bentink Khamîl*.

Country of the Vigûrs.

THE provinces of *Turfân* and *Khamîl* ſeem to have compoſed the country poſſeſſed formerly by the *Vigûrs*, *Oygûrs*, or *Igûrs*, whoſe capital, according to the oriental authors, was *Biſhbalig*: but *Gaubil* places it eight or nine leagues to the eaſt of *Turfân*, and names it *Ho-chew* (according to the *Chineſe*), and ſays, it is ſtill called *Pe-ting-tu-hû-fû*; whereas *Biſhbalig* is ſituated, by him, to the north of *Turfân*, and the country of *Almaleg* to the weſt of that of *Biſhbalig*[g]. The *Igûrs* were likewiſe maſters of the neighbouring parts of *Tartary*, as far as the river *Irtiſh*, and mount *Altay*.

The adjoining deſart.

THE above-mentioned deſart, lying between *Khamîl* and the great wall of *China*, is part of the ſha-mo, or kobi. As it affords neither air nor water, travellers, in croſſing it, frequently loſe their horſes; for this reaſon the *Tatars* make uſe rather of dromedaries, who are content with little food, and can be five or ſix days without drinking. However, the whole deſart is not included within this ſpace of ninety leagues: for it has ſeveral branches, which, ſpreading here and there like ſo many infected veins, divide the country into as many plots, ſome dry, and quite uninhabited; others fertile enough to ſubſiſt a few *Tatars*[h].

The Inhabitants of Little Bukhâria.

Inhabitants, their ſhape.

THE inhabitants of this country, tho' under the dominion of the *Elûths*, are, for the general, *Bukhârs*. Theſe, according to *The Preſent State of* Little Bukharia, are generally ſun-burned and black-haired; altho' ſome of them are very fair, handſome, and well-made. They do not want politeneſs; and are addicted to commerce, which they carry on with *China*, the *Indies*, *Perſia*, and *Ruſſia*. They who deal with them will be ſure to be over-reached, if they be not on their guard.

The dreſs

THE habits of the men differ very little from thoſe worn by the *Tatars*. They fall as low as the calf of the leg, with ſleeves very wide towards the ſhoulders, and cloſe about the elbows. Their girdles are like thoſe of the *Poles*. The garments of the women differ in nothing from thoſe of the men, and are commonly quilted with cotton. They wear bobs in their ears twelve inches long; part and twiſt their hair in treſſes, which they lengthen with black ribbands embroidered with gold or ſilver, and with great taſſels of ſilk and ſilver, which hang down to their heels (A): three other tufts of a

[g] GAUBIL, hiſt. Gentch. p. 13. 126, 127. [h] DU HALDE, ubi ſup. p. 253.

(A) Theſe are the ſame called by *Grueber* northern *Tartary* women, of whoſe dreſs he has given a print.

ſmaller

ſmaller ſize cover their breaſts. They have necklaces ornamented with pearls; ſmall pieces of coin, and ſeveral baubles, either gilded or ſilvered over, which make a flaring ſhew. Both ſexes carry about them prayers written by their prieſts, and kept in a ſmall leathern purſe, in the nature of relicks. The girls, and ſome of the women, tinge their nails red, with the juice of an herb called, by the *Bukhârs*, *Kena*: they dry and pulverize it; then, mixing it with powder-alum, expoſe it in the air for twenty-four hours before they uſe it, and the colour laſts a long time. *of both ſexes.*

BOTH ſexes wear cloſe breeches, and boots of *Ruſſia* leather, very light, and without heels, or leather ſoles; putting on galloches, or high-heeled ſlippers, like the *Turks*, when they go abroad. They wear alſo the ſame ſort of bonnets, and covering for the head; only the women ſet off theirs with trinkets, ſmall pieces of money, and *Chineſe* pearls. Wives are diſtinguiſhed from maidens only by a long piece of linen worn under their bonnets; which, folding round the neck, they tie in a knot behind, ſo that one end of it hangs down to the waiſt [a].

THE *Bukhâr* houſes are of ſtone, and pretty good; but their moveables are few, and not very handſome; conſiſting only of ſome *China* trunks plated with iron. Upon theſe, in the day, they ſpread the quilts which they make uſe of at night, and cover them with a cotton carpet of various colours. They have likewiſe a curtain ſprigged with flowers, and other figures; alſo a ſort of bedſtead half a yard high, and four yards long, which is hidden in the day with a carpet. They go to bed naked: but always dreſs when they riſe. They are very neat about their victuals, which are dreſſed in the maſter's chamber, by his ſlaves, whom the *Bukhârs* either take or buy from the *Kalmûks*, *Ruſſians*, and other neighbours: for this purpoſe, there are in the chamber, according to the largeneſs of the family, ſeveral iron pots, ſet in a kind of range, near a chimney. Some have little ovens, made, like the reſt of their walls, with a ſtiff clay, or bricks. *Houſes and furniture.* *Their diet.*

THEIR utenſils conſiſt in ſome plates and porringers of *Capua* wood, or of china, and in ſome copper veſſels to boil tea and water. A piece of coloured callico ſerves them inſtead of a table-cloth and napkins. They uſe neither chairs nor tables, knives nor forks, but ſit croſs-legged on the ground; and, the meat being ſerved up ready cut, they pull it to pieces with their fingers. Their ſpoons reſemble our wooden ladles [b].

[a] BENTINK ap. Abû'lgh. hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 476, & ſeqq.
[b] Idem ibid. p. 475, & ſeq.

THEIR uſual food is minced meats, of which they make pies in form of a half-moon: they ſerve for proviſion when they go long journeys, eſpecially in winter, carrying them in a bag, after firſt expoſing them to the froſt; and, when boiled in water, make very good broth. Tea is their common drink, of which they have a black ſort prepared with milk, ſalt, and butter; eating bread with it, when they have any [c].

marriage-ceremony; As the *Bukhârs* buy their wives, paying for them more or leſs, according to their handſomeneſs; ſo the ſureſt way to be rich, is to have many daughters. The perſons to be married muſt not ſee or ſpeak to each other from the time of their contract, till the day of marriage; which is celebrated for three days with feaſting, as they do three great annual feſtivals. The evening before the wedding, a company of young girls meet at the bride's houſe, and divert themſelves till midnight in playing, dancing, and ſinging. Next morning the gueſts aſſemble, and help her to prepare for the ceremony. Then, notice being given to the bridegroom, he arrives ſoon after, accompanied by ten or twelve of his relations or friends; followed by ſome playing on flutes, and by an abûs (B), who ſings, while he beats two little timbrels: then he makes a horſe-race; which being ended, he diſtributes the prizes, ſix, eight, or twelve, in number, according to his ability. They conſiſt in damaſks, ſables, fox-ſkins, callico, or the like. The parties do not ſee each other while the marriage-ceremony is performing, but anſwer at a diſtance to the queſtions aſked by the prieſt. As ſoon as it is over, the bridegroom returns home with his company; and, after dinner, carries them to the bride's houſe, and obtains leave to ſpeak to her. This done, he goes back, and returns again in the evening; at which time he finds her in bed, and, in preſence of all the women, lays himſelf down by her in his cloaths, but only for a moment. The ſame farce is acted for three days ſucceſſively. But the third night he goes to-bed to her in earneſt; and, the next day, carries her home.

Child-bearing. SOME huſbands, by agreement, continue with their parents ſome time longer, and often a whole year, the wife remaining the ſame time with hers. But if ſhe dies in the interim without children, her relations keep all which her ſpouſe gave her, unleſs they are pleaſed to return him one half. The women are reckoned impure forty days after their delivery, and dare not ſay their prayers all that time. The child is named the

[c] BENTINK ap. Abû'lgh. hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 422.

(B) The abûs is a kind of prieſt.

third

third day after it is born, by the father, or ſome relation; who make it a preſent of a bonnet, piece of linen, or coat, as he can afford it: they are circumciſed at the age of ſeven, eight, or nine.

ALTHO' polygamy is looked on as a ſort of ſin by the *Bukhârs*, yet it is never puniſhed; ſo that ſome have ten wives, or more. Any man may at pleaſure ſend back his wife; but then ſhe is intitled to whatever he gave her during their cohabitation. The woman alſo may part from her huſband; but then ſhe cannot carry away the leaſt thing which belongs to her. *Polygamy.*

WHEN a *Bukhâr* falls ſick, a mullah is ſent for, who reads to him a paſſage out of ſome book, and breathes on him ſeveral times; then, with a very ſharp knife, makes ſeveral cuts over and on the ſide of his face. They imagine that, by this means, they cut the root of the diſtemper, which they ſay is cauſed by the devil. When any of them dies, the prieſt lays a korân on his breaſt, and recites ſome prayers. After this, the body is carried to the grave, which they commonly make in ſome pleaſant wood, and incloſe with a hedge, or paliſade [d]. *Diſtempers how cured.*

THE *Bukhârs* have no money but copper kopeiks, which weigh near one-third of an ounce. When they have ſilver or gold to receive or pay, they weigh it, as the *Chineſes* and other nations do [e]. Their language, according to *Gerbillon*, is apparently that of the *Uzbeks*, differing from the *Mungl:* but he adds, that this laſt is commonly underſtood, by means of the great commerce between the two nations [f]. *Money, and language.*

ALTHO' the prevailing (or eſtabliſhed) religion, in all the towns and villages throughout *Little Bukhâria*, is the *Mohammedan*, yet all others enjoy a perfect toleration; becauſe the *Kalmûks* (or *Elûths*), who are maſters of this country (though groſs idolaters) think they ought not, in conſcience, to ſuffer people to be moleſted on account of their belief. According to *The Deſcription of* Bukhâria, the *Bukhârs* ſay, that God firſt communicated the korân to men by *Moſes* and the prophets: that afterwards *Mohammed* explained and drew a moral from it, which they are obliged to receive and practice. They hold Chriſt to be a prophet, and have a ſingular notion about his birth. *All religions tolerated.*

THE virgin *Mary*, according to them, was a poor orphan; and her relations, diſagreeing about the charge of her education, propoſed to decide it by lot. They threw a feather into *Legend of* Mary.

[d] BENTINK ap. Abû'lgh. hiſt. Turks, p. 482, & ſeq. [e] Idem ibid. p. 478. [f] DU HALDE, ubi ſup. p. 261, & ſeq.

a veſſel

a veſſel full of water, and agreed that he, to whoſe finger it ſtuck, ſhould have the maintenance of the child; who, by that means, fell to *Zakhariah*'s care; for the feather, tho' ſunk to the bottom, roſe, and faſtened to his finger, the very inſtant he put it into the water. One time the buſineſs of the temple having kept him three days from home, upon recollecting that he had locked the child up, he ran back as faſt as he could: but, inſtead of finding her dead, as he expected, ſhe was ſurrounded with all ſorts of eatables; which, as ſhe told him, God had ſent her.

Conception. THE firſt time this holy maid was taken after the manner of women, ſhe went to bathe in a fountain which was in a great foreſt; where, frighted on hearing a voice, ſhe ran to her cloaths: but preſently an angel appeared, and told her, ſhe ſhould become with child, ordering her to name him *Iſay*. *Mary* replied wiſely, that lying-in would be painful to her, as ſhe never had to do with any man. Hereupon the angel, breathing on her breaſt, made her comprehend that myſtery; and inſtructed her in what it was neceſſary for her to know. In ſhort, *Mary* conceived from that inſtant; and, the time of her delivery approaching, went to hide herſelf, for ſhame, in the ſame foreſt. There, falling in labour, ſhe leaned againſt a decayed tree, and, in that condition, was delivered. When, behold! at the ſame inſtant, the rotten trunk began to put forth leaves, and the country all around to bloom as in ſpring. The angels came alſo; and, having bathed the new-born infant in a fountain, which ſuddenly appeared within two paces of the place, returned him to his mother; who, going back to her relations, was received with curſes, and ill treatment. She took it all very patiently; and, without juſtifying herſelf, only deſired her ſon to plead her cauſe. This he did immediately, with ſuch ſtrength of argument as intirely vindicated his mother; explaining to them the whole myſtery of a birth ſo miraculous, and contrary to nature.

Brings forth Iſay.

YOUNG *Iſay*, in time, became a great prophet, and a doctor of high authority: but was generally hated and perſecuted, eſpecially by the great men, who often ſought to ſlay him; and at laſt ſent two conſiderable perſons to make away with him; but, juſt as they were about to execute their deſign, God took him up to heaven, and puniſhed the aſſaſſins in a ſingular manner: for, transforming them one after the other to the ſhape of *Iſay*, they became expoſed to the fury of the people; who, deceived by the reſemblance, put them to a miſerable death.

His aſſumption.

ALTHO'

ALTHO' the *Bukhârs*, as appears from what has been related, have no notion of the sufferings of Christ; yet they believe in the resurrection, and another life: but cannot be persuaded, that any mortal shall be eternally damned; on the contrary, they believe, that, as the dæmons led them into sin, so the punishment will fall on them. They believe moreover, that, at the last day, every thing but God will be annihilated; and, consequently, that all creatures, the devils, angels, and Christ himself, will die. Likewise that, after the resurrection, all men, excepting a few of the elect, will be purified or chastised by fire, every one according to his sins, which will be weighed in the balance. *Future state.*

THEY say, there will be eight different array, or paradises, for the good; and seven hells, where sinners are to be purified by fire: that those, who will suffer most, are lyars, cheats, and make-bates: that the elect, who do not feel the fire, will be chosen from among the good; *viz.* one out of a hundred men, and one out of a thousand women; which little troop will be carried into one of the paradises, where they shall enjoy all sorts of felicities, till it shall please God to create a new world, in the room of the present. It is a sin, according to them, to say that the Deity is in heaven: God, say they, is everywhere; and therefore it derogates from his omnipresence, to say he is confined to any particular place. *Eight paradises.*

THEY keep yearly a fast of thirty days, from the middle of *July* to the middle of *August*: during this time they taste nothing all day; but eat twice in the night, at sun-set and midnight: nor do they drink any thing but tea, all strong liquors being forbidden. Whoever transgresses these ordinances, is obliged either to emancipate his most valuable slave, or give an entertainment to sixty people: he is likewise to receive eighty-five strokes on the bare back with a leathern strap called dura, by order of the aguns, or chief-priest. Yet our author has observed, that the common people do not exactly keep this fast; and that workmen are allowed to eat in the day-time. They say prayers five times a day: before morning; towards noon; afternoon; at sun-set; and in the third hour of the night; notice being given them by their abûs, or priests[g]. *Their Lent fast.*

[g] BENTINK, ubi sup. p. 478, & seq.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Hiſtory of Great Bukhâria.

Of Jagatay Khân, *and his Succeſſors.*

Empire of Jagatay.

JAGATAY (or *Chagatay*) *Khân*, ſecond ſon of *Jenghîz Khân*, was a moſt accompliſhed prince, and excelled the reſt of his brothers. He was alſo more equitable; and obſerved, with greater exactneſs, the laws made by his father [a], whereof he was the keeper and adminiſtrator. He had ſomething ſo ſevere in his countenance, that every-body was afraid to look at him: however, he was maſter of a great underſtanding; on which account *Jenghîz Khân* gave him, for his ſhare of the empire (A), all the country of *Great Bukhâria*, and half of *Karazm*; likewiſe the country of the *Vigûrs* (or *Igûrs*), the cities of *Kâſhgar*, *Badâgshân*, *Bâlk*, and *Gaznah*, with their dependencies, as far as the river *Sîr-Indi* (or *Indus*) [b]. *Abû'l-faraj* and *Mîrkond* agree nearly with this diviſion; only the former throws in all *Karazm* to his lot, and adds *Al Malig* [c]; which yet may be compriſed within the countries of the *Vigûrs* and *Kâſhgar*, that is, *Little Bukhâria*.

1. Jagatay Khân.

THIS prince, after the death of his father, choſe the city of *Biſhbâlek* (in the country of the *Igûrs*) for the place of his reſidence: however, he lived almoſt continually with his brother *Oktay*, who loved and reſpected him as his maſter, altho' younger than he. In his abſence his dominions were governed by *Karajar* or *Karaſhar Noyan*, whom *Jenghîz Khân*, at his death, gave him for his wazîr, to preſide in his counſels, and command his armies. This lord was one of the moſt powerful among the *Mungls*, and the fifth great anceſtor, or grandfather, of the famous *Timûr Bek*, or *Tamerlan* [d].

A falſe prophet. Hej. 630. A. D. 1232.

As the country was governed with great wiſdom and moderation, nothing diſturbed the peace of it till the year 630;

[a] LA CROIX, hiſt. Gengh. p. 394. [b] ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 165. [c] D'HERBELOT. hiſt. orient. art. Giagathay, p. 391. LA CROIX, ubi ſupra. [d] D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. p. 390. LA CROIX, ubi ſup.

(A) 'Tis doubtful whether *Jenghîz Khân* made any ſuch diſtribution; but he, as well as *Batû* in *Kipjâk*, governed under *Oktay*, on whom and his ſucceſſors, all the parts of the empire were dependent; till, by degrees, they ſhook off their dependence on the immediate ſucceſſors of *Jenghîz Khân* in the eaſtern parts of *Tartary* and *China*.

when

when *Mahmûd*, ſurnamed *Tarâbi*, from *Tarâb*, a country town ſix leagues from *Bokhâra*, having, by his falſe miracles, deluded an army of people, went at the head of them, and took that city. After this, he marched againſt the *Mungl* generals, who could not venture to attack him for a thick duſt with which they were incommoded; inſomuch that, although *Mahmûd* was ſlain by a random arrow-ſhot, in the midſt of his camp, yet neither the enemy, nor his own ſoldiers, knew any thing of the matter. Mean time the *Mungls*, attributing this extraordinary duſt to the impoſtor's ſkill in magic (B), fled for fear; and, their ſhameful flight animating the *Tarâbian* rebels, they purſued them, killing above 10,000. At their return, they were ſurpriſed not to find their general: but being told, by thoſe who were in the ſecret, that he had diſappeared for a while, the credulous diſciples ſet up his brothers *Mohammed* and *Ali* for his lieutenants in his abſence.

By this means the flame ſpread, inſtead of loſing ground; ſo that *Karaſhar Noyan* (or *Nevian*), ſeeing the principal cities daily reduced, at length aſſembled the chief forces of the empire, in order intirely to ſuppreſs the rebels. He began with the city of *Bokhâra*, which had favoured them; plundered the territory belonging to it, and ſlew a great number of the inhabitants. This obliged them to ſue for pardon to *Jagatay*, whoſe clemency eaſily granted it; while his troops deſtroyed the *Tarâbians* without mercy. *His followers exterminated.*

JAGATAY Khân died in the year 638, which anſwers to the *Mungl* year of the *Od*, or *Out*, that is, the *Ox*[e]: thus writes *Kondamir*. But *Abû'lghâzi Khân* puts his death two years later, and gives this account of it: The khân had in his court a ſorcerer, who could deceive people's ſight, ſo as to make them think they ſaw whole armies march before them. *Jagatay*, having had the curioſity once to ſee ſome ſuch repreſentation, conceived ſo great an averſion to the man, that, on ſome complaint againſt him ſhortly after, he ordered him to be caſt into priſon, bound hand and foot, where he died: but the khân himſelf was ſeized not long after with an incurable diſeaſe, which carried him off. Jagatay *dies.* Hej. 638. A. D. 1240.

Among a great many wives and concubines, *Jagatay* diſtinguiſhed two above the reſt, who were ſiſters, the daughters *Wives and children.*

[e] D'Herbel. ubi ſupra.

(B) They are infatuated with a ſtupid notion, that ſtorms of rain, hail, and duſt, may be raiſed by inchantment.

of

of *Kaba Noyan*, chief of the tribe of *Kankrats* (C). The firſt, named *Buſſulun*, bore him many ſons, whom he loved beſt of all his children. The name of the ſecond was *Tarkhân Khatun*, whom he married after the death of the firſt. His ſons were ſeven in number; *Mutugan*, *Muji*, *Balda Shâh*, *Saghin-lalga*, *Sarmans*, *Buſſumunga*, and *Baydar* [f]. According to *Kondamîr*, the eldeſt ſon of *Jagatay Khân* was named *Manuka*, who had three ſons, *Bayſſur*, *Kara Hulagû*, and *Naliga*, who ſucceeded each other. But the ſame author ſays, he had no ſucceſſor who ſucceeded to all his dominions: for that his ſons, and neareſt relations, divided his empire among them; and thoſe who had the longeſt ſword, obtained the greateſt ſhare [f]. However, we are told that thirty-one princes, who were either his ſons or nephews, reigned in this country, called, after him, *Jagatay*.

2. Kara Hulakû. THE firſt of theſe, according to *La Croix*, was *Biſumenkay Khân*; the ſame doubtleſs with the *Buſſumunga* of *Abû'lghâzi Khân*; who yet does not reckon him among the khâns of *Jagatay*, placing *Kara Hulakû* as his immediate ſucceſſor. On the other hand, the authors made uſe of by *La Croix* ſay, that *Kara Hulakû*, ſon of *Metuka* (D) (or *Mutagun*), aſcended the throne after his brother *Biſumenkay*, by the aſſiſtance of *Karaſhar Noyan*, who died during his reign, in the year 1254.

3. Mubârek Shâh. *MUBAREK Shâh*, ſon of *Kara Hulakû*, ſucceeded; but, as he was very young at his father's death, his mother *Argata Khatun* took the regency during his minority. *La Croix* calls her *Argana Khatun*, daughter of *Nûr Alchi Gûrkhân*, and makes her the third ſucceſſor of *Jagatay Khân*.

4. Algû. THE ſucceſſor of *Mubârek Shâh* was *Algû*, ſon of *Baydar*, ſeventh ſon of *Jagatay Khân*; who, acknowleging *Koplay* for grand khân of the *Mungls* in the eaſt, had for his ſhare all the country from the river *Amû*, bounding *Perſia*, to mount *Altay* [g]. *La Croix* calls this khân *Naligû*, and ſets him before *Mobârek Shâh*.

5. Barâk Khân. *BARAK*, or *Berrak Khân*, ſon of *Yaſunta*. This prince, in the ſecond year of his reign, embraced *Mohammediſm*, and took the name of *Gayazo'ddîn* [h]. *Kondamîr* ſays, he was the ſon of *Bayſſur*, ſon of *Manuka* (or *Mutagun*) before-men-

[f] ABULGH. ubi ſup. p. 166. [g] ABU'LGH. ubi ſup. p. 163. 167. [h] Id. ibid. & D'HERBELOT. art. Barâk Khân, p. 183.

(C) *Kongorats*, as others; called *Hongkila* in the *Chineſe* hiſtory, as has been often obſerved before.

(D) Called, by others, *Manuka*. *La Croix*.

tioned

tioned: that he was one of the moſt conſiderable princes of his time; and attempted to take *Khoraſſân* from his couſin *Abâka Khân*, ſon of *Holakû*, who reigned in *Irân*, or *Perſia* at large: that, not ſucceeding in his deſign, he turned his arms againſt *Kublay Khân*, who reigned in the eaſtern parts of *Tartary* and *China*, where he made great ravages, but was forced to return without ſubduing any one conſiderable place: he died in 1260 [i]. But, if ſo, he could not have had a war with *Abâka Khân*, who did not aſcend the throne till 1264 (E).

AFTER *Barâk Khân*'s death, the dignity of khân was conferred on *Beghi*, ſon of *Sarmans*, ſon of *Jagatay*. *La Croix* calls this prince *Nikepey*, ſon of *Saryan*. 6. Beghi Khân.

BUGA (or *Buka*) *Timûr*, great grandſon of *Mutagun*, ſucceeded *Beghi Khân*. 7. Buga Timûr Khân.

DOYJI Khân, ſon of *Barâk Khân*, ſucceeded *Beghi Khân*, and was reckoned a very juſt king: he is called by *La Croix* *Dava Khân*. 8. Doyji Khân.

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon *Konja Khân*, called by *La Croix Kavenjik Khân*. 9. Konja Khân.

BALIGA (or *Baligû*) who was alſo a grandſon of *Mûtagun*, ſucceeded *Konja*. 10. Baliga Khân.

THE ſucceſſor of *Baliga* in *Great Bukhâria* was *Iſan Buga*, ſecond ſon of *Doyji Khân*. He was named alſo *Amul Khoja*; and, on the death of *Ilyas* or *Eḷias Khoja*, ſon of *Toglâk Timûr*, was invited by the inhabitants of *Kâſhgar*, and the reſt of *Little Bukhâria*, to take the ſovereignty of that country upon him, as will be related hereafter. 11. Iſan Buga Khân.

ISAN Buga Khân was ſucceeded by his brother *Dui Timûr* (left, we preſume, to reign, upon the other's removing to *Kâſhgar*). This prince is called *Dava Timûr* by *La Croix*; who places, between him and *Baligû*, three khâns, namely, 1. *Abiſuka*, ſon of *Dava* (or *Doyji*) *Khân*; 2. *Kepek Khân*; 3. *Elchi Keday Khân*, ſon of *Dava Khân* [k]. 12. Dui Timûr Khân.

DUI Timûr had for his ſucceſſor his brother *Tarmaſhir*; who reſtored *Mohammediſm*, which, from the time of *Barâk Khân*, had ſo declined in *Great Bukhâria*, that ſcarce any footſteps of it remained. This khân was ſlain by his brother *Butan Khân*, who afterwards ſeized the throne. The *Perſian* hiſtorians, who name this prince *Turmaſhirîn*, make him the 13. Tarmaſhir Khân.

[i] D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. p. 391, LA CROIX, ubi ſup. p. 395.
[k] ABU'LGH. & LA CROIX, ubi ſup.

(E) Poſſibly this date is a miſtake for 1270. See hereafter the reign of *Abaka Khân*, in the line of *Hulakû*.

1 ſixteenth

ſixteenth khân, and place his death in 1336: they ſay alſo, that he was much feared by his neighbours [l].

14. Butan Khân. *BUTAN Khân* was ſucceeded by his nephew

15. Jangſhi Khân. *JANGSHI*, ſon of *Ulugan*, brother of *Butan Khân*. The brother of this prince, named *Yaſun Timûr*, ambitious of the throne, formed a deſign to make him away: but their mother, ſuſpecting his deſign, adviſed *Jangshi* to be on his guard. Hereupon the khân immediately took the field againſt his brother; but had the misfortune to loſe the battle, with his life. *La Croix* calls this prince *Jinkeſhi*, and makes him the immediate ſucceſſor of *Turmeſhirîn Khân*.

16. Yaſun Timûr. *YASUN Timur*, having thus by force aſcended the throne, to be revenged on his mother for diſcovering his conſpiracy to his brother, like another *Nero*, cauſed her belly to be ripped up. *La Croix* calls him *Biſûn Timûr Khân*, ſon of *Abuken*.

17. Ali Soltân Khân. DURING the reign of *Yaſun Timûr*, *Ali Soltân*, a prince of the poſterity of *Ugaday*, or *Oktay*, became ſo formidable, that neither the khân, nor the other princes deſcended from *Jagatay*, were able to make head againſt him; ſo that, after the death of *Yaſun Timûr*, he brought *Great Bukhâria* under his ſubjection. *La Croix* makes *Ali Soltân* the nineteenth khân.

18. Kazân Khân. AFTER the death of *Ali Soltân Khân*, *Kazan Soltân* re-entered into poſſeſſion of the dominions belonging to the houſe of *Jagatay Khân*. This prince was the ſon of *Jaſur* (or *Jaſur Aglen*), ſon of *Urek Timûr Khân*, ſon of *Kutugay*, ſon of *Boſay*, ſon of *Mutugan*, ſon of *Jagatay*: ſo that there were, in all, ſixteen khâns of this laſt prince's poſterity (F), who reigned, without interruption, 109 years over the provinces of *Mawara'lnahr* (or *Great Bukhâria*). After them there were indeed other khâns in that country: but they were ſuch as only bore the name of khân, without having the power: each head of a tribe aſſuming the liberty of doing what he pleaſed, and obeying the khân no farther than he thought fit [m].

Hej. 733. A. D. 1332. *Death and character.* *SOLTAN Kazân* began his reign in the year 733: but was very cruel; and ſo tyrannical, that, when he ſent for the princes his dependents to court on any occaſion, they commonly made their wills before they went. Hereupon *Mîr Ka-*

[l] ABU'LGH. & DE LA CROIX, ubi ſupra. Hiſt. TIMUR BEK, Vol. I. p. 18. [m] ABU'LGH. ubi ſup. p. 168, & ſeq.

(F) The *Perſian* hiſtorians make him the twenty-firſt khân of *Jagatay*; *Abû'lghâzi Khân* only the eighteenth, and the ſixteenth of thoſe who deſcended from *Jagatay Khân*.

zagan,

zagan, one of the moſt conſiderable princes of his time, in conjunction with others, took up arms againſt him; but were defeated in 746, and their leader wounded in the eye with an arrow by *Kazân* himſelf; ſo that he not only loſt that eye, but was wholly blinded for a long time after. The grand khân hereupon returned to *Karſhi*; where he had the misfortune to loſe ſo many horſes by the ſeverity of the winter, that almoſt all his cavalry was reduced to march on foot. *Mîr Kazagan*, who had advice of this, without loſs of time went and attacked the khân; who was ſlain in the battle, in the year 747. Hej. 746. A. D. 1345.

AFTER *Kazân Khân*'s death, *Mîr Kazagan* ſet on the throne a prince of the race of *Oktay Khân*, called *Dâſhmenja Aglen* (G): but ſoon after put him to death, and at length advanced to the dignity of grand khân *Bayân Kuli*, ſon of *Sorgâdû*, ſon of *Dava* (or *Doyji*) *Khân* (H). This prince was eſteemed for his juſtice and liberality; while *Mîr Kazagan*, who took on him the government of the kingdom, acquitted himſelf to the ſatisfaction of every-body, and his own glory. After his death, which happened by the hands of his ſon-in-law, on occaſion of ſome affront, in 759, he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Mirzâ Abdollah*, who confirmed *Beyân Kuli Khân* in his dignity: but ſoon after cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated, to obtain the empreſs, with whom he fell in love (I); and placed *Timûr Shâh Aglen* on the throne. 19. Dâſhmenja Khân. 20. Bayân Kuli Khân. Hej. 759. A. D. 1357.

TIMUR Shâh Khân was ſon of *Biſûn* (or *Yaſun*) *Timûr Khân*, ſon of *Ulagan*, ſon of *Doyji Khân*. But he did not long enjoy his dignity: for the princes, ſhocked at *Abdollah*'s proceeding, made war upon him; routed his forces; and, 21. Timûr Shâh Khân.

(G) *Hezarfen*, a modern *Turkiſh* author, calls him *Daneſhmenja Khân*, ſon of *Iſur Aglen*, according to a note in the hiſtory of *Timûr Bek*, tranſlated by *La Croix*; which ſhews, that the liſt given by him, in his hiſtory of *Jenghîz Khân*, is taken from *Hezarfen*; but *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, inſtead of *Daniſhmanja*, puts *Amîr Kazagan* himſelf; and ſays, he was the ſon of *Daniſhmanja*, ſon of *Kaydu*, ſon of *Kaſki*, ſon of *Ugaday* (or *Oktay*), ſon of *Jengkiz Khân*. He ſays likewiſe, that he was ſlain after a two years reign; nor was it known by whom. But, as the account given by *Sharîfo'ddîn Ali*, author of *Timûr Bek*'s hiſtory, cannot well fail of being the truth in theſe two particulars, we have therefore choſen to follow him.

(H) According to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, he was ſon of *Surga*, ſon of *Doyji Khân*, ſon of *Berrak Khân*, the fifth of thoſe before-mentioned.

(I) According to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, p. 170, *Beyân Kûli Khân* had him ſlain, on ſuſpicion of having a criminal correſpondence with his wife: but *Sharîfo'ddîn Ali*, our author, is more to be relied on.

having taken his brothers, with the khân, put them all to death [n]. *La Croix* makes him the twenty-fourth khan; and, in another place, ſays, the lords uſurped his authority, becauſe he was very weak in his underſtanding [o]: but the uſurpation did not begin in his reign.

22. Adel Soltân Khân. *ADEL Soltân Khân* ſucceeded *Timûr Shâh*; and was the ſon of *Mohammed Pulad*, ſon of *Konza Khân*, ſon of *Doyji Khân*. According to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, two heads of tribes, *Amîr Timûr*, and *Amîr Huſſayn*, nephew of *Abdollah*, ſon of *Amîr Kazagan*, ſeized the khân; and, binding him hand and foot, drowned him [p]. It muſt be obſerved, that this author is a great enemy to theſe princes, eſpecially *Timûr*, for taking the power from the deſcendants of *Jenghîz Khân*. However, 'tis likely the khân was made away with by *Huſſayn*; for there is no mention at all of him, in the hiſtory of *Timûr Bek*, by *Sharîfo'ddîn Ali*, excepting occaſionally; where it is ſaid, in ſpeaking of his ſervices done to *Huſſayn*, that the khân *Adel Soltân* having fled from *Huſſayn*, of whom he was jealous, altho' he had raiſed him to the throne, *Timûr* even purſued, and ſeized him, after ſome reſiſtance, and ſent him to that prince [q]. *La Croix* places *Togal Timûr*, and his ſon *Elias Khoja* (khâns of *Kâſhgar*), between *Timûr Shâh* and *Adel Soltân*, whom he makes the twenty-ſixth khân [r].

23. Kabûl Soltân Khân. *KABUL Soltân Khân*, ſon of *Dorji*, ſon of *Iljaktay*, ſon of *Doyji Khân*, was, after the death of *Adel Soltân Khân*, eſtabliſhed in his room by the two lords above-mentioned; who, in his reign, ſeized the city of *Bâlk*, and ſlew the khân [s]. This happened in the year 765, according to *Sharîfo'ddîn Ali*; who, without mentioning any thing of *Adel Soltân Khân*, ſays, that, after the defeat of the *Getes*, the princes of *Great Bukhâria* aiming at independency, *Timûr* and *Huſſayn*, to prevent things running into confuſion, found it neceſſary to elect a grand khân: whereupon *Kabûl Shâh Aglen* was propoſed, and choſen in a general aſſembly [t].

Hej. 765. A. D. 1363.

24. Soyruktamiſh Khân. AFTER the death of *Kabûl Soltân Khân*, *Soyruk Tamiſh* was advanced to the dignity of khân. He was the ſon of *Daniſhmanja*, ſon of *Kaydu*, ſon of *Kaſhi*, ſon of *Ugaday* or *Oktay Khân* [u]. *La Croix* calls him *Siorgatmiſh Aglen*, ſon of *Daniſhmend*; and ſays, *Timûr* gave him the empty title of khân,

[n] SHARIFO'D. hiſt. Tim. Bek, ch. 1, 2. p. 4. 14, & ſeq. [o] Hiſt. Gengh. p. 396. [p] ABU'LGH. ubi ſup. p. 171. [q] Hiſt. Tim. l. i. c. 26. p. 118, & ſeq. [r] Hiſt. Gengh. p. 396. [s] ABU'LGH. ubi ſup. p. 171. [t] Hiſt. TIM. BEK, l. i. c. 11. f. 53. [u] ABU'LGH. ubi ſup. p. 171.

without

without leaving him the leaſt part of the power [w]. He was made khân in 1369 by *Timûr*; who, after *Huſſayn*'s death, ordered the khân, *Kabûl Shâh* (or *Soltân*), made by that prince, to be ſlain [x]. *Siorgatmiſh* reigned nineteen years, dying at *Bokhâra*, in the year 1388, while *Timûr* was in his march to *Karazm*. He was buried at *Kâſh*, under a monument which he had erected himſelf. *Timûr*, as ſoon as he returned to *Samarkant*, eſtabliſhed ſoltân *Mahmûd*, the late khân's ſon, in his father's place [y].

MAHMUD Khân: whoſe name *Timûr* cauſed to be written on the top of his orders; to make the people believe that he obſerved the laws of *Jenghîz Khân* [z], that is, in acknowleging one of his deſcendants for khân. This titular prince followed *Timûr* in his expeditions, particularly that againſt *Bayezîd*; and was often ſent to make inroads into the *Othmân* territories; in one of which he died, in 1402, near *Sattala* in *Anatolia* (K), where he was ſeized with a violent diſtemper [a]. 25. Mahmûd Soltân Khân.

La Croix adds another khân, as the thirty-fiſt, whom he names *Tumen Kotluk Aglen*; and ſays, he was crowned by *Timûr*, in 1690: which could not be, ſince *Mahmûd* lived twelve years after. This, therefore, is the laſt of the khâns of the race of *Jenghîz Khân*, who reigned in the empire of *Jagatay*; for, after *Timûr*'s death, the dignity of khân was ſuppreſſed by his ſucceſſors, who governed in their own name, and founded a new dynaſty. *The khâni ſuppreſſed.*

CHAP. IV.

The Hiſtory of Little Bukhâria.

Of the Deſcendants of Jagatay Khân, *who reigned in* Little Bukhâria.

ALTHO' *Jagatay Khân* had to his ſhare both the *Bukhârias*; yet, after his death, the empire, as hath been already mentioned, became divided among the princes of his family, every one ſeizing a part, according to his power. 'Tis likely, therefore, that *Little Bukhâria* ſeparated very early from the *Greater*; and had a ſucceſſion of khâns, till about the beginning of the fourteenth century: when, by ſome means or

[w] Hiſt. Gengh. p. 396. [x] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 124. 128.
[y] Idem, p. 316. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem, l. v. c. 54. p. 270.

(K) *Abûlghâzi Khân*, p. 175, ſays, *Timûr* put both *Mohammed* (or *Mahmûd*) *Khân* and *Bayezid* to death: but neither ſeems to be the fact.

other, not mentioned by the authors yet come to hand, the line happened to fail. On this occaſion, therefore, we are told by a *Tartarian* author, that the inhabitants of the cities of *Kâſhgar* and *Yarkian*, and of the countries of *Alatakh* and the *Vigûrs* (or *Igûrs*), finding none of *Jagatay*'s poſterity among them, who was capable of filling the vacant throne, ſaw themſelves under a neceſſity to call in *Amul Khoja*, who then reigned in *Great Bukhâria*, under the name of *Iſan Boga Khân* [a].

1. Amul Khoja Khân.

THIS prince, who was the ſon of *Doyji Khân* (and eleventh in that ſucceſſion), having no children by his wife *Satil Tamiſh*, got a ſlave of his, called *Manlaghi*, with child. Hereupon *Satil Tamiſh*, being incenſed, one day, when the khân was gone a hunting, gave her in marriage to a *Mungl* chief, named *Shiragol*, and obliged him to carry her with him into his own country. *Amul Khoja*, at his return, was informed of what had been done; but, not caring to have any words with his wife, ſeemed to take no notice of it. Some time after this he died; and, as he left no iſſue, the ſtate became rent in pieces by the different factions. In this extremity *Amîr Yalawji*, one of the principal lords of *Kâſhgar*, ſent *Taſh Timûr* in queſt of *Manlaghi*; whom at length he found, with her ſon, called *Togalak* (or *Togluk*), playing with his brother-in-law. After this, watching his opportunity, he carried off the boy; who, on his arrival at *Kâſhgar*, was immediately proclaimed khân by *Amîr Yalawji*, under the name of *Togalak Timûr Khân*. (This happened about the year Hej. 748. A. D. 1347.)

2. Togalak Timûr Khân.

A GREAT part of this khân's reign was ſpent in ſuppreſſing the factions which oppoſed him in the countries above-mentioned: but, when he had ſettled his affairs there, he entered with a powerful army into *Great Bukhâria*, and brought that province alſo under his obedience (A). Then, leaving his ſon *Elias Khoja* to govern in *Samarkant*, he returned to the city of of *Kâſhgar*, where (about two years after) he died.

TOGALAK Timûr was the firſt deſcended from *Jenghîz Khân*, reigning in *Kâſhgar*, who embraced the *Mohammedan* religion. As he was one day hunting, he obſerved ſeveral foreign merchants in the place which he had pitched on for aſſembling the game, contrary to his expreſs proclamation.

[a] ABU'LGH. hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 176.

(A) This was about the year of the *Hejrah* 762, of *Chriſt* 1360; and will be related more at large hereafter, in the hiſtory of *Timûr Bek*, or *Tamerlan*.

Hereupon

Hereupon, in a paſſion, he ordered them to be brought bound before him; and aſked, how they came to infringe his laws? Sheykh *Samalo'ddîn*, who was among them, anſwered, that they were ignorant of any ſuch prohibition, as being ſtrangers from the country of *Kattak*. The khân replied, *It is like you are* Tajiks, *and, conſequently, worſe than dogs. If we were not true believers*, rejoined the ſheykh, *there would be grounds for making no more account of us than dogs: becauſe, in that caſe, notwithſtanding the reaſon we are endowed with, we ſhould yet be leſs reaſonable than beaſts* [b].

THIS anſwer having touched the khân's heart, at his return from the chace he ſent for the ſheykh, and, in private, ſaid to him, *What is your religion, that you durſt make me ſuch an anſwer a while ago?* The ſheykh, upon this, explained the articles of the *Mohammedan* faith: wherewith *Togalah Timûr* was ſo fully convinced of its truth, that he ordered him to repair, at a proper ſeaſon, to concert the means for eſtabliſhing it in his dominions. The ſheykh dying ſoon after his return home, his ſon ſheykh *Raſhîdo'ddîn*, purſuant to his father's orders, repaired to *Kâſhgar:* but, not being able to get acceſs to the khân, he went one morning to a hill near the caſtle, where he ſaid his prayers ſo loud, that he awaked *Togalak Timûr*; who thereupon ſent to him, to know the reaſon why he bawled ſo dreadfully. The ſheykh taking this opportunity to execute his commiſſion, that prince would no longer defer embracing *Mohammediſm*. All the lords of his court followed his example, excepting one; who, ſtanding forth, offered to put his converſion on this iſſue: *There is*, ſaid he, *among our people, a man endowed with extraordinary gifts: now, if the ſheykh will venture a fall with this perſon, and throws him, I will embrace his religion; otherwiſe I will not.* The khân was unwilling to permit ſuch a trial of ſkill; but, the ſheykh preſſing for liberty to accept of the challenge, he at length conſented. *Raſhîdo'ddîn* hereupon advancing up to the *Mungl*, with one back-ſtroke of his hand on the ſtomach, laid him flat on the floor, where for a good while he remained motionleſs. At length, getting up, he fell at the ſheykh's feet, and declared he was ready to become a *Moſlem* (B). The lord, who had propoſed this teſt, did the ſame: and all the *Mungls*

Turns Mohammedan; *with all his ſubjects.*

[b] ABULGH. ubi ſup. p. 177, & ſeq.

(B) All this might have been a politic contrivance of the khân, the better to confirm, and bring about, this great change with the reſt of his ſubjects; for, otherwiſe, it was a fooliſh and precarious way of proving the truth of any thing.

who were ſubject to *Togalak Timûr Khân*, to the number of 160,000, followed their example.

3. Ilyas Khoja Khân.

AMIR *Yalawſi*, who was inſtrumental in the khân's advancement, happening to die, *Togalak* conferred on amîr *Khudaydat*, tho' but ſeven years old, all his father's employments. Hereupon *Kamro'ddîn*, the youngeſt of the amîr's five paternal uncles, deſired that he might officiate for his nephew till he came of age. This requeſt the khân not thinking proper to grant, *Kamro'ddîn*, who was very ambitious, as well as powerful, conceived a mortal hatred againſt him; yet concealed it during his life: but, after his death, revolted againſt his ſon *Ilyas Khoja* (or *Elias Koja*), who ſucceeded in the throne of *Kâſhgar* (C), and cauſed him, with all his family, to the number of eighteen perſons, to be aſſaſſinated: then, ſeizing the government, gave the people liberty, by proclamation, to kill any of *Togalak Timûr*'s kindred, who were to be found. This khân was born in the year 730 (1329); came to the crown at the age of eighteen (that is, in 1347); and died at the age of thirty-four (or in 1362).

4. Kamro'ddîn uſurps.

AT the time of *Kamro'ddîn*'s revolt, *Amîr Aga Khatûn*, one of *Togalak*'s wives, being delivered of a ſon named *Kezra Khojah*; to ſecure him from the tyrant, truſted him to the care of amîr *Khudaydai*, who never could be prevailed on by his uncle to deliver up the young prince; and, war breaking out afterwards between amîr *Timûr* (who reigned in *Mawaro'lnahr*, now *Great Bukhâria*), and the uſurper, *Khudaydat* took that opportunity to ſend him, under a truſty guard, to the mountains of *Badâgshân*, where the jaſper is found. This war was carried on for ſome years with much fury; and ſuch equality, that, after five bloody battles, it ſeemed doubtful which would in the end get the advantage. At length *Timûr* advancing with a powerful army, at a time when *Kamro'ddîn* fell ſick, the troops of *Kâſhgar*, deſtitute of a chief, betook themſelves to flight, not daring to wait for the enemy. As for *Kamro'ddîn*, he was, in this confuſion, carried, for ſecurity, into certain deſarts to the eaſt of the capital city: but, after the retreat of *Timûr*'s army, he never could be found (D); altho' a great while after his ſubjects underſtood, that he re-

(C) See more of this prince in the hiſtory previous to the reign of *Timûr Bek*.

(D) It does not appear when this happened, poſſibly about 1375, or 1383. See hiſt. *Tim. Bek*, l. ii. c. 19. p. 176, & c. 42. p. 235; alſo the reign of *Timûr* hereafter.

ſided

fided with one *Malek Ajân* (E), a man of whom yet nothing is known.

AMIR *Khudaydat* (F), laying hold of this opportunity, brought back *Kezra Khoja* from his obscure retreat, and caused him to be proclaimed khân, with the usual solemnities. This prince reigned thirty years over the country of *Kâshgar*; and all those who have since possessed that throne, have been of his posterity [c]. We know very little of the actions of this prince, excepting what we find in the history of *Timûr Bek*, who made war on him in 1389, ravaged his country, and capital city *Aymal Gûjû*; pursued him, on one side, beyond the river *Irtîsh*, and, on the other, to *Yaldûz* (or *Yalis*) and *Karakoja* (or *Aramuth*, near *Khamîl*, in *Little Bukhâria*); in short, drove him out of *Jetah*. Next year he made another expedition into the same country; and, at *Al Maleg*, hearing of *Kamro'ddîn*, followed him beyond the *Irtîsh*, driving him into the woods towards *Tawlas* [d]. 5. Kezra Khoja Khân.

THIS is all the account we can find relating to this branch of *Jagatay Khân*, excepting a few scattered particulars. Among the rest, *Mahamed* was khan of the kingdoms of *Kâshgar* and *Chalis* (that is, of *Little Bukhâria*), in 1603, when *Goes* the Jesuit travelled thro' the country, in his way to *China*; so that, by the foregoing authority of *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, he must have been descended from *Kezra Khoja*, as well as the khân, who reigned in 1665, when that prince finished his history: but eighteen years after, *viz.* in 1683, *Little Bukhâria* was subdued by the *Eluths*, or *Kalmûks*, as hath been before related [e]. *Succession extinct.*

[c] ABU'LGH. ubi sup. p. 179, & seqq. l. ii. c. 3, p. 325. & c. 9. p. 345.

[d] Hist. TIM. BEK.

[e] See before, p. 99.

(E) It appears from the same history of *Timûr Bek*, l. iii c. 9. p. 346. that he was living in 1390, at which time he fled across the *Irtîsh*, towards the city of *Tawlas*, into the woods, where sables and ermins are found. See hereafter, in the reign of *Timûr*.

(F) Or *Khudadad*, a name common among the *Mungls*: *Timûr* had a general or two of the same name.

BOOK V.

Hiſtory of the Deſcendants of Jenghîz Khân, *who reigned in* Irân, *or* Perſia *at large.*

CHAP. I.

The Reign of Hulâgû Khân.

Weſtern expedition,

FROM the death of *Jenghîz Khân*, which happened in 625 of the *Hejrah*, of *Chriſt* 1227, the country of *Irân* (or *Perſia* at large), with the neighbouring countries which he had conquered, were governed by officers appointed by his ſucceſſors, who reigned at *Karakorom*, in the eaſtern parts of *Tartary*, till the year 651; when *Mangu* (A), fourth khân of the *Mungls*, with a deſign to extend his empire, raiſed three great armies: one of them was ſent towards *Hinduſtân*, or *India*; the ſecond to *Korea*; and the third into *Irân*. This laſt, which was the moſt conſiderable of the three, the khân intruſted to the conduct of his brother *Hulâgû*, who had a general under him of great learning and experience, called *Kokân*. This army, in the *Chineſe* hiſtory, is ſaid to have been deſigned againſt the khalîfah of *Bâghdâd*[a]; whereas, according to the *Perſian* hiſtorians, the khalîfah was attacked by the perſuaſion of a famous *Perſian* aſtronomer. Poſſibly it had no particular deſtination: but was ſent in general to make farther conqueſts, and keep the countries already ſubdued more in ſubjection; by the preſence of great forces, and a prince of the blood, who was to unite the whole under one government.

under Hulâkû.

WE have already given ſome account of this expedition of *Hulâkû* from the *Chineſe* hiſtorians[b]; who, having had very imperfect and confuſed informations of the affairs of the weſtern parts of the *Mungl* empire, we ſhall make no uſe of them here; but follow thoſe who lived on the ſpot, or in the neighbourhood of the countries which were the ſcenes of action.

Enters Irân.

HULAGU (B), the ſon of *Tuli Khân*, fourth ſon of *Jenghîz Khân*, was ſurnamed *Il Khân*; from whence his poſterity took

[a] GAUBIL, hiſt. de Gengh. p. 113. 136.

[b] See before, Vol. IV. l. iii. c. 4.

(A) In the *Chineſe* hiſtory, named *Mengko*, which ſeems to be the *Chineſe* pronunciation.

(B) Called alſo *Halâkû* and *Hulâgû*.

the

the title of *Ilkhanians*[c]. This prince crossed the *Jihûn* in the year 653, to enter *Irân*. He was accompanied by his brother *Sontay Ogul*, and several great lords from divers parts. He carried with him also his eldest son *Abâka*, and another called *Yasmun**, with his wives *Dukuz Khatûn*, a Christian lady, and *Al Jay Khatûn*. In the ninth of *Shaaban* 652, arriving before *Samarkant*, he encamped there, and lost his brother *Sontay Ogul*. Soon after amîr *Argûn* (made governor of the countries to the south of the *Jihûn* in 650 (C) came to wait on him, with several lords of that province[d]. The first thing *Hulakû* did, after examining into the state of the country, was, to purge it of the *Ismaelians*, who had for a long time committed great disorders there. A. D. 1255.

These *Ismaelians* were certain princes, who reigned over part of *Persian Irâk*, and *Mazanderân* (D). Their subjects were so devoted to them, that, at their command, they undertook to kill any prince, or other person; which procured them the name of assassins. There was another dynasty of them in *Syria*; whose prince is the same mentioned by the writers of the crusade, under the name of *the old man of the mountain*; which is only a bad translation of the *Arabic Sheykh al Jebâl* (E); which word *Sheykh* expresses not the age, but dignity, of a prince. The *Mohammedan* writers, moreover, lay to their charge errors in faith; and, for this reason, give them no other name than that of *Melâhedah*, or *Molhedûn* (F), which signifies *impious*. *Assassins of Irâk.*

Their dynasty. Their dynasty consisted of eight princes, who reigned the space of 170 years, till 654; when *Hulâkû* put an end to it, in the person of *Rokno'ddîn Khuz Shâh*, the last king, from

[c] D'Herbel. bibl. orient. art. Il Khân, & Holagû. [d] Abu'l-faraj hist. dyn. p. 329, & seq.

* In other copies, *Tasmerun*.

(C) He held the government of them for thirty-nine years, as is noted in the reign of *Baydu Khân*.

(D) In *Kuhestân* (that is, the mountain country), which makes the northermost part of *Irâk*; and *Rûdbâr*, a territory of *Mazanderân*.

(E) *Sheykh al Jebâl* signifies not properly the prince of the mountain; but the prince of *al Jebâl*, a part of *Persian Irâk*; so called by the *Arabs*, being a translation of the *Persian* name *Kûhestân*, which signifies *the mountain country*. In this sense *Sheykh al Jebâl* is to be understood, if applied to the *Ismaelian* prince of *Kûhestân*; but, if to him of *Syria*, it must be rendered prince of the mountain.

(F) *Melâhedah Kûhestân wa Rûdbâr*, the impious of *Kûhestân* and *Rûdbâr*.

whom

whom he took all his caſtles in *Jebâl*, which were exceeding ſtrong, and well provided with neceſſaries [c].

Caſtles taken.

THIS prince had but juſt ſucceeded his father *Alao'ddîn*, when *Hulâkû* ordered his commanders to attack his caſtles; five of which he demoliſhed, as not being judged tenable. Before the order reached *Kafran*, *Kaydbuka* had already taken the caſtle of *Shahediz* (G), and three other caſtles, from them. *Il Khân*, therefore, arriving at *Abâſabâd* (H). *Rokno'ddîn* ſent a youth but ſeven or eight years old, who pretended to be his ſon, in token of ſubmiſſion. *Hulâkû*, altho' aware of the deceit, received and diſmiſſed the child with honour. After that, he ſent his brother *Shîrân Shâh*, accompanied by 300 perſons, whom the *Mungl* prince ſent to *Jamâlabâd*, near *Kazwîn*; but diſmiſſed *Shîrân Shâh* to tell his brother, that he would allow him only five days to ſubmit himſelf. *Rokno'ddîn* ſignified by an embaſſador, that he dared not then come out, for fear of his people, who would fall on him; but would wait on him the firſt opportunity. *Hulâkû*, finding that he wanted only to protract the time, marched, and encamped before the caſtle of *Maymûn Darah*. Hereupon *Rokno'ddîn* declared, he would immediately come forth: but, being prevented by the *Molâhedah* and *Fedâyi*, *Hulâkû* bid him wait a while. Then ordering his troops to attack the caſtle, *Rokno'ddîn* took the opportunity, while his people were engaged in repulſing the beſiegers, to retire to the *Mungl* camp, with his ſons and chief favourites; where he was kindly received by *Il Khân*.

Rokno'ddîn *ſubmits.*

His territories reduced.

THOSE in the caſtle, perceiving with how much honour their prince was treated, preſently ſurrendered the fortreſs; which was demoliſhed by the *Mûngls*, who ſoon reduced all the caſtles which were in that valley. After this, the governor of *Al Mût* (or *Al Mawt*) (*) was ſummoned to ſurrender that fortreſs, and refuſed: but, on the approach of a great body of troops, delivered it up in the eleventh month. At the ſame time *Shâmſo'ddîn*, governor of the caſtles belonging to *Kaheſtân* (I), which were fifty in number, received orders to demoliſh them; in which he was aſſiſted by thoſe who accompanied *Rokno'ddîn*. All of them were taken, excepting two, *Kazdhâkûh* and *Lam-*

[c] D'HERBELOT. ubi ſup. p. 503. 620. art. Iſmaelioun & Molhedoun.

(G) In other copies, *Shâberîr*.

(H) *Ayâzabâd*, in other copies.

(*) That is, the caſtle of *death*.

(I) A miſtake, perhaps, in the copy, for *Kûheſtan*, a part of *Perſian Irâk*.

ſhîr,

ſhîr (K), which could not be reduced in leſs than two years. The daylem alſo made peace with *Hulâkû*, on condition to deſtroy their caſtles After which, that prince returned in *Dhulhajjeh* to the *Orda*, near *Hamadân*, and ſent *Rokno'ddîn*, with his ſons and wives, to *Kazwîn*.

Himſelf and family Hej. 655. A. D. 1257.

In 655 *Rokno'ddîn Khûz Shâh* deſiring to be ſent to *Mangû Khân*, to pay his reſpects to that monarch, he ſet out, accompanied by nine of his retinue, and two embaſſadors diſpatched from *Hulâgû*. When he arrived at *Karakuram*, inſtead of being admitted to the khân's preſence, he was ordered to return, and prevail on his governors to ſurrender the two caſtles beforementioned; after which, he was told, that he might repair to court, and ſhould be received with honour. With this hope *Rokno'ddîn* left *Karakuram*; but, in the way back, was ſlain, with thoſe who accompanied him. *Hulâkû* likewiſe received a mandate from his brother *Mangû*, to extirpate the *Molâhedah* intirely, and leave no footſteps of them remaining. Upon this, he ſent *Kara Kay Alyabtaktaji* to *Kazwîn*, where he put to death all *Rokno'ddîn*'s family, and ſlew all the *Molâhedah* forces: at the ſame time *Utkuhâna Nowayn* (L), having aſſembled 12,000 ſubjects of the *Iſmaelians*, put them all to the ſword [f].

put to death.

Affairs of Rûm.

The ſame year *Hulâkû* ordered *Azzo'ddîn* and *Rokno'ddîn* to divide the dominions of *Rûm* between them. The firſt of theſe two brothers had dethroned the other, and impriſoned him: but, in 653, *Bayejû*, the *Mungl* general in *Azerbejân*, being obliged to remove his quarters, to accommodate *Hulâkû* with them, demanded of *Azzo'ddîn* a place to winter in. This prince, imagining that he fled from *Hulâkû*, marched to attack him, and was defeated. Hereupon *Bayejû* releaſed *Rokno'ddîn* out of priſon, and placed him on the throne. On the complaint, therefore, of *Azzo'ddîn*, in 655, *Hulâkû* ordered the partition above-mentioned; purſuant to which, *Rokno'ddîn* repaired to *Bayejû*'s camp, and *Azzo'ddîn* returned to *Konîya* (or *Ikonium*): but, being afraid of *Bayejû*, aſſembled an army of *Kûrds*, *Turkmâns*, and *Arabs*; which, however, was diſperſed by *Bayejû* and another *Nowayn*: ſo that *Malatîya*, and ſeveral other places, ſubmitted to *Rokno'ddîn*. But, *Bayejû* being ſoon after recalled towards *Irâk* [g], things took a turn again in

[f] Abu'lfar. ubi ſup. p. 330, & ſeqq.

[g] Idem ibid. p. 330—334.

(K) In ſome copies, *Kerdkûh* and *Lamſkabr*: in *D'Herbelot*, *Kudkûh* and *Yemſer*. Bibl. orient. p. 503. art. Iſmaelioun.

(L) *Ikujaha*, in ſome copies.

favour of *Azzo'ddîn*, as hath been elſewhere related [h]. Let us now return to *Hulâkû*.

Hulâkû *marches*

THIS prince, during the time that he was beſieging the caſtles of the *Molâhedah*, ſent an embaſſador to the khalîfah *Al Moſtâaſſem*, to deſire his aſſiſtance. The khalîfah would have anſwered his requeſt; but the wazîrs and princes oppoſed it (M); alledging, that *Hulâkû* did not want forces, but made the demand only to weaken *Baghdâd* (N), that he might the more eaſily take it. When the caſtles were reduced, *Il Khân* ſent another embaſſador to reproach *Al Moſtâaſſem* for neglecting to ſend him ſuccours. The prime wazîr, being conſulted what was to be done on this occaſion, told them, that the prince ought to be appeaſed with very rich preſents: but, while they were getting them ready, *Dowaydâr* and his party inſinuated as if the wazîr correſponded with the *Tatars*, and intended to betray them; for this reaſon the khalîfah, inſtead of many coſtly things, ſent only a few of little value. *Hulâkû*, provoked more at this, gave the khalîfah to underſtand, that he ſhould repair to the camp himſelf, or ſend thither either the wazîr *Dowaydâr*, or *Soleymân Shâh*. But, as none of them would obey *Al Moſtâaſſem*'s command to go, he ſent others; which not ſatisfying *Hulâkû*, he ordered *Bayejû Nowayn* and *Sunjak Nowayn* (O) to march by the way of *Erbel* (or *Arbela*), while himſelf took the road thro' *Holwân*,

to attack Bâghdâd.

ON this advice, *Dowaydâr* ſet out from *Bâghdâd*, and advanced near *Yaakuba*: but, hearing that *Bayejû* had paſſed the *Tigris*, and encamped on its weſtern bank, in the belief that *Hulâkû* was there, left *Yaakuba*, and poſted himſelf over-againſt

[h] See before, Vol. IV. p. 258, & ſeqq.

(M) According to the authors mentioned in the next note, thoſe miniſters returned a very injurious anſwer to *Hulâkû*'s letters; and threatened him with the anger of God, and the khalîfah. Lower down, this anſwer ſeems to be aſcribed to other perſons, and to be ſent on another occaſion.

(N) According to the authors made uſe of by *D'Herbelot*, *Hulâkû* intended, after deſtroying the *Iſmaelians*, to have marched directly, thro' *Anatolia*, to *Conſtantinople*; but was diſſuaded by *Naſſiro'ddîn al Tuſi*, the famous aſtronomer, who adviſed him to turn his arms againſt the khalîfah, out of a private pique. Bibl. orient. p. 453. art. Holâgû.

(O) Or *Sowinjâk*. According to the *Perſian* authors, *Hulâgû* did not immediately march againſt *Bâghdâd*; but ſpent a long time in making marches and counter-marches, to conceal his deſign. At length, in 655, he of a ſudden turned on that ſide. *D'Herbelot*, as in the note before.

Bayejû.

Bayejû. Mean time *Ibeg al Hâlebi*, one of the khalîfah's amîrs, having fallen into the hands of the *Mungl* scouts, they brought him to *Hulâkû*. On the promise of security, he undertook to conduct his army; and wrote to his friends at *Bâghdâd*, advising them to consult their own safety, by submitting to the *Mungls*, for that they were not able to cope with such numerous forces. But they, in answer, haughtily asked, "Who was *Hulâkû*, and what his forces, to oppose the "family of *Abbâs*, who held the empire of God himself? and "even threatened him with the anger both of the Deity and "the khalîfah, for daring to set foot within his dominions" (P). They added, "If he desired to make peace, that he should "return to *Hamadân*, while they intreated *Dowaydâr* to in-"tercede for him to the khalîfah, who possibly might pardon "his fault." When *Ibeg* shewed the letters to *Hulâkû*, that prince only laughed, considering them as an instance of their vanity and rashness [1].

The city besieged.

After this, *Dowaydâr*, hearing that the *Tatars* took the road to *Anbâr* (*), marched against them; and, meeting *Suwinjâk Nowayn*, put his troops to flight: but, being met by *Bayejû*, he obliged them to turn back with him; and falling, with all their forces, on the victor, defeated him, and slew most of his soldiers; so that he escaped to *Bâghdâd* with only a few followers. Mean time *Hulâkû*, in the middle of *Moharram* 656, encamping opposite to a gate of the city, the *Mungls*, in one night, built a siba, or wall, inclosing the eastern side; while *Buka Timûr*, *Suwinjâk Nowayn*, and *Bayejû Nowayn*, did the same on the west side. They likewise dug deep ditches within the siba; and, placing their battering-rams, with other engines of war, against the city, on the twenty-second of the same month the attack began; when the khalîfah, perceiving his inability to defend the place, sent his president of the diwân, and *Ebn Darnûs*, to make submission to *Hulâkû*, with presents of no great value; lest, if they were costly, it might be interpreted as a mark of great fear. Being asked, why *Dowaydâr* and *Soleymân Shâh* did not come to him? The khalîfah sent the wazîr *Alkami*; who said, in the person of his master, "You demanded one out of the three; and I "have sent the wazîr, who is the greatest of them." *Hulâkû* answered, "When I was at *Hamadân*, any of the three

[1] Abu'lfar. ubi sup. p. 336, & seqq.

(P) As having been, in the opinion of *Mohammedans*, consecrated ground.

(*) A city on the *Euphrates*, about two days journey from *Bâghdâd*.

"would

" would have done; but now I ſhall not be ſatisfied with one " of them."

and taken, MEAN time, as the ſiege went on vigorouſly on every ſide, *Hulâkû* ordered arrows to be ſhot into *Bâghdâd*; with billets, promiſing ſecurity to the doctors, and all ſuch as did not bear arms, their families and effects. On the twenty-ſixth the *Mungls* forced the walls of the city; and watched the river, that none might eſcape by water. Then *Hulâkû* ordered *Dowaydâr* and *Soleymân Shâh* to come to him; but left the khalifah at liberty to do as he thought fit. Thoſe two lords accordingly came forth, attended by a great number of the nobility; but, on the way, *Dowaydâr* turned back, under pretence of taking care leſt the ſoldiers, who were poſted in the ſtreets and lanes, ſhould kill any of the *Mungls*; yet next morning, when he came out of the city, he was killed himſelf. The inhabitants, after this, ſent deputies to intreat protection: and the khalifah, ſeeing there was no way to avoid it, on the fourth of *Saffâr* repaired to the camp, with leave of *Hulâkû*, who ordered him to lodge in the gate called *Kalwâd*. Then entering the city, to ſee the khalifah's palace, he commanded that prince to be brought before him. *Moſtâaſſem* made him a preſent of precious ſtones and pearls, which he diſtributed amongſt his commanders. In the evening, returning to his camp, he ordered the khalifah to ſet apart all the women belonging to him, or his ſons, amounting to 700; whom, with 300 eunuchs in their ſervice, he brought forth. After the *Mungls* had plundered the city for ſeven days, they ceaſed either to ſlay, or make any more captives. The fourteenth of the ſame month *Hulâkû* departed from *Bâghdâd*; and, when he was encamped at night, ordered the khalifah, his middlemoſt ſon, and ſix eunuchs, to be put to death [k].

by the treachery *KONDAMIR*, and other oriental hiſtorians, relate this important event with other circumſtances. According to them, *Hulâkû*, being incenſed with the anſwer of the khalifah's miniſters to his letters, ordered his generals to march on both ſides of the *Tigris*, to beſiege *Bâghdâd*. The *Mungl* troops, which daily increaſed, ravaged the neighbouring country to ſuch a degree, that in a little time it was intirely ruined; ſo that they had difficulty to find even graſs for their horſes. The *Tatar* army, which conſiſted wholly in cavalry, having no longer wherewithal to ſubſiſt, *Hulâkû* muſt have been forced to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with ſhame, as well as loſs, if it had not been for the treachery of *Atûde ebn Amrân*, a ſlave of a neighbouring governor; who, according to the *Nighiariſtân*, dreamed, the year before, that the houſe of the children of

[k] ABU'LFAR. ubi ſup. p. 338, & ſeq.

Abbâs

Abbâs, was on the point of falling; and that he himſelf ſhould become maſter of *Bâghdâd*, and the dominions of the khalifah. *Ebn Amrân*, who happened to be among the beſieged, no ſooner heard of the diſtreſſed condition of the enemy's army, but, by a letter ſhot into their camp with an arrow, he informed *Hulâkû*, that if he could prevail on the khalifah to ſend one *Ebn Amrân* to him, he would find means to ſupport his army for a whole month.

HULAKU, on this advice, did not fail to demand this man of *Moſtaâaſſem*, who, being reduced to ſuch a ſtate, that, had his ſon been demanded, he would have gratified him, cauſed *Ebn Amran* to be ſought for, and ſent him to the *Mungl* prince; to whom he diſcovered, that, in the city of *Yakâba*, or *Akâba*, of which his maſter was governor, there was a prodigious quantity of grain laid up in pits. By means of this intelligence, the *Mungls* were ſaved from ſtarving with hunger, and enabled to take the great city of *Bâghdâd*; which was plundered, and intirely ruined, by them, in the year 656. *Hulâkû*, who owed this conqueſt to *Ebn Amrân*, thought he could not do better than confer the government of the city, and its dependencies, on the traitor; who thus ſaw his dream fulfilled [1] *of a ſlave,* Hej. 656. A. D. 1258.

OTHER authors aſcribe the cauſe of the khalifah's ruin chiefly to the perfidy of his prime wazîr *Mowiyado'ddîn al Kami*; who, piqued about ſome religious peccadillo, diſbanded the troops, when there was greateſt need of them, and concealed the ſtrength of the enemy from *Moſtâaſſem*. He likewiſe correſponded with *Hulâkû*, and gave him notice of the beſt time to march towards *Bâghdâd*. The khalifah was the more eaſily perſuaded to diſarm himſelf, as he was very covetous, and addicted to pleaſure: nor would he give over his debauches, for all the repreſentations of the principal lords of his court, till advice was brought, that a great detachment of *Mungls*, under two of their beſt generals, were near the city. Then, when it was too late, 10,000 men were, in a hurry, got ready, and ſent to reconnoitre them. Theſe meeting the enemy, encamped on the *Tigris*, to the north of *Bâghdâd*, a moſt bloody battle was fought, with doubtful ſucceſs: but the *Mungls* having, in the night, cut the bank of a canal drawn from the *Euphrates*, near which the army of the khalifah was ill poſted, their camp was laid under-water, to ſuch a degree, that the greater part were drowned, and the reſt put to the ſword. *and the wazîr.*

MEAN time, *Hulâkû* arrived, with the groſs of his army, before *Bâghdâd*, and laid ſiege to it; while the khalifah continued *The khalifah's death.*

[1] D'HERBEL, p 453, art. Hulakû.

his

his debauches, without minding his affairs, as if the enemy had been at a great diſtance. At the end of two months, the traitor *Alkami* retired, with his family, to the camp of *Hulâkû*, who preſently after took the city, in the month of *Saffar* 656; where every thing was put to fire and ſword (Q) by the *Tatars*; who plundered *Bâghdâd* of infinite wealth: for it was, at that time, the moſt rich and powerful city in the world. The khalifah *Moſtâaſſem* being taken, with one of his ſons, after ſome conſultation, was wrapped up tight, in a piece of felt, and, in that condition, dragged through the ſtreets, where he ſoon expired, when he had lived forty-two years, and reigned above eighteen. His ſon, who remained, was put to death; the other having been ſlain at one of the city-gates, which he defended (R) courageouſly.

debauchery and pride.

THUS an end was put to the race of khalifahs, which began in the perſon of *Abûbekr*, the eleventh year of the Hejrah, or flight of *Mohammed*, and had continued in the family of *Abbâs* for the ſpace of 520 years.

THIS laſt khalifah, although he had neither courage nor conduct, reigned with greater pride and magnificence than any of his predeceſſors, who were ſovereigns in temporals as well as ſpirituals. When he went out of the palace, on any occaſion, he commonly wore a maſk, or veil, over his face, to draw the more reſpect from the people, whom he did not think worthy to look on him [m]: and 'tis probable, ſays *D'Herbelot*, that the *Mungls* put him to that kind of death, to puniſh his inſolent deportment.

Bâghdâd *reſtored.*

AFTER this execution, *Hulâkû* appointed the preſident of the diwân, the wazîr, and *Ebn Dunus* (or *Darnuſh*), to reſtore *Bâghdâd* to its former ſtate. *Buka Timûr* was ſent to *Hella* (*), to try what he could do with the inhabitants; after which, he marched to *Waſet*; where, in one week, he put to death a multitude of people; and then returned to *Hulâkû*, whom he found at *Siyakûh* [n].

Mauſel *ſubmits.*

As ſoon as *Badro'ddîn Lûlû*, lord of *Mauſel* (or *Muſol*), heard that *Bâghdâd* was taken, he ſent his ſon *Al Mâlek al Sâleh Iſmaël*, with part of his army, to the aſſiſtance of *Hulâkû*;

[m] KONDAMÎR ap. D'Herb. ubi ſup. p. 628. art. Moſtâaſſem.
[n] ABU'LFAR. ubi ſup. 339.

(Q) *Mirkond* ſays, all who were found in *Bâghdâd*, and the neighbouring country, were ſlain, to the number, as was reported, of 1,600,000 people. *Teixeira*, hiſt. *Perſ.* p. 309.

(R) *Abû'lfaraj* ſpeaks as if he had been taken, and was ſlain by *Hulâkû*'s order, by the gate called *Kal-wâd*.

(*) Or *Hellah*, a city on the *Euphrates*, where ſtood *Babylon*: two ſtages S. by W. of *Bâghdâd*.

who,

who, looking on him with a ſtern countenance, reproached him and his father with their backwardneſs in bringing their ſuccours; ſaying, "You waited to ſee who ſhould get the "better; and if the khalifah had been victor, would have "gone to him, inſtead of coming to me." *Badro'ddîn*, terrified when he heard his ſon repeat theſe words, which he conſidered as preſaging no good towards him, immediately reſolved to prepare a magnificent preſent: to make up which, he not only employed all the precious ſtones and jewels that were in his own treaſury, but ſtripped his rich ſubjects of their wealth; requiring the very bracelets off the arms of their women, and the pearls out of their childrens ears. When all was ready, he ſet out for the mountains of *Hamadân*, to pay his reſpects to *Hulâkû*; who received him very kindly, in reverence to his years; made him ſit beſide him, on the ſame eſtrade; and permitted him to touch his ear-rings, in which were two union pearls of great price. *Badro'ddîn*, after paying homage, returned to *Mauſel*, filled with joy, for his own good ſucceſs; and wondered at the power, majeſty, and wiſdom, of *Hulâkû*. 1. Khân Hulâkû.

THE ſame year, *Al Aſhrâf*, lord of *Miyafarekîn*, made a viſit to *Al Mâlek al Nâſir*, lord of *Haleb* (or *Aleppo*), deſiring aid of him, that he might hinder the *Mungls* from entering *Syria*. But *Al Nâſir*, looking on his apprehenſions as altogether groundleſs, paid no regard to his inſtances. Hereupon *Al Aſhrâf* went away in anger; and, on his return to *Miyafarekîn*, not only drove out the *Mungl* governors, but hung up a certain prieſt, whom the kaan (or khân) had ſent to him with mandates. Mean time, the *Mungl* army, led by *Yaſhmût*, ſon of *Hulâkû*, following him, came, and inveſted the city. In one day and night they ſurrounded it with walls, and a ditch; then placing their engines, vigorouſly attacked it. But, finding the place was not to be taken by force, they turned the ſiege into a blockade °. Miyafarekîn *blockaded.*

IN 657, *Hulâkû* ſent an ambaſſador to *Al Mâlek al Nâſir*, lord of *Haleb*, with letters, exhorting him to ſubmit himſelf, and avoid the khalifah's fate, by coming to his camp without delay. As his lords would not permit him to obey this ſummons, *Al Nâſir*, in a great conſternation, ſends his ſon *Al Mâlek al Azîz*, with a large ſum of money, and rich preſents. After *Al Azîz* had waited the whole winter, he received this anſwer; "We required to ſee *Al Mâlek al Nâſir*, not his ſon. "If therefore he be really for us in his heart, let him come "to us; otherwiſe we will go to him." When *Al Nâſir* heard theſe words, he was greatly terrified, not knowing what courſe Hej. 657. A. D. 1258. Halep *ſummoned.*

° ABU'LFAR. p. 344, & ſeq.

1. Khân Hulâkû.

to take. After this, *Hulâkû* ſent for *Azzo'ddîn*, king of *Rûm*, and his brother *Rokno'ddîn*; who, obeying his ſummons, were received with great honour and kindneſs. Then, having divided the dominion between them, he began his march for *Syria*, taking with him the *Seljûk* princes; who, on their arrival at the *Euphrates*, were permitted to return into their own country.

Hej. 658. A. D. 1259. Syria *invaded*,

In 658, he arrived at *Harrân*, with an army of 80,000 men, which city, with *Roha* (or *Orfa*), ſurrendered on conditions; nor were any of the inhabitants injured: but thoſe of *Sarûj* (S) were all put to the ſword, for not obeying the *Mungl* mandate. After this, *Hulâkû Il Khân* ordered three bridges to be laid over the *Euphrates*; one near *Malatîya*, another at *Kalâo'rûm*, and the third not far from *Karkîſia* (T); by which all his forces having croſſed into *Syria*, they made a great ſlaughter towards *Manbej* (U). Then the army dividing, in order to reduce the cities and caſtles, only a few ſoldiers took the rout of *Haleb*. Hereupon *Al Mâlek al Moäddham*, eldeſt ſon of *Salâho'ddîn* (or *Saladin*), advanced to meet them; but, being put to flight, returned to the city. The party which marched to *Moärrah* (or *Marrah*), ranſacked that place: but *Hamâh* and *Hems* ſurrendered on terms. When *Al Mâlek al Nâſr* heard of theſe misfortunes, he betook himſelf, with his wives, children, and moſt valuable effects, into the deſarts of *Al Karak* and *Al Shawbak* for ſhelter.

and ſubdued.

When the *Mungls* came to *Damaſkus*, the principal men delivered up the city, which received no manner of harm from the enemy. *Hulâkû* himſelf pitched his camp before *Haleb*; and having raiſed a mount, to command it, began to play his engines. The attack was chiefly made againſt the gate of *Erâk* (or *Irâk*), which was found to be the weakeſt part: ſo that being forced in a few days, the *Mungls* entered, and ſlew more people than they had done at *Bâghdâd*. Nor did the caſtle hold out long. Then proceeding to the caſtle *Al Harem* (X), the inhabitants were willing to ſurrender; but, not caring to truſt to his word, required the oath of a Muſſulman for their ſe-

(S) *Sarûj* lies to the north of *Roha*, *Roha* to the north of *Harrân*, ſuppoſed to be the antient *Haran* and *Karræ*.

(T) *Malatîya* is a little without the bounds of *Syria*. *Kalâto'l Rûm*, or, as pronounced, *Kalâto'rrum*, is between *Someyſat*, or *Samoſat*, and *Al Bîr*; and *Karkiſia* ſtood at the confluence of the *Al Khabûr* with the *Euphrates*, ſome leagues to the north of *Rabba*, or *Rahaba*.

(U) *Manbij* is a corruption of *Manbe*, or *Mambe*, or *Bambe*, the antient *Bambyce*, or *Hierapolis*; called by *Pliny Magog*, inſtead of *Mabog*, the *Syrian* name; an error uncorrected in *Hardowin*'s laſt edition.

(X) Towards *Antiokh*.

curity.

curity. *Il Khân* conſented; and they choſe *Fakro'ddîn*, governor of the caſtle of *Haleb*, becauſe, they ſaid, he was a ſincere, honeſt man: who being ſent to them, took all the oaths they propoſed to him; and then they opened their gates, by which a great multitude of people went out, and the *Mungls* entered. But *Hulâkû* made them pay for their ſuſpicion: for he firſt ordered *Fakro'ddîn* to be ſlain, and then all thoſe who had been in the caſtle; without ſparing any of either ſex, or even the children in their cradles P. 1. Khân Hulâkû.

AFTER this, *Hulâkû* returned eaſtward, leaving in *Syria* a great commander, named *Ketbûga*, with 10,000 horſe. When he arrived at *Tel Bâſher*, he was joined by the army, which had taken *Miyafarekîn*, and brought with them *Al Aſhrâf* its prince; after putting to the ſword the few inhabitants whom the famine had ſpared: but for which calamity the *Mungls* could not have taken the city. *Il Khân* cauſed *Al Aſhrâf* to be ſlain; which he afterwards was ſorry for, and gave the government to one of that prince's commanders. When he drew near to *Mardîn*, he ſent for the lord of that place, who, unwilling to obey the ſummons, ſent his ſon *Modâffero'ddîn*; becauſe he accompanied *Hulâkû*, when in *Syria*, along with *Al Mâlek al Sâleh*, ſon of ſoltân *Badro'ddîn Lâlâ*, late lord of *Mauſel*. *Hulâkû* bid him go back to his father, and command him to repair to the camp, and not turn rebel; in which caſe, he ſaid, it ſhould not fare well with him: but the father, inſtead of taking his ſon's advice, impriſoned him. Mardîn *taken.*

UPON this, the *Mungls* beſieged *Mardîn*: but could not have taken it in leſs than two or three years, had not the king, and moſt of the inhabitants, died of the peſtilence: after which, *Al Modâffer* ſurrendered the caſtle, and all the wealth belonging to it. When the king of the earth, *Hulâkû*, was informed what that prince had ſuffered, he treated him with much affection, and appointed him king, in his father's room. Mean time, *Ketbûga*, who was left in *Syria*, having found out *Al Mâlek al Nâſr*'s lurking place, ſent men to ſeize and carry him to *Hulâkû*; who was pleaſed to ſee him, and promiſed to reſtore him to his kingdom. But, while fortune ſeemed to flatter his hopes, news arrived, that *Kotûz*, ſoltân of the *Turkmâns* (*), who reigned in *Egypt*, hearing that *Hulâkû* was returned homewards, and had left *Ketbûga* behind him, with no more than 10,000 men, raiſed a great army, and attacked that general; who was killed in the battle, his forces defeated, and his children taken priſoners, on the 27th of *Ramazân*. When this ad- Syria *recovered.*

P ABU'LFAR. p. 346, & ſeqq.

(*) Third of the *Bahrite Mamlâks.*

1. Khân Hulâkû.

vice reached *Il Khân*, who was then in the mountains of *Al Tak* (Y), he was enraged; and ordered *Al Mâlek al Nâſr*, with his ſon *Al Mâlek al Dhâher*, and all belonging to him, to be put to death [q].

Al Nâſr ſlain.

THE execution was performed in the following manner, as *Mohayo'ddîn al Magrebi*, the only perſon who eſcaped the ſlaughter, told our author. One day, while *Mohayo'ddîn* attended *Al Nâſr*, who was aſking him ſome queſtion about his fortune, there came a *Mungl* commander, at the head of fifty horſe, whom the prince went from his tent to meet, and aſked to alight: but the officer deſired to be excuſed; ſaying, he came to acquaint him, by order of *Hulâkû*, that, as this was a day of rejoicing, he was deſired to be preſent at the feaſt, with his brother, ſons, and all his retinue, excepting the domeſtics and ſlaves. Upon this, they all, to the number of twenty, mounted their horſes, and ſet forward. But, when they were come into a narrow valley, with high rocks on every ſide, their eſcorte made them all alight, and then ſurrounding, fell to bind them; which when *Mohayo'ddîn* ſaw, he cried out, *That he was an aſtrologer, who conſulted the ſtars, and had ſomething of moment to reveal to the king, the lord of the earth.* Hereupon they ſet him aſide, and then ſlew the reſt, none eſcaping except two of *Al Nâſr*'s ſons, and the aſtrologer; who was joined as an aſſiſtant to *Khoja Nasîro'ddîn*, in making aſtronomical obſervations at *Marâgha*.

Affairs of Syria.

KOTUZ, ſoltan of *Egypt*, after the victory above-mentioned, recovered *Syria*; and having placed governors in *Haleb*, *Damaſkus*, and the other provinces thereof, returned homewards, to recruit his forces, in order to oppoſe the *Mungls*: but when he had gotten as far as *Gazza*, *Bibars*, called *Al Bundokdâr the leſſer*, riſing againſt, ſlew him, and ſeized the kingdom. This ſoltân, who became very famous, took from the *Franks* all the cities and caſtles which they poſſeſſed along the coaſt of *Syria*. However, in 659, the *Mungls* entered *Syria* a ſecond time, under the command of a general named *Gûgâlki*; and having proceeded almoſt as far as *Hems*, making great ſpoil, and deſtruction of people, returned to *Haleb*. There he ordered all the inhabitants, and villagers who had retired thither, to go into the plain; under pretence of numbering and conducting them to their reſpective homes: but, when they had gotten a good way on the journey, he ſaid to them, "If your hearts had been ſincerely towards us, you would not

Hej. 659. A. D. 1260.

[q] ABU'LFAR. p. 348, & ſeqq. D'HERB. p. 454.

(Y) Another copy reads *Al Atlak*.

"have

" have fled from us," and, without any more ceremony, put every ſoul of them to the ſword; ſo that none of them eſcaped, excepting thoſe who were wiſe enough to ſtay in *Haleb*. In the mean time, as ſoon as the *Egyptians* underſtood that the *Mungls* had evacuated *Syria*, they entered that country, and ſeized it anew. 1. Khân Hulâkû.

THE ſame year, *Alao'ddîn*, ſon of *Badro'ddîn Lûlû*, lord of *Senjâr*, fled into *Egypt*; and, ſoon after, wrote to his brother *Al Mâlek al Sâleh Iſmaël*, prince of *Mauſel*: ſetting forth the power of *Bundokdâr*; and adviſing him to become a vaſſal to the ſoltân, who, after driving out the *Mungls*, would make him lord not only of *Mauſel*, but ſeveral other provinces. When *Al Sâleh* had read the letters, he laid them under his bed: but *Shamſo'ddîn Mohammed Ebn Yûnes al Bâaſhîki*, one of his father's commanders in the country of *Niniveh*, watching his opportunity, took them, and, departing forthwith, rode off to *Bâaſhîka*. As ſoon as the king miſſed the letters, he ſuſpected *Shamſo'ddîn*, and ſent for him back, with deſign to put him to death: but *Ebn Yûnes*, making the meſſengers drunk, ſet out, in the night, with his family and effects, towards *Erbel* (or *Arbela*), giving out, that *Al Mâlek al Sâleh* intended to deſtroy all the Chriſtians in the country of *Niniveh*, and then retire into *Syria*: upon which rumour, almoſt all the Chriſtians of that quarter flocked to *Erbel*[r]. Mauſel revolts.

NEXT morning, the meſſengers, not finding *Ebn Yûnes*, imagined he was gone before to *Mauſel*. But when *Al Sâleh* ſaw that they had returned without him, taking it for granted, that he was gone to bring the *Mungls* upon him, he, in great conſternation, left the city, with many of his principal men, and what effects they could carry off; and went directly for *Syria*, without ſpoiling and then deſtroying the *Ninivitiſh* Chriſtians, as he at firſt deſigned. Soon after he had departed from *Mauſel*, a difference aroſe among his commanders, ſome of whom followed him, and others returned to the city; among which latter, was *Al Amo'ddîn Senjar*: but *Tarkân* of *Karazm*, wife of *Al Mâlek al Sâleh*, *Yaſan*, a judge, and their partiſans, ſhut the grates againſt them. However, being let in by *Mohayo'ddîn Ebn Zebellak*, at the head of a great body of the citizens, *Tarkân*, and her friends, retired into the caſtle: the contrary party, at the ſame time, fell upon the Chriſtians, ſpoiling and killing all, excepting ſuch as turned *Mohammedans*. *Al Sâleh* had likewiſe, before his departure, agreed with the *Kûrds*, to come down with their forces upon *Niniveh*; which they did two days after, and, after ſpoiling Confuſion there.

[r] ABU'LFAR. p. 350, & ſeqq.

1. Khân Hulâkû. the Chriſtians dwelling there, either killed, or carried away captives, all who remained.

The city beſieged, MEAN time, a rumour being ſpread, that the *Mungl* forces were advancing through *Al Jazîreh* (or *Meſopotamia*), the amîr *Al Amo'ddîn Senjar*, with his party, left the city; and, being joined by the *Kûrd* commanders, went to meet the *Mungls*, led by *Turîn*, judge of *Mauſel*: by whom they were ſurrounded, and all cut to pieces. After this, the affairs of *Mauſel* ran daily more into confuſion, when, towards the end of ſummer, a report flew, that the *Mungl* army was coming; and, in effect, not long after, it did come, under the command of *Samdagû*, a great general, who favoured the Chriſtians, and beſieged *Mauſel*. In a little time, advice being brought, that *Al Mâlek al Sâleh* was returned from *Syria*, the *Mungls* withdrew a little way from the city, to let him enter; and then ſat down before it again. In one night they built a wall round it, and then began vigorouſly to attack the place. At length, proviſions failing in the city, *Samdagû*, to delude *Al Sâleh*, made him very fair promiſes, and even forbore hoſtilities. During this ceſſation of arms, advice was brought, that an army from *Syria* was on its way to aid *Al Sâleh*, under the conduct of a general named *Barlû*. Hereupon the *Mungls* ſet forward; and meeting the enemy near *Senjâr*, ſurrounded, and ſlew them all, carrying away much ſpoil.

and ſurrendered. AFTER this, *Samdagû* ſo far wrought on *Al Mâlek al Sâleh*, by his artifices, that the former, opening the gates, came out to him, without any apprehenſions, preceded by muſicians and jeſters. But he was no ſooner lodged in the camp, than the *Mungl* army entered the city; where, for eight days, they plundered it, and killed an infinite number of people, beſides thoſe whom they made ſlaves of. Among the reſt, there was ſlain *Alao'lmalk* (Z), ſon of *Al Mâlek al Sâleh*, whom, having intoxicated with wine, they cut in two, by the waiſt, near the caſtle. Then making *Shamſo'ddîn Ebn Yûnes* governor of the city, *Samdagû* departed, carrying with him *Al Mâlek al Sâleh* to *Hulâkû*, who ordered him to be put to death. But *Shamſo'ddîn* did not long enjoy the fruits of his perfidy: for, in Hej. 661. A. D. 1262. 661, one *Al Zaki*, or *Erbel*, accuſed him of defrauding the family of *Badro'ddîn* of money and jewels; and alſo of poiſoning him, by means of *Mowâffek*, a Chriſtian phyſician. *Ebn Yûnes*, denying the fact, was baſtonadoed, to extort a confeſſion: but, while he underwent the puniſhment, a paper dropped from him, containing ſome verſe of the *Korân*; which *Al Zâki*

(Z) In another copy *Alao'ddîn al Molk*.

faid

ſaid was a charm againſt the *Mungls*. Hereupon he was put to death, and his accuſer made governor in his room [s]. 1. Khân Hulâkû.

MEAN time, *Hulâkû*, who, after his expedition into *Syria*, had returned into *Azerbijân*, there to take ſome repoſe, aſſembled the principal aſtronomers to be found in the *Mohammedan* countries: to whom he gave large penſions, and furniſhed all ſorts of neceſſary inſtruments for making obſervations, at *Marâgha* (A), where he built a famous obſervatory. He died in 663 (B), after he had reigned abſolutely ſix years, ſince the death of his brother [t]: for the authors made uſe of by *D'Herbelot* ſuppoſe, that this prince, during the life-time of *Mangû Khân*, governed *Irân*, as his deputy; but that, on his death, in 657, he ſucceeded as fifth khân of the *Mungls*, in that part of *Aſia* [u]. However, it appears, from what has been elſewhere related, that *Koplay Khân* was the immediate and true ſucceſſor of *Mangû*, not only at *Karakorom*, but in all parts of the *Mungl* dominions, or empire; and that *Hulâkû* actually acknowleged *Koplay* as ſuch [x]. 'Tis true, his ſucceſſors in *Irân* did, at length, throw off their ſubjection to the ſucceſſors of *Jenghîz Khân*, in the eaſt: but it is not expreſly mentioned under what prince this happened. *A famous obſervatory.* Hej. 663 A. D. 1264. Hulâkû *dies.*

ONE of the principal wives of this monarch, named *Dughûz Khatûn*, was a Chriſtian, and accompanied him in all his military expeditions; being much eſteemed by him, for her prudence and knowlege. She died not long after him; and was buried near her huſband, in the ſame city. It is reported, that *Hulâkû* demanded in marriage the daughter of *Michael Paleologus*, emperor of *Conſtantinople* (C), who drove the *Franks* out of that city: but 'tis more probable he aſked her for his ſon and ſucceſſor *Abâka Khân*; who married her, on her arrival, in 664, which happened after his father's death. *His wives,*

THE dominions which *Hulâkû* left at his death are reckoned up by *Ebn Shohnah*; as follows: The great province of *Khoraſſân*, of which *Niſhabûr* was, at that time, the capital: *Jebâl*, or *Perſian Irâk*, the country of the *Parthians*, whoſe ca- *and large dominions.*

[s] ABU'LFAR. p. 353. [t] D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. p. 454.
[u] Ibid. [x] See Vol. IV. l. iii. c. 5. ſect. 1.

(A) A city on the lake of the *Shâh*, about forty miles to the ſouth-weſt of *Tabrîz*, or *Tauris*.

(B) Or 664, according to ſome authors.

(C) *Abû'lfaraj* ſays, *Hulâkû* demanded the emperor's daughter in marriage: tha i h was met at *Cæſarea* (in *Aſia Minor*) with a meſſenger, with the news of *Hulâkû*'s death; but, as ſhe could not return to her own country, ſhe proceeded to the court of *Abâka*, who took her to himſelf.

1. Khân Hulâkû.

pital was *Iſphâhân : Irâk Arabi*, called alſo *Irâk Bâbeli*, compriſing *Aſſyria* (or *Kûrdeſtân* and *Khaldea*), whoſe metropolis was *Bâghdâd : Adherbejân* (or *Azerbejân*), that is, *Media*, its chief city *Tabrîz*, or *Tauris : Pârs*, or *Proper Perſia*, its capital *Shirâz*, formerly called *Cyropolis*; for *Eſtekhâr*, or *Perſepolis*, was then in ruins : *Khûreſtân*, or *Khûzeſtân*, the antient *Suſiana*, whoſe capital was *Toſter*, or *Shûſter*, formerly called *Suſa*, of *Perſia : Diyârbekr*, which comprehends part of *Aſſyria*, or *Kûrdeſtân*, and *Al Jazireh*, or *Meſopotamia*, whereof *Mûſſal* (or *Moſul*), built near the antient *Niniveh*, was the capital : laſtly, the country of *Rûm*, or the *Romans*, containing *Armenia*, *Georgia*, and *Aſia Minor*, whoſe capital was *Koniya*, the antient *Ikonium*[y].

and conqueſts.

THE ſame author remarks, that the *Mungls*, or *Tatars*, in all the conqueſts which they made, were never defeated, excepting that once under *Ketbûga*, as before-mentioned. But it is not fact, as *D'Herbelot* affirms (perhaps without any authority), that all thoſe countries were conquered by *Hulâkû :* for *Irân*, or *Perſia* at large, was ſubdued by *Jenghîz Khân*. Nor does it appear, from what goes before, that any conſiderable part of it had revolted, or thrown off its ſubjection to the *Mungls*, excepting the country of the *Iſmaëlians*. On the contrary, there ſeems to have been no conſiderable change in the ſtate of thoſe countries, from the account given by *Abû'lfaraj*[z]; who informs us, that *Munkuka* (or *Mangû*) *Khân*, in 650, the year before *Hulâkû* was ſent into *Irân*, had appointed *Argûn Aga* to govern the kingdoms of *Khoraſſân* and *Hindûſtân*, *Mazanderân*, *Irâk*, *Pârs*, *Kermân*, *Lûr*, *Arrân*, *Azerbejân*, *Gorjeſtân* (or *Georgia*), *Mauſel* (or *Meſopotamia*), and *Syria*. It appears alſo, by the proceedings of *Bayejû Nowayn*, that the khân's authority extended even to *Anatolia*. So that *Hulâkû* came to the government of nearly as many countries as were in his hands at his death; and may be ſaid rather to have more fully ſettled and completed the old conqueſts, than to have added new ones.

Founds the dynaſty.

THE oriental hiſtorians begin this dynaſty of *Mungl* princes with *Jenghîz Khân*, as hath been obſerved above : but as *Hulâkû* was the firſt of his deſcendants who reigned in *Irân*, we ſhall ſet him at the head of it. *Abû'lfaraj* dates the commencement of the *Mungl* dynaſty in *Irân*, or *Perſia* at large, from the deſtruction of the khalifat, in the year 656. The *Perſian* hiſtorians give him a reign of ſix years only, reckoning from the death of *Mangû Khân*, in 657.

[y] D'HERBEL. ubi ſup. [z] Hiſt. dynaſt. p. 327.

ACCORD-

1. Khân Hulâkû.

ACCORDING to *Mîrkond*, *Hulâkû*, before his death, divided his dominions among three of his ſons, *Abâka* (D), *Taſhmut*, and *Tandon*; to the firſt he gave the kingdoms of *Irâk*, *Mazanderân*, and *Khoraſſân*; to the ſecond, *Arân*, or *Armenia*, and *Azerbejân*; to the third he aſſigned *Diyârbekr* and *Rabîya*, which are two provinces of *Al Jazîreh* and *Meſopotamia*. *Hulâkû* had, beſides theſe three ſons, two others, *Nikûdar Oglan*, and *Targahe* (or *Targhiyeh*) *Khân*, who had no ſhare in their father's partition of his dominions; yet one of them obtained the empire himſelf, and ſo did the children of the other *.

CHAP. II.

The Reign of Abâka Il Khân.

2. Khân Abâka.

Hej. 663. A. D. 1264.

AFTER the death of *Hulâkû*, his ſon *Abâka* was, in an aſſembly conſiſting of his ſons the princes, and the ladies his widows, unanimouſly acknowleged for his ſucceſſor. He was a prince endowed with prudence, capacity, learning, and knowlege: which good qualities rendered him dear to everybody, and gave him ſucceſs in all his tranſactions, both domeſtic and foreign [a].

His firſt regulations.

As ſoon as this prince aſcended the throne, he ſent one of his brothers to *Dârbend*, on the *Caſpian* ſea, and another into *Khoraſſân*, to ſhut up the paſſages into his dominions from the deſcendants of *Tûſhi* or *Jûgi Khân* on one ſide, and thoſe of *Jagatay Khân* on the other. He declared *Sunjak* (or *Sowenjak*) *Nowayn* general of his armies, and his lieutenant throughout his empire: gave the employment of grand wazîr, and preſident of his councils, to *Shamſo'ddîn Mohammed*, who made *Baha-o'ddîn*, his ſon, wazîr of *Iſpâhân*; and *Alao'ddîn Athao'l Molk*, his brother, wazîr of *Bâghdâd*. Under the wiſe government of this latter, that capital recovered its luſtre, which it had loſt by the arms of *Hulâkû*; the people flocking from all parts to ſettle there: on the contrary, *Bahao'ddîn* exerciſed ſo much rigour at *Iſpâhân*, that he often involved the innocent in the ſame puniſhment with the guilty; nor could the advice of his father *Shamſo'ddîn*, to whom frequent complaints were made, reclaim him, till death freed the inhabitants from his ſeverity.

* MIRKOND ap. Texeira hiſt. Perſ. p. 309, & ſeq. [a] AB'ULFAR. ubi ſup. p. 355.

(D) *Texeira* ſpells moſt names of perſons and places very ill; for *Abâka Khân*, he writes *Haybkay Kan*; and, for *Taſhmut*, *Hyaxemet*.

AT

2. Khân Abâka.

AT the beginning of *Abâka*'s reign, *Barkah Khân* (A), of the race of *Jagatay Khân*, who reigned in *Great Bukhâria*, having marched with forces on the ſide of *Darbend*, with deſign to break into *Perſia*, *Shamat*, brother of *Abâka*, who was poſted in that city, oppoſed his entrance; and, after a battle, which he obtained againſt him, obliged him to retire in 664. But this defeat did only irritate that prince: for, ſoon after, he ſet on foot an army of 300,000 men, with which he threatened utter deſolation to *Perſia*, had not *Abâka Khân* marched in time with all the forces of his empire. *Barkah Khân*, after conducting his numerous ſquadrons through the vaſt plains of *Kipjâk*, round the north ſide of the *Caſpian* ſea, had forced the narrow paſſages between that ſea and mount *Kaukaſus*, commonly called the *Iron Gates* (B); and was already arrived on the banks of the river *Kûr*, when *Abâka Khân* appeared at *Teflis*, capital of *Gurjeſtân*, that is *Gorja*, or *Georgia*: but, as the two armies were on the point of giving battle, *Barkah Khân*, very happily for *Perſia*, was taken out of the world; for, immediately on his death, his army divided, and returned into *Tartary* [b].

Invaded by Barkah, Hej. 664. A. D. 1265.

and Borak Khân. Hej. 666. A. D. 1267.

IN 666, *Borak Oglan* (C), who was alſo of *Jagatay Khân*'s race, ſent to the court of *Abâka Khân* one *Maſſûd*, under pretence of a compliment: but, in reality, to pry into the ſtate of affairs; and obſerve the roads which were to be taken, in order to attack *Perſia*. This being perceived by a ſoldier, he gave advice thereof to *Shamſo'ddîn* the grand wazîr, who continued to treat him with great civility, as if he ſuſpected nothing; reſolving to have him ſeized, or cut off in his return: but *Maſſûd* had taken ſuch precautions, by cauſing horſes to be placed along the road, that the men ſent after could never overtake him. *Borak Khân*, having received the neceſſary informations

[b] KONDAMIR ap. D'Herb. p. 1. art. Abâka.

(A) Called alſo *Berrak Khân*: he was fifth khân thereof; ſee before, page 142: but, as there he is ſaid to have died in 1260, and it is not likely he would go ſo far about, thro' the dominions of another prince; poſſibly this might be *Bereke*, third khân of *Kipjâk*, whoſe death is placed by *La Croix* in 1266, coincident with that of *Barkah Khân*. See before, p. 104.

(B) In the *Mungl* or *Turkiſh* language, *Damîr Kâpi*, the ſame with *Dârbend*, which, in *Perſian*, ſignifies the *ſhut gate*. The *Arabs* call it *Bâb al Abwâb*, *the gate of gates*.

(C) This, doubtleſs, muſt be *Bereke*, or *Barkah*, fifth khân of *Jagatay*: but then his death muſt be placed, not in 1660, as it is in *D'Herbelot* and *La Croix*, but in 1670, or later; and ſo indeed his diſtance from *Hulâkû* ſeems to require.

from

from this spy, in 667 passed the *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, with 100,000 horse; and, having presently reduced the great province of *Khoraſſân*, where he met with small opposition, he advanced as far as *Azerbejân*, where *Abâka* had the bulk of his forces. The *Tatars*, who came foremost, were soon repulsed: and at length, the year following, the two armies faced each other not far from *Herat*. There a bloody battle was fought; wherein victory, after a long suspense, declared in favour of *Abâka*, who became master of the field, with all the baggage and booty of the enemy. *Borak*, after this defeat, was obliged to repass the *Amû*; and *Abâka*, having left his brother *Benſhîn* with troops sufficient for the guard of *Khoraſſân*, returned to *Azerbejân* [c],

2. Khân Abâka.

A. D. 1269.

THE same year that *Abâka* was proclaimed khân, *Bundokdâr* (D), lord of *Egypt*, sent to invite *Hâtem*, king of *Armenia* (E), to submit to pay him tribute, and settle a commerce between their respective subjects. As *Hâtem* would not consent to this, for fear of the *Mungls*, *Bundokdâr*, without more ceremony, invaded his dominions. The *Armenian* king, upon this surprise, made a journey, to crave aid of *Nesji*, the *Mungl* governor in *Rûm* (or *Anatolia*); who answered, that he could not assist him without *Abâka*'s order. Mean time the brothers and sons of *Hâtem* marched, with what forces they could raise, to oppose the entrance of the *Egyptians*, but were defeated; and, one of the king's sons being slain, the other was taken prisoner. For twenty days the enemy plundered *Sîs* and *Ayyâs*, carrying away great numbers of people captives. At length, when they were gone, *Hâtem* came with an army of *Mungls* and *Rûms* (F); who, finding nothing but a waste country without people, fell to making good cheer, and consumed every thing which the *Egyptians* had left.

The Mamlûks *ravage* Hej. 663. A. D. 12

HATEM, grieved for the devastation made in his country, but more for the loss of his son, sent to offer *Bundokdâr* cities and castles, with a good sum of money, for his ransom. *Bundokdâr* made answer, that he would release him, provided only *Sankar al Aſhkar*, who was a slave among the *Mungls*, should

Lesser Armenia;

[c] KONDAMIR ap. D'Herb. p. 2. art. Abâka.

(D) He was fourth soltân of the *Turkish Mamlûks*, or slaves, who reigned in *Egypt* after the family of *Ayub*, or of *Salâho'ddîn*.

(E) This is to be understood of the *Lesser Armenia* in *Anatolia*; of which *Sîs*, about two stages to the north of *Skanderûn*, or *Alexandretta*, was the capital. *Hâtem* is the same name with *Hayton*, *Haithon*, or *Aiton*, among *Europeans*.

(F) That is, people from *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*; probably for the most part *Greeks*.

2. Khân Abâka. Hej. 668. A. D. 1269.

be ſent to him. *Hâtem*, on this, made a journey in 668 (G) to the court of *Abâka*; who, pitying his tears, bad him go back, and promiſed to ſend *Al Aſhkar* to him, if he was to be found. Accordingly, next year, *Al Aſhkar* was conveyed to him from *Samarkant*; and, being tranſmitted to *Bundokdâr*, this latter returned *Hâtem*'s ſon in exchange. Afterwards *Hâtem* made another journey, to intreat that he might reſign the crown to his ſon: to which *Abâka* conſented. But the joy this favour created, was greatly allayed by a dreadful earthquake, which, in 670, happened in *Armenia*; and, beſides overturning many caſtles, deſtroyed above 100,000 people, not to mention the cattle [d].

and Anatolia. Hej. 675. A. D. 1276.

In the year 675, *Abâka Khân* went to paſs the winter at *Bâghdâd*. About the ſame time died the celebrated *Khoja Naſîro'ddîn al Tûſi*, who was eminent in all kinds of philoſophy, and wrote many books on different ſubjects. This ſame year *Hâtem*'s ſon, now king of *Armenia*, underſtanding, by his correſpondents, that *Bundokdâr* intended to invade the country of *Rûm*, thro' the inſtigation of ſome of the natives, gave notice to the *Mungl* commanders to be upon their guard: but, *Berwânah* having perſuaded them that it was a falſe alarm, they neglected their ſecurity; ſo that the *Egyptians* came upon them when they were in liquor, and ſlew them all, with 2000 *Georgians*, out of 3000 who were along with them: however, they did not fall unrevenged, a multitude of the enemy having been ſlain. After this ſucceſs, *Bundokdâr* marched to *Kayſarîya* (or *Cæſarea*), where he ſtaid fifteen days, but did no manner of harm to that city; ſaying, he came not to ravage the country, but deliver its lord from ſlavery.

Fly from Abâka.

When this news reached the court of *Abâka Il Khân*, he was greatly enraged; and, aſſembling his forces, marched towards the country of *Rûm*: but, before he arrived, the *Egyptians* were withdrawn into *Syria*. Then ſending for *Berwânah*, he received him without ſeeming at all offended; and carried him to the camp, under pretence of conſulting with him what number of men would be ſufficient to ſecure *Rûm* againſt the *Egyptians*. There, at a banquet, he plied *Berwânah* well with mares milk, for he drank no wine; and giving a ſign, when the latter went out to make water, an officer in waiting

(G) According to *Mirkond*, he had war this year with *Bora Khân*, who marched with an army from *Chogatay* (or *Great Bukhâria*), but was defeated, and forced back. *Texeira*, ubi ſupra, p. 310.

[d] Abu'lfar. ubi ſup. p. 356, & ſeq.

followed,

followed, and killed him. *Bundokdâr*, on his way to *Egypt*, died at *Hems* in *Syria*; some say, of poison; others, of a wound in the fight, from a *Mungl* arrow[e]. 2. Khân Abâka.

KONDAMIR relates concerning this war, that, as soon as *Bundokdâr* had ascended the throne of *Egypt*, he was resolved, before he ventured to engage with the *Mungls*, to inspect himself into the condition of their forces. With this view he set out, accompanied by three or four persons only, and visited all the countries which the *Mungls* possessed on this side of the *Euphrates*. At his return, he sent a courier, by way of gallantry, to *Abâka Khân*, who had then newly succeeded his father *Hulâkû*, acquainting him: that having, for his diversion, made a tour over his (*Abâka*'s) dominions, he had left, in a certain inn which he named, a jewel of value, in pledge of the debt he had contracted, to defray his expences; and desired that he would send it to him. *Abâka* was so complaisant as to remit the jewel to the soltân by another courier, with very obliging letters on the occasion; and thus matters passed between the two princes, without coming to hostilities[f]. But, as the contrary appears from *Abû'lfaraj*, we perceive here a great defect in the *Persian* historian; who, besides, mentions nothing of *Abâka*'s expeditions into *Rûm* and *Syria*. *Piece of gallantry.*

In 679 *Sayfo'ddîn Kelawn*, surnamed *Al Alfi* (H), having seized the dominion of *Syria* and *Egypt*, after the death of *Mâlek al Sâleh*, son of *Bundokdâr*, *Sankar al Ashkar* beforementioned, who had opposed his advancement, fled to *Rahaba* (on the *Euphrates*), and confederating with *Isa ebn Mohânna*, a *Bedwîn* (I) prince; sent an embassador to invite *Abâka Il Khân* into *Syria*, promising to deliver into his hands both that country and *Egypt*. On this engagement an army was sent, in the year 680, under the command of *Kungortay*, a younger brother of *Abâka*, but when, in winter, they arrived in *Syria*, *Al Ashkar*, being afraid to join them, shut himself up in the castle of *Sâhyûn*. The *Mungls*, for all this, advanced as far as *Haleb*; and, having destroyed all the places in their passage, returned into *Irân*. However, next year (K) they in- *Mungls invade Syria.* Hej. 679. A. D. 1280. Hej. 680. A. D. 1281. A. D. 1282.

[e] Idem, ubi sup. p. 357, & seq.

[f] Kondam. ubi supra, p. 2.

(H) He was seventh soltân of the *Turkish Mamlûks*, or third from *Bundokdâr*.

(I) The *Bedwîns*, or *Badwîns*, commonly called *Bedovins*, are the field *Arabs*.

(K) *Kondamîr*, in *D'Herb lot*, places this in the year 669, twelve years earlier; but that cannot be, since *Bundokdâr* lived till the year 676.

varied

2. Khân Abâka.

vaded *Syria* again with 50,000 troops, under the conduct of *Munga Timûr*, youngeſt brother of *Abâka*, accompanied by the king of *Armenia*, with all his forces. The enemy, led by *Al Alfi* and *Al Aſhkar*, who were now reconciled, met them between *Hamâh* and *Hems*, where a battle was fought, in which the *Mungls* prevailed: but, when they were on the point of gaining the victory, and had even put the *Syrians* to flight, the *Arabs* of the tribe of *Bâni Taglab* ruſhed out of an ambuſcade on the left wing of the *Mungls*; who, thinking themſelves ſurrounded by numerous troops, took to flight, followed by the main body. Mean time the right wing, in which was the king of *Armenia*, with 5000 *Gorjans*, not minding the ambuſcades, put to flight the *Egyptians* who oppoſed them; and, purſuing them to the gates of *Hems*, killed a conſiderable number; nor gave over the ſlaughter, till the news of the flight of their companions drew them off. In their return, they fell in with certain troops of the enemy, who followed their flying ſquadrons: hereupon the battle was renewed, in which many were ſlain on both ſides; but at length they returned laden with ſpoils.

They are defeated.

Abâka's *death.*

WHILE *Munga Timûr* was on his march back through *Al Jazireh*, ſome of his domeſtics, who had been tampered with, gave him poiſon one day, after he came out of the bath. The prince, finding himſelf much out of order, turned off towards *Niſibîn*, where he died. The people of the country were ſeized with great fear at this diſaſter; and, laying hold of *Al Sâfi al Karkûbi*, bound him, and carried him round all the market-places in *Al Jazîreh*, after which they put him to death. This year was fatal likewiſe to *Abâka Il Khân* himſelf. He made a progreſs firſt to *Bâghdâd*, from whence he went back to *Hamadân*, where he celebrated *Eaſter* day with the Chriſtians, in their church (L). Next day one *Bahnâm*, a *Perſian*, gave him a magnificent feaſt: but on *Tueſday* he found himſelf very ill, and became delirious; ſo that he died on *Wedneſday* the twentieth of *Dhu'lhajjah*, after a reign of ſeventeen years [s].

Suſpicion about it.

ON the occaſion of the death of this prince, *Kondamîr* relates, that, ſoon after the defeat of his army in *Syria*, under his brother *Munga Timûr*, great troubles aroſe at court: for one *Magdo'lmolk Yezdi* having, in concert with ſome of the principal lords, prejudiced *Abâka Khân* againſt *Shamſo'ddîn* his prime wazîr, the authority of this miniſter daily diminiſhed;

(L) Some authors ſay he was a Chriſtian.

[s] ABU'LFAR. ubi ſup. p. 360.

he

he had likewiſe the mortification to ſee his brother *Atho'lmolk* arreſted, and called to account for matters laid to his charge. At the ſame time *Abâka* happening to die pretty ſuddenly at *Hamadân*, it was judged that his death was haſtened by a draught which *Shamſo'ddîn* had cauſed to be given him [h]. 2. Khân Abâka.

CHAP. III.

SECT. I.

The Reign of Nikûdar Oglan, *or* Ahmed Khân.

ABAKA Il Khân being dead, the princes of the blood, and the great men, with one conſent, conferred the government on *Ahmed*, ſon of *Hulâkû* by *Kutay Khatûn*; as judging him moſt worthy to reign, and that the empire belonged of right to him after his brother. To all the qualities requiſite in a prince, he joined a great knowlege of things, and was very munificent. Aaccordingly, one of his firſt acts was, to diſtribute the treaſures which he found, among his ſons, the grandees, and the army; nor was his benevolence confined to the *Mungls* alone, but was extended to thoſe of all other nations, eſpecially the principal men among the Chriſtians [a]. His *Mungl* name was *Nikûdar Oglan* (A); but, after he had embraced *Mohammediſm*, which he did the firſt of all his family, he aſſumed that of *Ahmed*. On occaſion of his converſion, he wrote a long letter (B) to *Al Mâlek al Manſûr Kelawn*, ſoltân of *Egypt* and *Syria*, who was at that time the moſt conſiderable of all the *Mohammedan* princes; to let him know that he would publicly profeſs the *Muſſulman* religion; and offered his favour and protection to all the profeſſors of it. According to the *Perſian* hiſtorians, he ſucceeded *Abâka*, in prejudice to *Argûn*, that prince's ſon; and confirmed *Shamſo'ddîn* and *Atho'lmolk* his brother in all their employments; delivering up to them *Magdo'lmolk*, their capital enemy, to diſpoſe of as they 3. Khân Ahmed. Hej. 681. A. D. 1282. *Turns* Mohammedan.

[h] KONDAM. ubi ſup. p. 2.

[a] ABU'LFAR. ubi ſup. p. 361.

(A) That is, according to *Mîrkond*, in *Texeira*, *Nikûdar the good ſon.*

(B) *Abû'lfaraj* has given a copy of that long letter; wherein he acquaints the ſoltân, that he had an inclination for *Moſlemiſm* from his youth, and deſired to live in peace with the *Mohammedan* princes: that, to ſpill the blood of *Moſlems* being contrary to his principles, he had therefore put a ſtop to the war which had been decreed in the kuriltay, or diet, called by his brother *Abâka*: that he had provided for the ſecurity of the pilgrimage to *Mekka*; and given liberty to all foreign merchants to trade in his dominions.

ſhould

3. Khân Ahmed.

ſhould think fit. This ſoltân's change of religion excited great troubles in his family, and at length throughout his dominions: becauſe the *Mungls* or *Tatars* of thoſe times had an extreme averſion for the *Mohammedans*, although they loved the Chriſtians; ſo that this prince, though endowed with ſeveral excellent qualities, could never gain their affections.

Argûn *revolts.*

THESE troubles began in the very firſt year of his reign, at which time *Atho'lmolk* departed this life. His nephew *Argûn*, who could not bear to ſee him upon a throne, which, he pretended, belonged to himſelf, retired immediately into the province of *Khoraſſân*, where he made preparations to diſpute the ſovereignty with his uncle; but did not declare himſelf openly till the year 683, when he came to encamp with his forces at *Damegân*. As ſoon as *Ahmed* received advice of theſe motions at *Bâghdâd*, he cauſed his forces to march, under the conduct of *Al Inâk* (C), a ſage and valiant commander, who ſoon diſperſed the troops which *Argûn* had aſſembled. This young prince, being thus left without an army, was obliged to return to *Khoraſſân*, and at length to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of *Burdeh*; whither *Al Inâk* did not fail to go and beſiege him. However, without uſing force, he drew him out, by promiſing to reconcile him to his uncle: but, as ſoon as he arrived at the imperial camp, he was confined by the ſoltân's order, and guarded by 4000 men.

Hej. 683. A. D. 1285.

Ahmed *depoſed*;

AFTER this, *Ahmed*, believing that he had no ſort of danger to fear, reſolved to return to *Bâghdâd*, there to enjoy the ſweets of peace. Before his departure, he gave directions to the amîr *Bûga*, who guarded *Argûn*, not to let him live above ſeven or eight days. But *Bûga*, in concert with ſeveral other lords of the court, who could not reliſh the ſoft and delicate manners of the ſoltân, reſolved to ſet *Argûn* at liberty, and fall upon the quarters of *Al Inâk*. This deſign being immediately put in execution, *Al Inâk* was ſlain, with the principal officers of the ſoltân who had remained in the rear-guard of the army; which latter was on the march. *Argûn* put himſelf at the head of the moſt reſolute troops, and purſued the ſoltân; who, having received information of this revolt, eſcaped from the city of *Eſfarayn*, where he then was, to the camp of his mother *Kutay Khâtûn*, which was towards *Serâb* in *Azerbejân*. But the ſcouts of *Argûn* followed him ſo ſwiftly, that they ſoon overtook, and brought him to the camp of his nephew. This prince forthwith delivered him into the hands of ſoltâna *Kûngortây*, his mother-in-law; who put him to death,

and put to death,

(C) Or *Al Yanâk*, as in *Abû'lfaraj*.

to

to revenge the loss of her children, whom he had served in the same manner. This happened in the year 683 [b], after he had reigned two years and two months. 3. Khân Ahmed.

According to *Abû'lfaraj*, *Ahmed* had ordered *Al Yanâk* to bring *Argûn* after him to his mother's residence, for which he intended to set out next morning: but that, at night, breaking the affair to a certain great lord, he said, he could not be secure, unless he made away with *Argûn*, and the rest of his nephews. When the amîr *Buga* came to understand *Ahmed*'s intention, he staid behind the soltân next day, under pretence of business; and, when night came, made known to all the princes of the blood what *Ahmed* had resolved upon. The princes, pierced with anger at this news, went all in a body to the place where *Argûn* was confined, and brought him forth; then, mounting him on a horse, they rode to the quarters of *Al Yanâk*; and, rushing on, slew him, and all the great men concerned with him, in the tent. After this, they ordered what they had done to be published through the camp, which remained very quiet on the occasion. Next morning they sent a numerous body of forces to pursue *Ahmed*, whom they overtook; and, having pillaged his whole orda, brought him back with his hands bound. Hereupon they deposed *Ahmed*, as not fit to govern; and set *Argûn* on his father's throne, on *Wednesday* the eleventh of *Jomada prior*, in the year above-mentioned.

Many of the amîrs and great lords were for having the deposed khân put to death. *Argûn* told them, that he would not consent to have his uncle slain; but should leave it to *Kungurtay*, his mother-in-law, and her sons, to dispose of him as they thought fit. This being resolved on, he was delivered into their power; and, after a few days respite, her sons deprived him of life, on *Wednesday* the second of *Jomada posterior*, to revenge the blood of their father, which he had shed [c]. On his death the crown returned to the sons of *Abâka Khân*. *in retaliation.*

SECT. II.

The Reign of Argûn Khân.

As soon as *Argûn* was upon the throne, he gave the chief post in the empire to *Buga*, or *Boga*, who disposed of every thing with an almost absolute power. *Shamso'ddîn Said*, who was president of the diwan, that is, chief of the coun- 4. Khân Argûn. Hej. 683 A. D. 1284.

[b] Kondamir, ubi sup. p. 72. art. Ahmed. [c] Abu'lfar. p. 367.

4. Khân Argûn.

cils (A), in the reign of *Ahmed*, upon that prince's depoſition, retired from court; and had already left *Iſpahân*, in order to go into *Hindûſtân*, when *Argûn*, whoſe good-will he ſuſpected, ſent for him, and confirmed him in his office: but *Buga*, finding his authority thus divided, preſently contrived how to get rid of him. To do his buſineſs the ſhorteſt way, he accuſed *Saïd* of poiſoning his father *Abâka*; and the too credulous prince, without examining the depoſitions of the witneſſes, ſacrificed that great man to the ambition of his rival, who wanted to put in his place a creature of his own [a].

The vazîr Saïd

THIS is the account of *Kondamîr* the *Perſian* hiſtorian: but *Abû'lfaraj* relates the affair with other circumſtances. According to him, *Argûn* received the information (but it is not mentioned from whom) in the reign of *Ahmed*; and thereupon ſent *Shamſo'ddîn* to acquaint the khân his uncle; deſiring, at the ſame time, that *Saïd* might be delivered up to him. As *Ahmed* refuſed to grant his requeſt, *Argûn* concluded that he was pleaſed with his father's death. When *Argûn* was ſettled in the throne, the preſident of the dîwân fled to the mountains of *Ahwâz*, to the tribe of *Kûrds* named *Al Lûr*; whoſe prince, *Yûſef Shâh*, delivered him up to the khân. *Shamſo'ddîn*, after offering 100 tûmans in gold to ſave his life, deſired time to raiſe more money, by ſelling the reſidue of his eſtate, and borrowing of his friends. Having, by this means, made up eighty tûmans more, he brought them; and, on delivering them, ſaid, This is all I am able to raiſe; do with me what you think fit. Hereupon *Argûn* ordered him to be put to death; and he was accordingly executed on *Tueſday* the fifth of *Shaabân* 683.

put to death.

SHAMS'ODDIN was a man endowed with great underſtanding and experience; perfectly verſed in all the art of government, and eminent for his humility: he always ſaluted thoſe he met firſt, and ſuffered no man to prevent him [b]. Several elegies were compoſed, to conſole the people for his loſs: and the hiſtorians report this circumſtance of his death, that, when the executioner entered, to perform his office, he made the ablution uſual before their prayers; and then opening the koràn, to draw the *fâl*, or good lot, met with theſe words: "They who ſay to God, 'Tis you who are our maſter; and "to thoſe who walk in the right path, and conformable to "that belief, God will ſend angels to comfort them in their

[a] KONDAMIR ap. D'Herb. p. 126. art. Argoun. [b] ABU'L-FAR. p. 368.

(A) A dignity ſuperior to that of prime wazîr.

"afflictions, and assure them of the paradise which has been promised to them." 4. Khân Argûn.

HOWEVER this be, *Buga*, seeing himself delivered from such a collegue, set no bounds to his ambition; and rose to such a pitch of authority, that he had but one step more to become master of the whole. At length he took off the mask; and, in 686, revolted openly against the soltân: but did not push his fortune any great length; for he was slain miserably, in the midst of his enterprise. After *Buga*'s death, a *Jew*, named *Saedo'ddawlet*, by profession a physician, and very agreeable in conversation, became so much in favour with Soltân *Argûn*, that all the affairs of the greatest lords of the empire depended on him. He put many of his own nation and religion into employments; without hurting, however, the interest of the Christians, who were very powerful at court. The *Mussulmans* were the only people who had no credit there, especially since the death of *Said*; which made them murmur continually against both. *Argûn*, at the solicitation of these latter, had taken from them (the *Mussulmans*) all the places belonging to the judicature, as well as the finances. In short, the two ruling parties carried things so far at last, that they denied them access to the soltân's camp; and, in the end, forbad them to appear at court. *A Jew vazîr.* Hej. 686. A. D. 1287.

ARGUN, say the historians, had promised the Christians to convert the temple of *Mekka* into a church; where, instead of worshipping the Almighty God, they would have adored statues and images. But Providence, which always watches over the preservation of *Moslemism*, and the prayers of good *Mohammedans*, prevented this great revolution; for *Argûn* fell sick at that very juncture. All they, throughout the empire, who had an interest in the life of that prince, spared neither prayers nor alms; and the *Jew Saedo'dd'awlet*, who was prime minister, sent express orders into all the provinces, to re-establish the things which he had unseasonably changed. But, as the moment of the soltân's death was fixed, neither their prayers nor alms availed any thing. Mean time *Argûn* grew extremely weak, and was even near his last agony, when he had the mortification to understand that his favourite the *Jew* was assassinated by his enemies. In fine, the soltân died in the year 690; and the *Mussulmans*, reckoning his death among the miracles of *Mohammed*, say, that it restored *Moslemism*, which had received a great dishonour under this prince's reign. *Death of* Argûn. Hej. 690. A. D. 1291.

SOME *Arab* historians, as *Abû'lfeda*, relate, that the favourite *Jew* was put to death on a suspicion of having poisoned his master. Whether this accusation was true or false, it is *The* Jews *massacred.*

4. Khân Argûn.

certain, that the enemies of the *Jews*, who had beheld, with envious eyes, the great authority they were in, and, it may be, ſuffered many injuries at their hands, took this occaſion, after the death of the ſoltân and his miniſter, to be revenged, by making a cruel maſſacre of them.

IT was *Argûn Khân* who confirmed *Maſſûd*, ſon of *Kay Kaws*, laſt ſoltân but one of the *Seljûks* of *Rûm*, in the dominions which his family then poſſeſſed in *Aſia Minor* [c].

SECT. III.

The Reign of Ganjatû Khân.

5. Khân Ganjatû.

THIS prince, named alſo *Kaiktû* (A), and *Kaykatû*, was the ſon of *Abâka Khân*, and ſucceeded *Argûn Khân* in the empire of the *Mungls* in *Irân*. *Kondamîr*, the *Perſian* hiſtorian, remarks, that the true name of this prince was *Aykatû*, or *Gaykatû*, which, in the *Mungl* language, ſignifies *marvelouſly fine and ſhining*. He adds, that this prince, notwithſtanding his debauches, was the moſt liberal of all the deſcendants of *Hulakû*; and adminiſtered juſtice with ſo much circumſpection, that, under his reign, no innocent perſon ſuffered death. *Bahi Bok*, or *Baſhi Bog*, was generaliſſimo of the armies of this prince, under the title of *Amîro'l Omara*; and *Khovajeh Sadro'ddîn Khaled Zenjani* was his prime wazîr.

Generous, but debauched. Hej. 694. A. D. 1294.

GANJATU Khân ſullied all the good qualities which he was poſſeſſed of, by his exceſſive lewdneſs. At length, ſeveral lords of his court, whoſe daughters he had ſeized to put in his harâm, conſpired againſt him, and ſome of them were impriſoned on the occaſion: but the reſt ſent privately to *Baydû Ogul*, ſon of *Targay* (B), and grandſon of *Hulakû*, then governor of *Baghdâd*, informing him; that, in caſe he took the field without delay, he might eaſily become maſter of the empire. *Baydû*, having gathered what troops he could at ſo ſhort a warning, advanced towards *Mogân* (C), where *Ganjatû* waited for him with his army: but this prince, finding himſelf betrayed and abandoned by his generals, eſcaped to a certain grotto; whither being followed by thoſe lords whom he had

[c] KONDAM. ubi ſup. p. 126, & ſeq.

(A) This happens by changing the punctuation, or diacritical points, of the *nun* and *jîm*, ſo as to convert thoſe letters into *ya* and *kha*.

(B) *Targhi*, or *Targhiyek*. See *Pocock*. ſuppl. ad hiſt. dynaſt. p. 2.

(C) A great plain in *Azerbejân*, bounded on the north by the rivers *Arras* and *Kûr*, and on the eaſt by the *Caſpian* ſea.

impriſoned,

imprisoned, and who had been released by the rest of the conspirators, he was by them assassinated, in the year 694 [a]. 5. Khân Ganjatû.

This is the account of *Kondamîr*: but his father *Mîrkond* relates the occasion of the rebellion differently. According to this author, he would have introduced paper money into *Persia*, to pass, as it did in *Ketau Kotan* (D): but it met with great opposition, chiefly from his uncle *Badû*, who, on this pretence, made war on, and slew him, in 693, after he had reigned for three years [b]. *Slain by conspirators.*

SECT. IV.

The Reign of Baydû Khân.

THE partisans of this prince, having slain *Ganjatû*, saluted him emperor in the city of *Hamadân*, and afterwards caused him to be proclaimed thro' all the provinces and cities of the empire. The first thing he did, on ascending the throne, was, to testify his gratitude to *Dogajar*, who had been the principal instrument of his advancement, by giving him the chief command of all his troops; at the same time he made his friend *Jamâlo'ddîn* president of the diwan, or his council. Mean time *Gâzân*, or *Kâzân*, who, from the death of his father, possessed the government of *Khorassân*, resolved to revenge the death of *Ganjatû*; and, for that purpose, consulted with the amîr *Newrûz Gâzi*; with whom, for some time past, he had been in friendship. This amîr was the son of *Argûn Aga*, who had possessed *Khorassân* as governor, under the descendants of *Jenghîz Khân*, during the space of thirty-nine years (A). After his father's death, he became an officer in the court of the emperor *Argûn Khân*, where he continued till such time as that prince put to death *Bega*, his friend and relation: for, being in fear of meeting with the same fate, he fled to the most eastern part of *Irân*. There, making open profession of *Mohammedanism*, he waged war upon the enemies of that religion, and gained several great advantages over them. On this occasion he had many quarrels with *Gâzân*, who then governed the province of *Khorassân*: but at length, matters being accommodated between them, the amîr came to 6. Khân Baydû.

[a] Kondam. ubi sup. p. 359. art. Gangja. [b] Mirkond ap. Texeira, p. 311.

(D) By this must be understood *Katay*, or perhaps *Little Bukhâria*.

(A) As he was made governor in 650, as mentioned in the reign of *Hulâkû*, he must have died in 689, the sixth or seventh year of *Argûn Khân*'s reign.

6. Khân Baydû. kiſs the feet of that prince, and thenceforth became his beſt friend.

Gâzân *takes arms.* *GAZAN* having consulted *Newrûz* about the manner of wreſting the provinces of *Azerbejân* and *Irâk* out of the hands of *Baydû*, to join them to *Khoraſſân*, which he already poſſeſſed; that amîr told him boldly, that, if he would embrace *Mohammediſm*, he would do his utmoſt to put him in poſſeſſion of the empire, and expel his rival. *Gâzân*, without heſitation, gave himſelf up to the direction of *Newrûz*; and, ſoon after, made public profeſſion of *Moſlemiſm*, in the city of *Firûzkûh*: where a great number of perſons embraced the ſame faith, and entered into his party. When this was done, he ſet forward with a numerous army, ſhaping his march towards *Ray*; and, being arrived near that city, ſent an embaſſador to *Baydû*, to demand the murderers of ſoltân *Ganjatû*: but no regard was paid to his application. Hereupon he reſolved to make uſe of hoſtilities; and his ſcouts having met with the van-guard of *Baydû*'s army, defeated, and took moſt of them priſoners; while the reſt carried the news of this rupture to their camp [c].

Comes to terms. *GAZAN*, after gaining this advantage, having recourſe to artifice, ſent a ſecond embaſſador to *Baydû*, to excuſe what had happened, pretending it was done without his knowlege. This apology having been accepted of, it was agreed that the two princes ſhould have an interview, each accompanied with a certain number of perſons in his train. They met, and a conference was held; in which, after many compliments on both ſides, *Gâzân* demanded of *Baydû* the government of the provinces of *Pârs* and *Irâk*, to hold of him by way of homage. The khân (B), who deſired nothing ſo much as peace, yielded to his requeſt: after which it was agreed, that, the day following, a ſplendid entertainment ſhould be made, for joy of this accommodation; and that the two princes ſhould viſit each other in his tent. But *Gâzân*, having been informed that a plot was laid to aſſaſſinate him on his entering the khân's tent, broke off the conference, and immediately returned with his army into *Khoraſſân*.

Baydû *eludes them.* HOWEVER, ſo ſoon as he arrived in that province, he ſent a third ambaſſador to acquaint *Baydû*, that the cauſe of his haſty return, without taking leave of him, was, the advice he had

[c] KONDAM. ubi ſup. p. 178. art. Baidu.

(B) Our author commonly uſes the word ſoltân inſtead of khân, the former being the name for king, or ſovereign prince, moſt uſed in *Perſia*.

received

received of a revolt among ſome of his officers; and prayed, at the ſame time, that he would ſend his orders into the two provinces above-mentioned, for delivering them up to him, purſuant to his grant. *Baydû* diſſembled the chagrin which *Gâzân*'s abrupt departure had given him; and directed *Jamâl-o'ddîn*, his wazîr, to diſpatch the orders for putting the officers of that prince in poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces. *Jamâl-o'ddîn* did ſo: but, at the ſame time, gave orders underhand to the contrary; ſo that *Gâzân*'s officers were obliged to return without accompliſhing the buſineſs which they were ſent about. Hereupon the amîr *Newrûz*, who managed the affairs of *Gâzân*, perſuaded that prince to depute him to go to the ſoltân's court, under pretence of ſoliciting his intereſt there: but the real end of his embaſſy was, to form a party againſt *Baydû*, in favour of his maſter. In effect, he managed his intrigue ſo well, that, having gained *Dogajar*, prime miniſter of *Baydû*, they agreed together to dethrone this prince, and ſet up *Gâzân* in his room. 6. Khân Baydû.

MEAN time *Baydû*, who had ſome ſuſpicion of *Newrûz*, cauſed him to be watched, and would not ſuffer him to ſtir out of his palace: but that amîr aſſured him, with ſo many oaths, that, if he would permit him to return to *Khoraſſân*, he would deliver *Gâzân* bound into his hands, that at length he obtained leave. It is reported, that, as ſoon as *Newrûz* returned to *Khoraſſân*, to ſave his oath, he ſent a kettle tied up in a bag to *Baydû*; thus joining raillery to his knavery: for *Gâzân*, or *Kâzân* (which word is pronounced indifferently either way), ſignifies, in the *Mungl* or *Turkiſh* language, *a kettle*. The ſoltân perceived, by this proceeding, that he had made a falſe ſtep, in letting the amîr *Newrûz* eſcape out of his hands: but now there was no help for it. In effect, that lord, after having corrupted the principal officers of *Baydû*'s court, went back, to diſpoſe *Gâzân* to put in execution the deſign which he had long thought upon; while *Shamſo'ddîn* arrived very ſeaſonably to forward the enterpriſe: for he informed *Gâzân*, who was then at *Sebzwâr*, of the diviſions which reigned among the lords of *Baydû*'s court, and the general averſion which the people had to his perſon. *Is deceived by* Newrûz.

GAZAN finding, by this intelligence, that things were arrived at the paſs he wiſhed them at, loſt no time, but ſent *Newrûz* before with the van-guard of his army. This commander ſet out immediately, and ſpoiled the country wherever he came: at the ſame time he made ſuch haſte, that, in one night's ſpace, he reached a camp, which was only two days journey diſtant from that of the ſoltân. So ſoon as *Dogajar*, and thoſe of his cabal, who had the chief poſts in the *Deſerted, and ſlain.*

6. Khân Baydû.

khân's army, heard that *Newrûz* was arrived, they, like baſe traitors, left their camp, and went over to his troops. The unfortunate prince, thus abandoned by his army, had nothing for it but to fly; and, thinking he might be ſafe in *Nakhſhivân* (or *Nakſhivân*, in *Arrân*), took the road to that city: but *Newrûz* purſued him ſo hotly, that he overtook him by the way, and put him to death (C), after a reign of no more than eight months, in the year 694[d].

SECT. V.

The Reign of Gâzân *or* Kâzân Khân.

7. Khân Gâzân.

GAZAN Khân, who took the name of *Mahmûd*, after he turned *Mohammedan*, was the ſon of *Argûn Khân*. This prince was no ſooner on the throne, than he received advice that ſome of his kindred had paſſed the *Jîhûn*, in order to diſpute it with him. Hereupon he ſent *Newrûz* againſt them with a potent army; who obliged thoſe princes to return, and leave *Gâzân* to enjoy in peace a kingdom which he governed with much wiſdom and equity. In effect, he often ſat himſelf in his court of juſtice, where all his ſubjects might freely make their complaints againſt the greateſt lords and prime miniſters of his court; whom he obliged to make ſatisfaction, according to the wrongs which they had done[a].

puts to death

THE amîr *Newrûz*, who had rendered his maſter ſuch ſignal ſervices in *Khoraſſân*, was again ſent thither in quality of governor: but he was no ſooner arrived, than ſeveral lords of the country, who ſought that preferment, and envied his advancement, created a ſuſpicion of him at court; this they confirmed, by means of a letter of *Newrûz*, which they pretended to have intercepted, and ſent to *Sadro'ddîn Khâled*, preſident of the diwân; by which he ſeemed to enter into combination with the king of *Egypt*, to make war on *Gâzân*. As ſoon as the ſoltân was informed of this plot, he, without inquiring farther into the matter, immediately aſſembled his troops, in the year 696; and, ſending them into *Khoraſſân*, under the conduct of *Kutluk Shâh*, ordered that general not to return to court, till he had puniſhed *Newrûz* for his rebellion. *Gâzân* was at this time at *Hamadân*, where he uſu-

Hej. 696. A. D. 1296.

his general Newrûz,

[d] KONDAM. ubi ſup. p. 178. art. Baidû. [a] Idem, ubi ſup. p. 363. art. Gâzân. POCOCK. ſuppl. ad Abû'lf. p. 2.

(C) *Mirkond*, in *Texeira*, ſays the wazîr, who ſeized him, carried him back to *Tauris*, and there diſpatched him: but *Kondamîr* ſays, he was put to death at *Nakhſhiwân*.

ally

ally resided, altho' he had been crowned in *Tauris*, the capital of his empire; because the disputes which he had in *Syria*, with the king of *Egypt*, obliged him to be near that province (A). *Kutluk Shâh*, having entered *Khoraſſân*, presently constrained *Newrûz* to abandon his government, and retire towards *Fâkro'ddîn Mâlek Kûrt*, who was his son-in-law and creature: but this faithless prince, forgetting all his obligations, as well as duties of alliance and hospitality, delivered him up, loaded with chains, into the hands of *Kutluk Shâh*; who put him to death on the spot, and sent his head to *Gâzân*. 7. Khân Gâzân.

In 697, *Gâzân* gave the government of *Khoraſſân* to Soltân *Al-japtu* (or *Al-jaytu*), his brother; who had many disputes with *Mâlek Kûrt*, on account of the nearness of their dominions: but at length they came to an agreement, by means of the mufti *Sheh'bo'ddîn Jâmi*. In 699 *Gâzân* caused his wazîr *Sadro'ddîn Renjâni*, surnamed *Sadr Jehân*, to be prosecuted for mismanagements in the finances; but, in reality, to strip him of the great wealth which he possessed. This minister having been put to death, his employment was divided between two considerable officers of state. *and treasurer.* Hej. 699. A. D. 1299.

The same year *Gâzân* entered *Syria*, and gave battle to *Nasſer*, son of *Kalawn*, soltân of *Egypt*, near the city of *Hems*; in which the latter, being defeated, escaped with no more than seven horsemen. After this, *Kutluk Shâh*, the *Mungl* general, took *Damaſkus* by composition, and all the rest of *Syria* was subdued: but, shortly after *Gâzân* had repassed the *Euphrates*, to return to *Hamadân*, the *Syrians* cut the throats of all the *Mungl* garrisons thro' the country. In 702 *Gâzân* made a second expedition into *Syria*, and came to *Haleb*; where, having spent some time to divert himself, he left the care of recovering that province to *Kutluk Shâh*, and his other generals. Mean time *Nasſer*, hearing of his return into *Syria*, was come with a powerful army to *Damaſkus*; where he waited for the khân, who had already passed the *Euphrates*, in his way back: while his generals, deceived by their spies, and knowing nothing of *Nasſer*'s arrival, advanced towards *Damaſkus*, expecting to surprise it; when, of a sudden, their van-guard, having descried the army of *Nasſer*, was obliged to come to an engagement. The battle was long and bloody (B): but altho' the *Invades* Syria. Hej. 702. A. D. 1302. *His forces defeated.*

(A) But *Tauris* is as near *Syria* as *Hamadân*.

(B) *Abû'lfeda Ismael*, prince of *Hamah*, a great historian, and the most famous geographer of the east, was in the army of *Nasſer* when this battle was fought.

amîr

7. Khân Gâzân.

amîr *Jubân* did ſurpriſing things, yet, not being well ſupported by the other *Mungl* officers, who turned their backs to the enemy, the latter gained a complete victory.

His death,

KUTLUK Shâh, having been thus vanquiſhed, retired with his forces, of which he had loſt 10,000, into *Perſia*; and, near *Kazwîn*, joined the ſoltân, who rewarded the valour of the amîr *Jubân*, and puniſhed with the korrah, or whip, according to the *Mungl* diſcipline, thoſe who had not done their duty. Not long after this, he became bedridden; and died, greatly lamented by all his ſubjects, in a place named *Shâm Gâzân*, that is, *the* Damaſkus *of* Gâzân[b]. This was a town built by this emperor of the *Mungls*, near *Tauris*, in imitation of the *Syrian Damaſkus*, and adorned with a ſtately moſque; where he was interred in the year 703. It was the only ſepulcre of the *Mungls* which remained ſtanding in the time of *Kondamîr*, about 200 years after. He built two other cities, to which he gave the names of *Kaherah* (or *Kayro*) and *Haleb*. In the year 702 this prince eſtabliſhed *Kaykobâd*, ſon of *Feramorz*, laſt ſoltân of the *Seljûks* of *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, in the ſovereignty of thoſe dominions[c]. *Gâzân*, according to *Al Jannâbi*, died the thirteenth of the month *Shawal*, near *Hamadân* (others ſay in *Ray*); and thence was conveyed to *Al Shâm*, near *Tauris*, after he had reigned eight years and about ten months. Some ſay he was taken off by poiſon.

And acts.

SECT. VI.

The Reign of Aljaytu *or* Aljaptu Khân.

8. Khân Aljaytû.

Hej. 703. A. D. 1303.

THE name of this prince, who ſucceeded his brother *Gâzân* in 703, is variouſly written by authors; as *Aljaptu*, or *Ollaptu*, and *Oljaytu*, according to the author of the *Magmu Al Raſhidiah* (A), who dedicated his work to him. This laſt word is written alſo *Aljaytu*, and, with ſome little variation, *Âljâyitû*, which, according to *Al Jannâbi*, ſignifies *the great emperor*. He relinquiſhed the religion of *Jenghîz Khân*, and became a *Mohammedan*; upon which occaſion he aſſumed the name of *Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed Khodâbandeh*; which laſt word

[b] KONDAM ubi ſup. p. 363. art. Gâzân. [c] D'HERBEL. p. 773. art. Sham Gâzân.

(A) This was the wazîr *Raſhîdo'ddîn*, mentioned afterwards. It is a great collection of *Arabic* learning, and to be found in the king of *France*'s library, N° I.; being the largeſt volume, and in the beſt order, of any *D'Herbelot* had met with among the *Arabs*. He was author alſo of the *Jama'ltawarîk*, or hiſtory of the *Turkiſh* tribes, mentioned vol. iv. p. 20. See alſo *D'Herb.* p. 711. art. *Raſchid Thabib*.

ſignifies,

ſignifies, in *Perſian, the ſervant of God:* but, inſtead of *Khodâbandeh*, as *Al Jannâbi* and othes have it, *Abû'lfeda* and *Ahmed ebn Yûſef* write *Khorbandâ*[a]. 8. Khân Aljaytû.

THIS prince came from the province of *Khoraſſân* to *Arrajân* (B), where he was crowned emperor; and gave the poſt of *Amîr al Omara* (C), which is that of generaliſſimo, to *Kotluk Shâh*; dividing the office of prime wazîr between *Raſhîdo'ddîn* and *Saedo'ddîn:* but this latter, being ſome time after ſuſpected of committing certain miſdemeanours, was put to death, and his place aſſigned to *Ali Shâh*. In 704 *Aljaytu* built the city of *Soltania*, and made it the ſeat of his empire (D). In the time of his abode here, ſeveral lords of *Syria* and *Egypt* came to implore his aſſiſtance againſt *Mâlek al Naſſer*, ſon of *Kelawn*, ſoltân of *Egypt*. *Aljaytu*, who ardently deſired to recover *Syria*, which his anceſtors had poſſeſſed, paſſed the *Euphrates* in 712, with a great army, and encamped at *Ruhabat*, near *Damaſkus*. Several ſkirmiſhes happened between the *Syrian* and *Mungl* forces: but they never came to a pitched battle (E); for the wazîr *Raſhîd*, by his management, brought about a peace between the two powers; and *Aljaytu* returned to *Soltânia*. *Builds* Soltania. Hej. 712. A. D. 1312.

HE was no ſooner arrived there, than he received advice that *Kepek Khân* and *Biſſur Oglan*, two princes of *Turkeſtân*, had paſſed the river *Amû*, with a deſign to reduce the province of *Khoraſſân*. Theſe invaders had already defeated *Yeſſawl* and *Ali Kûſhji*, the principal commanders in that province, when *Aljaytu* marched againſt, and compelled them to repaſs the *Amû* with great precipitation. This irruption of the *Turks* induced the khân to confer the government of *Khoraſſân* on his ſon *Abûſaïd*, ſending with him conſiderable troops to defend that province; and the amîr *Sunej* to direct his affairs. The young prince began his government by puniſhing the two generals before-mentioned, who had fled from the *Turks*; and cauſed ſuch exact juſtice to be obſerved in all reſpects, that he quickly reſtored peace and commerce to that large province. *Repulſes the* Turks.

[a] KONDAM. ubi ſup. p. 88. art. Algiaptu; & Poc. ſuppl. p. 3.

(B) Or *Al Rajân*, a city of *Khûzeſtân*; but, by ſome geographers, aſcribed to *Pârs*, or *Proper Perſia*, one day's journey from the *Perſian* gulf.

(C) *Amîr al Omara* ſignifies *commander of commanders*; *Omara* being the plural of *Amîr*.

(D) According to *Mirkond*, he built this city in 705, and removed his ſeat from *Tauris*, where he before reſided; and, the next year, poſſeſſed himſelf of the province of *Gheylân* and *Raſht*. *Texeira*, p. 312.

(E) According to *Mirkond*, in *Texeira*, he recovered *Shâm*, or *Damaſkus*.

NOT

8. Khân Aljaytû.

His death. Hej. 716. A. D. 1316.

NOT long after this, *Biſſur Oglan*, having quitted the intereſt of *Kepek Khân*, went over to *Abûſaïd*; which turn muſt have occaſioned a great war between the neighbouring powers: but the death of *Aljaytu*, which happened in 716, prevented the ſtorm. This prince died at the age of thirty-ſix, after he had reigned twelve years (F); and made juſtice flouriſh in his dominionss more than any other of the family of *Jenghîz Khân*. He had a great zeal for the *Mohammedan* religion; and honoured the chief profeſſors of it, eſpecially thoſe of the ſect of *Ali*, in favour of whom he cauſed the names of the twelve imâms to be engraved on his coin [b].

SECT. VII.

The Reign of Abûſaïd Khân.

9. Khân Abûſaïd.

ABUSAID, ſurnamed *Behâdr Khân*, ſucceeded his father *Aljaytu*, and was crowned in the city of *Soltânia*. He immediately confirmed *Raſhîd* and *Ali Shâh*, his father's wazirs, in their employments; and made *Jûban Noyân* (A) generaliſſimo of his forces, who governed the empire as tutor to the young prince, then but twelve years of age.

Hej. 718. A. D. 1318. *Amîr* Jûban *regent*.

IN 718 *Ali Shâh* ſo far wrought upon the amîr *Jubân* by his management and preſents, that *Raſhîo'ddîn* was turned out of his office, and ſome time after put to death. The ſame year *Bayſur*, a prince of the royal blood of the *Mungls*, revolted againſt *Abûſaïd*; and, advancing from *Khoraſſân* into *Mazânderân*, threatened to march on to *Soltânia* itſelf, if the ſoltân had not ſent a potent army, under the conduct of the amîr *Hûſſayn Kurkhân*, to reduce him to obedience. The ſoltân at this time paſſed the winter at *Karabâgh* (in *Arrân*); where advice came, that *Uzbek Khân* (B) had croſſed over the great

[b] KONDAM. ubi ſup. p. 88. art. Algiaptu.

(F) Twelve years and nine months, according to *Mirkond*, who ſays, he firſt brought up the cuſtom of taking away the children of *Chriſtians* and *Jews*, to educate them in their manner, and be ſerved by them.

(A) Written by ſome *Nowyân*, by others *Neviân*. This perſon is named alſo amîr *Jûbân*. In *Abû'lghâzi Khân*'s hiſtory *Zûpâni*, that is, *Jûpâni*, or *Chûpâni*; and, in *Texeira*, *Chûbân*; the *Perſians* often uſing the *p* for the *Arab b*. *Abû'lghâzi* ſays, the chiefs of the tribe of *Suldus*, from father to ſon, bore that name. Hiſt. Turks, &c. p. 188.

(B) Called afterwards *Shâh Uzbek*: the titles of *Shâh*, *Soltân*, *Khân*, and ſometimes *Mâlek*, being given indifferently by the oriental hiſtorians, to the kings or ſovereigns of different nations, with no ſmall impropriety.

deſart

deſart of *Kapjâk* (or *Kipjâk*), and made himſelf maſter of the city of *Dârbend.* This obliged him to depart immediately, with the few troops which he had about him, to go and encamp on the *Kûr*, in order to hinder the *Tatars* from paſſing that river. On the other hand, the amîr *Jûbân*, who had followed the amîr *Hûſſayn*, to appeaſe the troubles raiſed in *Khoraſſân*, no ſooner heard of the irruption of the enemy, than he turned back, to ſtrengthen the army of Soltân *Abûſaïd.* 9. Khân Abûſaïd.

As the *Tatars* had hitherto done nothing but plunder the country, without undertaking any thing of conſequence, their army was much diminiſhed; ſo that Shah *Uzbek*, finding himſelf no equal match for the ſoltân, whoſe forces were now conſiderably increaſed by reinforcements, reſolved to break up his camp, and retire: but, being followed at the heels by the amîr *Jûbân*, he loſt a great number of men in his retreat. After this ſucceſs, while *Abûſaïd* marched back to *Soltânia*, the general cauſed ſeveral of the principal officers of the ſoltân's army to be whipped, according to the *Mungl* diſcipline; for not having done their duty in his abſence, and then proceeded towards *Gorja* (or *Georgia*). Mean time the officers, who had received the correction, plotted to revenge that diſgrace; and engaged in their party ſeveral officers, who bore with impatience the ſevere humour of the amîr *Jûbân*[a]. *Repulſes the* Uzbeks.

THE malecontents, having formed a pretty conſiderable army among themſelves, followed that general, who had already entered *Gorja*; and, while he had left his camp, to go on ſome enterpriſe againſt the enemy, they ſeized on, and pillaged it. After this ſurpriſe, which reduced the amîr to great want of every thing, they gave battle to, and defeated him. *Jûbân* ſtood in need of all his courage, but more of his wit and addreſs, to ſave his perſon out of ſuch imminent danger. In effect, by making uſe of ſeveral ſtratagems, he at length eſcaped; and, by marching many round-about ways, arrived at *Soltânia*. The khân, not thinking himſelf ſafe in his capital, while the rebels continued in arms, gathered all the troops he could in haſte, and marched to chaſtiſe them. The revolters, loſing all reſpect for the ſoltân, gave him battle, but were defeated; and it was on this occaſion that *Abûſaïd* got the ſurname of *Bahâdr*, or *Brave*, by ruſhing into the midſt of the enemy. *His troops revolt.*

In 719 the amîr *Hûſſayn Kurkhân*, who was at war with *Bayſur* in *Khoraſſân*, obtained ſo many advantages over him, that he at length conſtrained him to repaſs the *Amû* into *Great Siſter. Bukhâria*; where he was ſlain ſome time after, in fight with a prince *Marries Abûſaïd's ſiſter.* Hej. 719. A. D. 1319.

[a] KONDAM. ap. D'Herb. p. 32. art. Abouſaïd.

9. Khân Abûſaïd.

prince of the race of *Jagatay*, ſon of *Jenghîz Khân*. In 721 the ſoltân married his ſiſter, named *Satibeg*, to the amîr *Jûbân*, whoſe nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. Next year *Timûrtaſh*, ſon of *Jûbân*, who was governor of the country of *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, revolted againſt *Abûſaïd*; ſetting up for ſovereign in his department. The amîr, on this advice, tho' in the depth of winter, ſet out with a powerful army, to bring him back to his duty: which the ſon no ſooner underſtood, than he laid down his arms, and put himſelf into his father's hands; who carried him as a priſoner to the feet of the ſoltân. By this means *Abûſaïd* was appeaſed; and, pardoning the ſon, in conſideration of the father's ſervices, reſtored him to his government.

Diſobliges him.

Hej. 723. A. D. 1323.

In 723 *Ali Shâh* the wazîr died; and his poſt was given to *Sayn*, lieutenant-general of the amîr *Jûbân*. Some time after this, the amîr gave his daughter, named *Bâghdâd Khâtûn*, one of the greateſt beauties in all *Aſia*, in marriage to the amîr *Haſſan Ilkhâni*, ſon of Sheykh *Hûſſayn* (C): but this marriage proved very fatal to him; for Soltân *Abûſaïd*, having fallen in love with that lady, demanded her in marriage of her father. Now, according to the laws of the *Mungls*, every private perſon was obliged to repudiate his wife, when the khân had a mind to eſpouſe her. For all this, the amîr *Jubân* never would conſent to his daughter's divorce; and even uttered diſreſpectful words againſt this young prince, who required nothing contrary to the laws, or his own duty[b].

Out of favour.

ABUSAID at that time diſſembled the reſentment which he conceived at this refuſal: while the amîr *Jubân*, thinking to cure his paſſion by abſence, ſent his ſon-in-law and daughter to *Karabâgh*; and carried the ſoltân, againſt his inclination, to *Bâghdâd*, there to paſs the winter. But *Abûſaïd*'s love, far from diminiſhing by this ſeparation, only increaſed the more. Mean time the wazîr *Sayn* inflamed the averſion of the prince againſt *Jubân*, by ſeveral falſe reports which he framed, relating to the conduct of the amîr and his ſons. As theſe practices of the wazîr came to the knowlege of *Damaſhk Khowajeh* (or *Khoja*), ſon of the accuſed, one of the chief officers of the ſoltan's houſhold, and who had oftenеſt acceſs to him, he took care to ſend his father an account of them. On this occaſion the amîr *Jubân* took a very bold ſtep: for, under pretence of going to quaſh ſome inſurrections which were begun

[b] KONDAM. ubi ſup. p. 32. art. Abouſaïd.

(C) The ſame with the amîr *Hûſſayn Kurkhân*, mentioned a little above.

in

in *Khoraſſân*, he departed haſtily from *Bâghdâd*, and went to *Soltânia*, carrying with him the wazîr *Sayn*, as it were by way of hoſtage for his ſon, whom he left at court. 9. Khân Abûſaïd.

THIS ſon remained there, to direct all affairs: for *Jûbân*, who had the intire management of them, communicated them to none but him. It happened, at length, that *Damaſhk*, abuſing his father's authority, diſpoſed ſo abſolutely of all things, that *Abûſaïd* had little left to him beſides the name of ſoltân. This prince, weary of being always under guardianſhip, diſcovered his diſſatisfaction to ſome of his confidants; and they informed him, that *Damaſhk* carried on an intrigue with one of the wives of the late ſoltân *Aljaytû*, his father. On this advice, the prince ordered *Damaſhk* to be watched, to diſcover the truth; and, in a ſhort time, was himſelf witneſs of a rendezvous made by the two lovers. The ſoltân, wounded in his honour, as well as authority, by this inſolent miniſter, would readily have ſigned the order for his death: but as none of his domeſtics durſt undertake ſo dangerous a taſk, he found there was a neceſſity of leaving things to chance; which ſoon turned out to his wiſhes. For it happened, at this very juncture, in 727, that ſome heads of men, who had revolted in the provinces, having been brought to the ſoltân's palace, a report was ſpread, that they were the heads of the amîr *Jûbân* and his adherents, which had been ſent from *Khoraſſân*. This rumour ſo frighted *Damaſhk*, that, without inquiring into the truth of the matter, he left the palace, in the night, with only ten men, and took to flight. As ſoon as *Abûſaïd* was informed of this, he ſent after him *Meſr Khowajeh*, one of his confidants, who overtook, and cut off his head, which he brought forthwith to the ſoltân. *His ſon Damaſhk put to death.* Hej. 727. A. D. 1326.

THIS prince, delivered from the ſon, propoſed ſoon alſo to get rid of the father: for this purpoſe, he ſent ſtrict orders to the officers of *Khoraſſân* to ſeize the perſon of *Jûbân*; and couriers to thoſe of other provinces, to put to death all who could be found, either of his relations or dependents. But as theſe officers lived in good underſtanding with that general, inſtead of executing the ſoltân's mandate, they immediately gave him notice of it. Upon this intelligence, he loſt no time: for, making uſe of the favour and credit of his friends, he ſet on foot an army of 70,000 horſe, with which he moved towards *Kaſtîn*; whither the ſoltân was advanced, with all the forces which he was able to aſſemble. *Jûbân*, before he left *Khoraſſân*, cauſed the wazîr *Sayn* to be ſlain, by way of repriſal, for the death of his ſon; and *Abûſaïd*, to be even with him, appointed for wazîr *Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed*, a perſon of learning, *Raiſes an army.*

9. Khân Abûſaïd. learning, ſon of *Raſhîdo'ddîn*, whom the amîr had alſo put to death, as before hath been related.

His troops deſert. MEAN time, the amîr *Jûbân* marched forward, with deſign to make himſelf maſter of the court, and the perſon of the ſoltân. When he came to *Semnân* (in *Kumes*), he made a viſit to *Rokno'ddîn Alao'ddawlet*, whoſe tomb is ſtill reſpected there, by *Mohammedans*, for his great ſanctity; and, after ſome conferences with him, promiſed, on oath, to follow ſtrictly his advice in every thing: propoſing, as a teſtimony of his ſincerity, that the ſheykh ſhould go from him to the ſoltân, to demand the murderers of his ſon, and the conditions of a good peace. *Abûſaïd* received the ſheykh with reſpect, and did him a thouſand honours: but refuſed either to deliver up the aſſaſſins, or, in any ſort, treat with *Jûbân*. The amîr, enraged at this refuſal, no longer kept any meaſures with the ſoltân; and came to encamp within one day's march of his ordû, or imperial camp, in a place named *Kuha*. But he did not continue long in that poſt: for ſeveral of his principal officers, who intirely owed their fortunes to him, abandoned him, with 30,000 horſe, and went over to their ſovereign.

He retreats. As the amîr *Jûbân*, after ſuch an inſtance of inconſtancy in ſo conſiderable a part of his troops, could not prudently confide in the reſt of them; he quitted his camp, and took the road of the deſart of *Nubendijân*, with deſign to retire into *Khoraſſân*. This long and difficult march, joined to a farther deſertion of his officers, ſo weakened his army, that, being no longer able to ſupport his party in that province, he reſolved to repair to *Turkeſtân*: a country where there were ſeveral great princes, who often made incurſions into the dominions of *Abûſaïd*, as hath been already remarked. This reſolution would probably have proved very advantageous to the amîr, had he purſued it: but his evil deſtiny ſo ordered it, that, when he came to the river *Morgâb*, he of a ſudden changed his mind, and turned back, to throw himſelf into the arms of *Gayâtho'ddîn*, ſurnamed *Mâlek Kârt*; whom he had bred up from his youth, and advanced to the principal poſts in the armies of *Aſia*.

Betrayed, and ſlain, *MALEK Kurt* proved not more faithful to him than the reſt: for having, at the ſame time, received an expreſs from the ſoltân, with diſpatches full of great offers and promiſes, if he would ſend him *Jûbân*'s head, the firſt viſit of this ingrate was that which he made him by the executioner. The amîr could never obtain ſo much as the favour to ſee him: ſo that finding he muſt die, he required three things of him. Firſt, That, as ſoon as his head was ſevered from his body, he ſhould ſend one of his fingers, which was double at the end, to the

camp

camp of *Abûsaïd*. Secondly, that he would cause his body to be sent to *Medînah*, there to be buried in a chapel which had been built at his expence. And thirdly, That he would convey his son *Jalayr*, whom he had by *Satibeg*, to the court of Soltân *Abûsaïd* his uncle. These three requests being granted him, the executioner cut off his head: which *Mâlek Kurt* sent immediately to the soltân; and set out soon after himself, to receive the reward of his perfidy. But he was much surprised, when he understood, on the road, that Sheykh *Hassan* had divorced his wife, the daughter of *Jûban*, and sent her into the soltân's haram. What still more increased his chagrin was, that Sheykh *Hassan*, by this submission to the desires of *Abûsaïd*, had obtained the employment which he expected at court; and that *Bâghdâd Khâtûn* (D) had gotten an intire influence over the mind of the prince [c].

8. Khân Abûsaïd.

This disagreeable news made him resolve, before he proceeded any farther, to send his orders into *Khorassân*, to put to death *Jalayr*, son of the amîr *Jûban*; whose life he had preserved, at the request of his father, though contrary to the soltân's orders. After this second execution, he continued his rout towards *Karabâgh* (E), where *Abûsaïd* then resided: but, through the great credit which *Bâghdâd Khâtûn*, who was married, in a solemn manner, by the soltân, possessed at court, he received but a very cold reception; and was considered rather as the murderer of the soltâna's father, than a person who had rendered a great piece of service to *Abûsaïd*. He was even made to wait in the camp, all the time which the corps of *Jûban* and his son were bringing from *Khorassân* to *Awsân*; where the soltan ordered them to be put into the hands of the pilgrims of *Mekka*, to bury them at *Medînah*. To defray this expence, he caused 40,000 dinars to be paid to them; and gave to *Mâlek Kurt* no other reward, than the permission of returning to his own country. With regard to the amîr *Jûban*, we shall only observe farther, that he had always passed for a good man, a lover of justice, and a great zealot for his religion.

by Mâlek Kurt.

[c] Kondam. ubi sup. p. 33. art. Abûsaïd.

(D) According to *Mîrkond*, in *Texeira*, *Abûsaïd* gave her the title of *Khândekar*, which was the royal style; and that he put the whole government into her hands, which she managed with much wisdom and discretion, while he diverted himself with reading, being very bookish. 'Tis added, that his judgment was sound, and his person graceful.

(E) According to the same author, *Jannâbi*, and the *Nighiaristân*, he spent his summers in *Soltanîya*, and his winters at *Karabâgh*.

8. Khân Abûſaïd. Hej. 732. A. D. 1331. *Sheykh* Haſſân *promoted.*

In 732, ſome perſons envying the good fortune of Sheykh *Haſſan*, and uneaſy at the great power which the ſoltâna had in affairs, began to whiſper about, that this princeſs ſtill carried on a ſecret intimacy with her firſt huſband. As theſe reports came, at length, to the ſoltan's ears, he baniſhed Sheykh *Haſſan* to the caſtle of *Kamakh* (F); and ſhewed great coldneſs to his new ſpouſe. But the falſity of thoſe inſinuations having been diſcovered, and the authors of ſuch black calumny puniſhed, *Abûſaïd* reſtored the ſoltana and the ſheykh to his favour; and even conferred on the latter the government of part of *Rûm*, or *Aſia Minor*, which, at that time, belonged to his dominions.

Hej. 736. A. D. 1335. Uzbek Khân's *invaſion.*

In 735, Shâh *Uzbek* made a ſecond irruption into the territories ſubject to Soltan *Abûſaïd*; who, next year (G), marched to fight his enemy: but he was ſcarce arrived in the province of *Shîrwân*, when the heat, and malignity of the air, threw him into a dangerous ſickneſs. For this, his phyſicians preſcribed bathing: but one day, after taking medicines, while he was in the bath, he fell into a ſwoon, and died not long afterwards. The author of the preface to the *Jafer Nâmeh* writes, that the ſoltâna *Bâghdâd Khâtûn*, perceiving a change in this prince's affections towards her, gave him poiſon, which took away his life, at the age of thirty-two, of which he had reigned nineteen years. His corps was tranſported to *Soltânîya*, with a pomp worthy of ſo great a monarch, and inhumed in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors (H). *Arbah Khân*, his ſucceſſor, cauſed the ſoltâna to be put to death, who was accuſed of being concerned in the death of *Abûſaïd*; and had been convicted of correſponding with Shâh *Uzbek*, who diſputed the crown with him [d].

Abûſaïd *dies.*

[d] Kondam. ubi ſup. p. 34.

(F) *Kamkh*, or *Kemak*, as ſome authors write, ſtands on the *Euphrates*, twenty-one miles to the ſouth of *Arzenjân*, in *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*.

(G) This year, 736 of the Hejrah, of Chriſt 1335, was remarkable, as well for the birth of *Timûr Beg*, or *Tamerlan*, as for the death of *Abûſaïd*.

(H) He was buried near his father *Khodabandeh*, under the fine dome of the moſk of *Soltâniya*; on the walls of which, the whole *Korân* is written, in golden characters. *La Croix*, hiſt. Gengh. p. 404.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Dynasties which sprung up on the Death of Abûsaïd Khân.

ON the death of *Abûsaïd*, in 736, the empire of the *Mungls* in *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, fell all to pieces, and into great confusion: for, after him, they acknowleged no single monarch of the race of *Jenghîz Khân*; but cantoned themselves in the several provinces, which were plundered by the frequent wars which the lords waged among themselves, every one aiming at the sovereignty, and to reduce the rest under his power. Nor did these disorders cease, till the time of *Timûr Beg*, who, after the conquest of the countries to the north of the *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, turned his arms against those to the south of that river; and, in a short time, brought all the jaring princes of *Irân* under his obedience. *Confusion in* Irân, A. D. 1335.

AMONG the petty dynasties which, during this interval of distraction, sprung up in that great region, historians mention two *Mungl*, which rose out of the ruins of their empire, immediately on the death of *Abûsaïd*. The first, called *Il Khânian*, its princes being descended, in a direct line, from *Hulâkû Khân*, surnamed *Il Khân*. The second, named *Jûbânian*, or *Chûbânian*, as being founded by the family of *Jûban*, or *Châban*. The first had four princes, who reigned from the year 737 to 813, the space of seventy-six years. The second had but two, who held the sceptre only twenty years, that is, from 738, two years after the death of *Abûsaïd*, to 758; though some make their dominion end two years sooner. The *Il Khânians* reigned in *Arabian Irâk* and *Azerbejân*; the *Jûbanians* in this latter province, and the *Persian Irâk*. Although these two dynasties were cotemporary, and their affairs blended together, yet we shall treat of them separately; but avoid all repetitions, except what must be used to make the necessary connections. *by petty dynasties.*

SECT. I.

The Dynasty of the Il Khânians.

Reign of Sheykh Hassân Buzruk.

THIS dynasty had four soltâns, or princes; the first of whom was amîr *Hassan*, or *Hassan Noüyân*, son of the amîr *Hussayn Kurkhân*, one of *Abûsaïd Khân*'s generals, mentioned in the reign of that soltân. *Hassan* married the famous *Bâghdâd Khâtûn*, daughter of the amîr *Jûban*, or *Chûpan*, with whom 1. *Soltân Sheykh* Hassân Buzruk.

1. *Soltân Sheykh* Haſſân Buzruk. *His deſcent.*

Abûſa'id was enamoured; and, after the death of her father, divorced her, to gratify that prince: who, in 732, conferred on him the government of the *Mungl* dominions in *Rûm*, or the country of the *Romans*, meaning chiefly *Anatolia*. This *Haſſân* was ſurnamed *Buzruk* (A), or *the great*, in the *Mungl* or *Turkiſh* language, to diſtinguiſh him from *Haſſan*, ſurnamed *Kujuk*, or *the leſſer*; who, near the ſame time, founded the dynaſty of *Jûbanians* [a]. *Arab Shâh* ſays, that *Haſſan Buzruk* was the ſon of *Huſſayn*; and *Huſſayn*, the ſon of *Ak Buga*; that *Ak Buga* was the ſon of *Id Khân*; and that *Id Khân* deſcended from *Sherfo'ddîn Sebth Alkân*, or *Ilkhân Argûn*, ſon of *Abûſa'id*. *Arabſhâh* does not ſay who this *Abûſa'id* was [b]; yet *D'Herbelot* will have him to be *Abûſa'id Khân*. But this cannot be; ſince *Haſſan Buzruk* was cotemporary with *Abûſa'id Khân*, and, from circumſtances, older: whereas his anceſtor *Abûſa'id* was, at leaſt, five or ſix generations earlier than *Abûſa'id Khân*. The ſame author furniſhes no more materials relating to this founder of the *Il Khânian* dynaſty. But *Abû'lghâzi Khân* gives us ſome farther particulars of his hiſtory. According to this author, on the death of *Abûſa'id*, thoſe of the tribe of *Suldus*, the heads of which bore the name of *Zûpani*, or *Jûpani* (B), put the ſceptre into the hands of *Arpa*, or *Arba Khân*, deſcended from *Artokbuga* (C), ſon of *Tawlay* (or *Tuli*) *Khân*.

Arba Khân.

Some time after this, *Ali*, a chief of a tribe of the *Virats*, by the great credit which he had in the city of *Bâghdâd*, cauſed *Muſa*, deſcended from *Hulâkû* (D), to be proclaimed khân there: who marching to attack *Arpa Khân*, defeated, and ſlew him; whereby he became maſter of all his territories [c]. This *Arba Khân*, according to *D'Herbelot*, reigned no more than ſix months (E); and, on his coming to the crown, put to

[a] D'Herbel. p. 489. art. Il Khân. [b] Arabshah, hiſt. Timûr, l. iii. § 3. [c] Abu'lghazi Khan, hiſt. Turks, p. 188.

(A) In the *Engliſh* tranſlation of *La Croix*'s hiſtory of *Genghîz Khân*, p. 404, he is named *Buzure Haſſân*; a miſtake, perhaps, for *Buzurc*, or *Buzurk*, as that author ſeems to have read it.

(B) *Jûpani*, or *Jûbani*, is the gentile name of *Jûban*, formed by adding the final *i*.

(C) *Arba Khân* was the ſon of *Senghigân*, ſon of *Malek Timûr*, ſon of *Arſalân Buga*, ſon of *Tuli*, ſon of *Jenghîz Khân*. *D'Herbelot*, p. 382. art. *Genghîz Khânian*. *La Croix* makes *Arpa Khân* the ſon of *Ali*, ſon of *Baydu Khân*, ſon of *Tragay* (or *Tarighi*), ſon of *Hulâkû*. Hiſt. *Gengh.* p. 404.

(D) *Muſa* was the ſon of *Ali*, ſon of *Baydu Khân*, ſon of *Targay* (or *Targhiyeh*), ſon of *Hulâkû Khân*.

(E) According to *La Croix*, he died in 1335.

death *Bâghdâd Khâtûn*, the beloved wife of *Abûsaïd Khân* [d], for the reasons already mentioned, in the reign of that prince. 1. *Soltân Sheykh Hassan Buzruk.*

As soon as Sheykh *Hassan Jalayr* (F), called also Sheykh *Hassan Buzruk*, who was then very powerful in the provinces of *Rûm* (or *Anatolia*), heard that the people of *Bâghdâd* had proclaimed *Musa* in quality of khân, he caused *Mohammed*, a descendant of *Hulâkû* (G), to be acknowleged khan of the *Mungls* in that country. This prince, immediately on his advancement, got together a great army, and marched from *Rûm* to the borders of *Irân*. At the news of his approach, *Musa Khân* marched as far as *Tabrîz* (or *Tauris*) to meet him: but coming to a battle, was intirely defeated; and having in the action lost *Ali* (H), by whose interest he had been raised to the throne, he fled for shelter to the *Virats*. Musa Khân.

ADVICE of this revolution coming to the knowlege of Sheykh *Ali*, son of the amîr *Ali Koshji*, who, at the same juncture, commanded in *Khorassân*, he hasted to *Bastâm*, and there proclaimed *Togay Timûr*, one of the descendants of *Jujikar*, brother of *Jenghîz Khân*, who formerly resided in *Mazânderân*. Soon after, being joined by *Musa Khân*, they all three went in quest of *Mohammed Khân*: but the sheykh *Hassan Jalayr* advancing against them, with a powerful army, as far as *Yagarm Rudh* (I), intirely routed them. *Musa Khân* lost his life in this action (K): but *Togay Timûr* and Sheykh *Ali* escaped into *Khorassân*. Mohammed Khân.

WHEN Sheykh *Hassan Kujuk* (L), who commanded on the Togay Timûr Khân.

[d] D'HERB. p. 34, & 382, art. Abûsaïd & Genghizkhanian.

(F) By this, he seems to have been of the tribe of *Jalayr*. Soltân *Ahmed* likewise is, by *Sharîfo'ddîn*, in the life of *Timûr Bek*, called *Ahmed Jalayr*.

(G) *Mohammed Khân* was the son of *Tol Kutluk*, son of *Timûr*, son of *Anbarji*, son of *Mangu*, son of *Hulâkû Khân*, according to *Abû'lghâzi Khân*: but *La Croix* makes him the son of *Majuni*, son of *Amûjin*, son of *Hulâkû Khân*: he puts his death in 1337; and says, some call him *Mahmûd*. Hist. *Gengh.* p. 405.

(H) *La Croix* calls him *Ali Shâh*; and says, he was another khân of *Hulâkû*'s race. Hist. *Gengh.* p. 404.

(I) This seems to be a river; which, in the *Persian*, is called *Rudh*: the *dh* being sounded like *th*, in *them*, *this*, &c.

(K) *Mohammed* caused his head to be cut off. This happened in 1336. *La Croix*, p. 405.

(L) This is the grandson of *Hassân*, son of the amîr *Jûbân*, founder of the *Jûbanian* dynasty. *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, to distinguish him from Sheykh *Hassan Buzruk*, calls him Sheykh *Hassan Khoja*; possibly, because the authors he made use of do not add the surname of *Kujuk*, which we, to prevent confusion, have put instead of *Khoja*; as, afterwards, we have substituted *Buzruk* for *Jalayr*.

1. *Soltân Sheykh* Haſſan Buzruk.

borders of *Rûm*, in the time of *Abûſaïd Khân*, received information of the ill ſucceſs of this battle, he gathered in haſte a numerous army, and took the field againſt *Mohammed Khân*, and the Sheykh *Haſſan Buzruk*. After ſome ſkirmiſhes of no moment, the competitors came, at length, to a deciſive battle, near *Nakhſhivân*; in which *Mohammed Khân* being killed, and his forces defeated, Sheykh *Haſſan Buzruk* fled for ſhelter to the city of *Soltânîya*. On this occaſion, Sheykh *Haſſan Kujuk* conferred the government of *Tabrîz* (or *Tauris*) on a lady named *Satibika* (N), while he marched in purſuit of his enemies. Sheykh *Haſſan Buzruk*, perceiving the victor preſſed him cloſe, and that that there was no likelihood of eſcaping out of his hands, implored his clemency, and ſurrendered himſelf at diſcretion. After this, Sheykh *Haſſan Kujuk* returning to *Tabrîz*, *Satibika* delivered him the keys of that city, after ſhe had governed there a whole year; and the ſheykh, to recompenſe her fidelity, married her to *Soleymân*, a lord deſcended (O) from *Hulâkû*.

Jehân Timûr Khân. A. D. 1356.

Some time after this, the Sheykh *Haſſan Buzruk*, having found means to eſcape out of the hands of his conqueror, fled to *Bâghdâd*, and cauſed *Jehân Timûr* (P) to be proclaimed khân. This done, he ſet forward, to try his fortune once more againſt the ſheykh *Haſſan Kujuk*: but, having met with another defeat, he retreated to that capital; and believing he had reaſon to be diſſatisfied with *Jehân Timûr*, depoſed him, and ſeized the ſupreme authority himſelf [e]. It does not appear that he had any farther conteſt with *Haſſan Kujuk*, whoſe death ſeems to have

[e] Abu'lghazi, ubi ſupra.

(N) This muſt be *Satibeg*, daughter of *Alûſaïd Khân*, and married to the amîr *Jûban*, grandfather of this *Haſſan*, who was ſon of *Timûrtaſh*. *La Croix* names her *Shâh Zâdeh Shâhibek Kâtûn*; and places her as the ſixth khân among the eight khâns which, according to his authors, reigned after the death of *Abûſaïd*.

(O) *Soleymân* was ſon of *Mohammed*, ſon of *Sargu*, ſon of *Yaſhmut*, ſon of *Hulâkû Khân*; ſo writes *Alû'lghâzi Khân*. *La Croix*, leſs accurately, ſays, he was the ſon of *Sanki*, ſon of *Ahmed*, whom ſome called *Shemed*, ſon of *Hulâkû Khân*. The ſame author makes him the ſeventh khân; and ſays, his wife gave him that title, in 1338.

(P) *Jehân Timûr* was ſon of *Alfrân*, ſon of *Kajeytû Khân*, ſon of *Abâka Khân*, ſon of *Hulâkû Khân*. *Kajeytû* of *Abû'lghâzi Khân* is the ſame with *Kaïktû*, or *Ganjatû Khân*; that is, the eighth khân of *La Croix*, who ſeems to have made his fourth and fifth out of *Togay Timûr*: the firſt called *Tagur Khân*; the ſecond *Bûka Timûr Khân*.

happened

happened not long after (Q): nor do we meet with any thing relating to him further (R), than that he died in 757, after a reign of twenty years; and left for his successor his son Soltân *Avis*. 1. *Soltân Sheykh* Hassân Buzruk.

The Reign of Soltân Avîs, *or* Weîs.

AVIS, or *Awîs* (called also *Veîs*, or *Weîs*, and commonly Sheykh *Avis*, or *Veis*), on the death of his father Sheykh *Hassan Ilkhâni*, surnamed *Buzruk*, succeeded to the states which he possessed (S); at a time when several *Mungl* princes, descended from *Jenghîz Khân*, had divided the empire of *Abûsaïd Khân*, the last sole monarch of *Irân*, amongst them. In 759, Sheykh *Avis* entered *Azerbejân*, with an intent to conquer it; and defeated *Akhijuk*, who was master of that province (T), although attended with a powerful army. *Akhijuk*, on this disaster, fled to *Tauris*; but, not thinking himself safe in that city, he abandoned it to his enemy, and retired to *Nakhshivân*, on the borders of *Armenia*. *Avis* would have found no more enemies in all that great province, if he had not procured them himself, by his severity: for having put to death forty of the principal lords of the country, he so alienated the minds of the rest, that they joined with *Akhijuk*, and put him in possession of all which he had formerly lost. Thus *Avis* 2. *Soltân* Avîs. Hej 759. A. D. 1357. *Conquers* Azerbejân.

(Q) *Viz.* in 745; for he is reckoned to begin his reign in 738, and to have sat on the throne seven years.

(R) For we know not what to make of what *La Croix* says, that *Buzruk Hassan* at last got himself crowned king of the *Medes* (he must mean *Azerbejân*), and afterwards of *Khalâca*, by the reduction of *Bâghdâd*, *Hilleh*, *Wâset*, and *Bâsrah*, which had been possessed by *Malek Asshrâf* the *Chubanian*, unless *Asshrâf* had taken them from him before.

(S) *Hassan Buzruk* seems to have been master of *Bâghdâd*, and the places dependent on it, or of *Arabian Irâk* at most, at the death of *Hassan Kujuk*. 'Tis possible he inlarged his dominions in the remaining eleven years of his reign, and during that of *Mâlek Asshrâf* (the successor of *Hassan Kujuk*), who was a debauched prince.

(T) Here we meet with a difficulty. *Azerbejân* was conquered by *Jani Bek*, eighth khân of *Kipjâk*, in Hejrah 756, *A. D.* 1355: then returning, he left his son *Birdi Bek*, who did not return till two years after his father's death, which happened in 758: so that *Birdi Bek* must have staid in *Azerbejân* till 759, if not till 760. Yet, in the text, we are told *Akhijuk* was master of that province in 759. How happened this? did *Birdi Bek* leave it to *Akhijuk*? or did *Akhijuk* seize it after *Birdi Bek*'s departure? This seems to be the case; since *La Croix* tells us, that *Birdi Bek* left the country of *Azerbejân* to Soltân *Avis*.

2. *Soltân Avîs.* being conſtrained to abandon his new conqueſt, retired with a ſhattered army to *Bâghdâd*, which he made his reſidence. However, he did not loſe courage on this reverſe of fortune, but ſtill purſued his firſt deſign: for, the next ſpring, he cauſed freſh troops to march towards *Tauris*; where having ſurpriſed *Akhijuk*, who had been diſturbed all the winter by another enemy, named *Mohammed Modhaffer* (C), or *Mozaffer*, he ſeized his perſon, and put him to death.

A. D. 1358.

Quells a rebellion. In 765 *Avîs* was engaged in troubles at home: for, while he was in *Azerbejân*, *Khowâja Merjân*, with whom he had there left the command of the troops in his abſence, refuſed to obey his orders; and obliged him to come in perſon, at the head of his forces, to bring him to his duty. But this expedition was ſoon finiſhed: for *Merjân* opened the gates to him; and received pardon for his tranſgreſſion, on making new proteſtations of fidelity. After taking one year's repoſe in his capital, he of a ſudden fell upon the cities of *Moſul* and *Mardîn* in *Diyârbekr*, and reduced them both in a very ſhort ſpace.

Hej. 765. A. D. 1363.

Hej. 772. A. D. 1370. In 772 Soltân *Avîs* marched againſt the amîr *Veli*, who had ſubdued the province of *Mazânderân*, after driving out *Toga Timûr Khân* (D), whom he put to death; and, having defeated him in battle, purſued him as far as *Semnân*, towards the borders of *Khoraſſân*.

His death. A. D. 1374. After this victory, *Avîs* returned to *Bâghdâd*; where he reſided in peace till 776, when he fell ſick; and, his diſtemper increaſing, the principal miniſters intreated that he would give orders about the ſucceſſion; for he left four ſons, *Haſſan*, *Huſſayn*, *Ahmed*, and *Bayezîd*. His anſwer was, that he choſe *Huſſayn* for his ſucceſſor; and that *Haſſan* ſhould be content with the government of *Bâghdâd*. The miniſters replied, that *Haſſan*, being the eldeſt, would poſſibly not reſt ſatisfied with that diſpoſition. Upon which the ſoltan ſaid, *You know that which muſt be done.* By theſe words the miniſters concluding, that the ſoltan gave them power to do that which they judged moſt for the good of the ſtate, ſeized *Haſſan*, and put him under a ſtrong guard. As *Avîs* loſt his ſpeech not long after, ſo that he could not explain himſelf farther with relation to *Haſſan*, as ſoon as his eyes were cloſed, the miniſters of ſtate, who were deſirous to ſecure the crown to *Huſſayn*, put *Haſ-*

(C) This might have been *Mobaraza'ddin Mohammed*, founder of the *Mozaffrian* dynaſty in *Pârs*, or *Proper Perſia*, in 718, where he reigned forty-two years.

(D) Before called *Togay Timûr Khân*, ſet up by Sheykh *Ali*.

ſan

ſan their priſoner to death, and buried both the father and ſon on the ſame day [a]. 2. *Soltân* Avis.

Soltân *Avîs* reigned nineteen years. According to *Arabſhâh*, he was a religious, good, and juſt prince: had few vices; and many virtues, which were viſible in his aſpect. He was an excellent commander, and very courageous; a great warrior, and ſucceſsful in his expeditions: was well beloved and reſpected by all degrees of perſons [b]. But, in what the ſame author adds, that this prince reſigned the crown to *Huſſayn* (whom he calls his eldeſt ſon), to lead a devout life, on account of a dream which he had of his death; and that he died, after having lived holily more than thirty years, he ſeems to have been miſtaken: ſince the *Perſian* writers are ſilent as to any ſuch thing; and what is related above, appears more probable. *His character.*

The Reign of Soltân Huſſayn.

Huſſayn, ſecond ſon of Sheykh *Avis*, or *Veïs*, had the ſurname of *Kurkhân*; becauſe he was nearly related to the *Mungl* ſoltâns of the race of *Jenghiz Khân*, as well as that of *Il Khâni*, as being deſcended from *Hulâkû*. This prince, who was poſſeſſed of *Arabian* or *Babyloniſh Irâk*, and *Azerbejân*, carried his arms into *Perſian Irâk*; and probably would have ſubdued that province, had he not been prevented by the rebellion and fratricide of his brother *Ahmed*, in the following manner. In the year 784 Soltân *Huſſayn* ſent *Adel Aga*, general of his troops, to beſiege certain caſtles belonging to the city of *Ray*, or *Rey*, in *Perſian Irâk*; and having, for that purpoſe, given him the greater part of his forces, *Ahmed* took the opportunity, under pretence of ſome diſcontent, to retire from the city of *Tabrîz*, or *Tauris*, where the court then was, to that of *Ardebîl* (about thirty miles diſtant). The ſoltân, being informed of this retreat, immediately ſent an expreſs after him, to order his return: but this prince, who had great deſigns in his head, refuſed to obey the command; and, at the ſame time, raiſing what troops he could, came and ſurpriſed his brother, who remained in a manner diſarmed in his capital. *Huſſayn*, not being in a condition to make reſiſtance againſt this unexpected attack, endeavoured to conceal himſelf, that he might not fall into *Ahmed*'s hands: but he was ſoon diſcovered, and brought before his unnatural brother, who ordered him to 3. *Soltân* Huſſayn. Hej. 784. A. D. 1382. *Slain by* Ahmed.

[a] Kondam. ap. D. Herbel. p. 149. art. Avis. [b] Arabsh. ubi ſup. l. iii. §. 3.

be

3. *Soltân* Huſſayn.

be put to death [a]. *Arabſhâh* relates, that *Ahmed* revolted in the latter *Jomada* of the year 783; and, after keeping his brother a year in miſery, put him to death; at which time he was turned of twenty. According to the ſame author, this prince, whom he names *Jalâlo'ddîn Huſſayn*, was the moſt virtuous, and worthy to reign, of all the ſons of Sheykh *Avîs*, in whoſe ſteps he trod: he was good to his ſubjects, and very generous, full of courage and magnanimity [b].

The Reign of Soltân Ahmed.

4. *Soltân* Ahmed.

MOGHITHO'DDIN Ahmed, called alſo *Ahmed Jalayr* (A), third ſon of Sheykh *Avîs*, having put his brother *Huſſayn* to death, immediately aſſumed the title of ſoltân; but was in danger of loſing it almoſt as ſoon as he had uſurped it: for his younger brother *Bayezîd*, frighted at the horrid murder which he had committed, fled for refuge to *Adel Aga*, who commanded the army. This general, ſhocked at the horrid act no leſs than the young prince, immediately acknowleged him for lawful ſoltân, and marched in purſuit of *Ahmed*; who, not having forces ſufficient to reſiſt his, fled in his turn, and retired to *Marvand*. However, while *Adel Aga* perſiſted to purſue *Ahmed*, and had almoſt gotten him into his hands, the principal officers of the army mutinied againſt him, in favour of the uſurper; ſo that he was forced to retire with his new ſoltân to the city of *Soltânîya*. *Ahmed*, on this advice, did not fail to throw himſelf immediately into *Tauris*: but he was no ſooner arrived there, than he received the news that Sheykh *Ali* and *Pîr Ali* were advancing to beſiege him.

Expelled and reſtored.

AHMED, tho' not ſufficiently prepared for ſuch a ſudden attack, yet, being full of courage, marched out of *Tauris* to give them battle. The two armies were now in ſight near a place called *Heft Râdh*, or the *Seven Rivers*, when *Omar Kipchâki* went over with his troops from *Ahmed*, and joined Sheykh *Ali*. As this piece of treachery loſt him the victory, of which he ſeemed already ſecure, he found he had no other courſe left but to retire in haſte to the city of *Nakhſhivân*, and obtain ſuccour of *Kara Mohammed* the *Turkmân*, firſt prince of the dynaſty named *Kara Kuyunlu*, or the *Black Sheep*. This prince intirely re-eſtabliſhed the affairs of *Ahmed*: for, joining him

[a] KONDAM. ubi ſup. p. 149. & 464. art. Avîs & Houſſain ben Avîs. [b] ARAESH. ubi ſup.

(A) Called *Meghîtho'ddin* in *Arabſhâh*, and *Ahmed Jalayr* in *Sharifo'ddin*'s life of *Timûr Bek*.

with

with 5000 horſe, they marched againſt their enemies; and defeated them ſo effectually, that both Sheykh *Ali* and *Pîr Ali* were killed on the ſpot. After this victory, *Ahmed* returned in triumph to *Tauris*; but he did not remain quiet long: for *Adel Aga* ſtill maintained his ground in *Soltânîya* with Soltân *Bayezîd*, and gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs; till *Timûr Bek*, in the year 795, ſubdued *Perſian Irâk*, when that city, with the reſt, fell into his hands. 4. *Soltân* Ahmed.

BUT at the ſame time *Timûr* took this thorn out of *Ahmed*'s ſide, he thruſt a worſe into its place: for, the ſame year, that conqueror marched to beſiege him in *Bâghdâd*, from whence the ſoltân fled, leaving his capital at the mercy of the enemy. A party of *Tatars* purſued him hotly as far as the plain of *Kerbela*, on the weſt ſide of the *Euphrates*: where, after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, *Ahmed*, by ſtratagem, eſcaped out of their hands, with *Kara Yûſef* the *Turkmân*; who had accompanied him ever ſince the great ſervice which he had done him at the battle of *Heft Rudh*. After this narrow deliverance, they continued their road, nor ſtopped till they arrived in *Anatolia*: but, not finding themſelves ſafe enough there, they paſſed into *Egypt*, under the protection of *Al Mâlek al Nâſſer Farraj*, ſecond ſoltân of the *Cherkaſſian Mamlûks*, who began his reign in 801. This prince, who, through fear of *Timûr*'s power, was willing to hold a good correſpondence with him, did not fail to ſend him notice of the arrival of theſe two new gueſts. *Expelled by* Timûr. Hej. 795. A. D. 1392. A. D. 1398.

TIMUR, on this advice, wrote to *Farraj*, that, if he would give him ſome proof of his friendſhip, he ſhould ſend him Soltân *Ahmed* under a ſtrong guard, and keep the *Turkmân* priſoner. The king of *Egypt*, willing both to preſerve the laws of hoſpitality, and in ſome meaſure ſatisfy *Timûr*, ſet guards upon the refugee princes: but, as they had liberty to converſe together, they formed a league among themſelves, by which they engaged to remain firm in the ſoltân of *Egypt*'s alliance, and to aſſiſt each other againſt all oppoſers, as ſoon as they ſhould recover their liberty; which did not happen till the year 807, after the death of *Timûr*. As ſoon as *Farraj* received this news, he loaded his priſoners with careſſes, and diſmiſſed them: but ſcarce had *Kara Yûſef* gotten out of the *Egyptian* dominions, when, putting himſelf at the head of his *Turkmâns*, he ſeized great part of *Irâk Arabi*, and *Al Jazîreh*, or *Meſopotamia*. *Farraj*, highly incenſed at this irruption, complained in ſharp terms to Soltân *Ahmed*, on whoſe account that conqueſt was made: but, receiving no ſatisfaction, he intirely withdrew his protection from him. *Detained in* Egypt. Hej. 807. A. D. 1404.

MEAN time *Ahmed*, loſing no courage, altho' he ſaw himſelf abandoned by ſo powerful an ally, had recourſe to ſtratagem: *Recovers* Bâghdâd.

4. *Soltân* Ahmed.

tagem: he put himſelf, with ſome of his people, in the habit of mendicants; and, by that means getting into *Bâghdâd* undiſcovered, ſtirred up a great tumult againſt the governor, who there commanded in behalf of *Omar Mirza*, to whom *Timûr* had given it. The effect was, that the governor was driven out; and then *Ahmed*, appearing among the inhabitants, was proclaimed ſoltân by them. Towards the end of the year 808, while *Abûbekr Mîrza*, grandſon of *Timûr*, was engaged in the ſiege of *Iſpâhân*, Sheykh *Ibrahîm*, king of *Shîrwân*, came and reduced the city of *Taurîs*. On this news, *Ahmed* immediately ſet out from *Bâghdâd* with his army: but, on his approach, *Ibrahîm* returned to *Shîrwân*; while the ſoltân, entering that city, became again in poſſeſſion of all his dominions, on which account he made great rejoicings.

A. D. 1405.

Defeated and ſlain,

NEXT year Sheykh *Ibrahîm*, after he had reduced *Iſpâhân*, reſolved to pay *Ahmed* a viſit; and, having marched to *Taurîs*, obliged him to leave that city, and fly full-ſpeed to *Bâghdâd*. In the mean time *Kara Yûſef*, taking advantage of the diviſions which reigned among theſe neighbouring princes, who made war upon each other, fell with his freſh and warlike troops upon the province of *Azerbejân*, and ſubdued it intirely within the ſpace of two or three years. *Ahmed*, unable to ſee this conqueſt without regret, reſolved, in 812, to attack the *Turkmân*; and wreſt out of his hands a country which he conſidered as the patrimony of his anceſtors. For this purpoſe he took the opportunity, when he was moſt employed in the war which he then carried on againſt *Kara Othmân* (prince of the *White Sheep* dynaſty), in the *Greater Armenia*, and ſurpriſed *Taurîs*; which he entered in 813, without any reſiſtance. *Kara Yûſef* no ſooner heard this trick which *Ahmed* had played him, than he marched with his troops againſt the ſoltân; who advanced to meet him with all his forces, two leagues from *Taurîs*, where a moſt bloody battle was fought between theſe two princes.

Hej. 812. A. D. 1409.

by Kara Yûſef.

THE *Turkmân* obtained the victory in ſo complete a manner, that the ſoltan had ſcarce time to ſave himſelf in a neighbouring garden, where he remained hidden for ſome time; but, being at length diſcovered, he was preſented to his vanquiſher; who reproached him with his late treachery, but without depriving him either of his life, or the title of ſoltân. However, he diſpoſed of his dominions, and laid him under an injunction never to attempt any thing againſt his authority. But, not long after, the principal lords of *Irâk Arabi*, who who were incenſed againſt the ſoltân, counſelled *Kara Yûſef* to cut him off; alledging, that this prince, who was naturally of a reſtleſs diſpoſition, would not remain long without involving

ing them in some new war, which would complete their ruin. The *Turkmân* followed their advice; and commanded both him and his children to be put to death that same year, 813 (A). Thus ended the family of Sheykh *Hassan Buzruk*, which had raised itself to a very high pitch of grandeur as well as power; and that of the *Kara Kuyonlu*, or *Black Sheep*, succeeded in its room [a]. 4. *Soltân* Ahmed. Hej. 813. A. D. 1410.

It appears from the above history of this prince, that he was of a cruel, tyrannical, treacherous, and turbulent disposition; which is agreeable to the character given of him by *Arabshâh*: who informs us, that, after he was become master of *Bâghdâd*, by the murder of his brother *Hussayn*, he gave a loose to his violent and unjust humour, by treating his subjects very ill; and never ceased from doing mischief, depriving them of their effects and lives at pleasure. In short, his debauchery, cruelty, and rapines, grew at length so intolerable, that it was reported the citizens of *Bâghdâd* called in *Timûr* to relieve their misery. The same author recites two lines which this soltân wrote to that conqueror, when he fled before his army: the sense of which is, *If I have been maimed, so that I cannot fight; yet I have not been so lamed, but that I am able to run.* These verses were cutting, as they hinted at a lameness in the arm and leg, such as *Timûr* is reported to have had [a]. *His character.*

SECT. II.

The Dynasty of the Jubânians, *or* Chubânians.

The Reign of Sheykh Hassan Kujuk.

Sheykh *Hassan Kujuk*, or *the Lesser*, so called to distinguish him from Sheykh *Hassan Buzruk*, or *the Greater*, founder of the dynasty of the *Ilkhânians*; was the son of *Timûr-tash*, son of the amir *Jubân*, or *Chûbân* (B), who was tutor to *Abûsaïd Khân*, and general of his armies. In virtue of these great employments, he acted as regent during the minority of his pupil; and discharged his trust with so much justice and 1. *Soltân* Hassan Kujuk.

[a] Kondam. ubi sup. Avîs, Ahmed. Arabshah, ubi supra.

(A) The reader will meet with several other particulars relating to this prince, in the history of *Kara Yûsif* and *Timûr Bek*; which it will be necessary to consult, in order to explain some obscurities which may occur in the text.

(B) It has been noted in the former section, that this name belonged to the chief of the tribe of *Seldus*.

fidelity,

1. *Soltân* Haſſan Kujuk.

fidelity, that, as ſoon as he heard that his ſon *Timûrtaſh* had rebelled in the country of *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, of which he was governor, he marched againſt him, and brought him in chains to the foot of the throne, for *Abûſaïd* to diſpoſe of him as he thought fit: but having afterwards diſobliged that prince, by refuſing to conſent to the divorce of his daughter, whom he had married to Sheykh *Haſſan Buzruk*, and give her up to his embraces, conformable to a law among the *Mungls*, which intitles the khân to the wife of any of his ſubjects; *Abûſaïd* never reſted till he found an occaſion of deſtroying him, as hath been already related in the hiſtory of his reign.

Riſe and power.

As for *Timûrtaſh*, that prince not only pardoned his crime, the amîr *Jûbân* being then in favour, but alſo reſtored him to the government of *Rûm*, where, for the future, his conduct was free from blame: but, not thinking himſelf ſafe in that country after the death of his father, in 727, he took ſhelter in the court of *Al Mâlek al Naſſer*, ſoltân of *Egypt*. Thus matters ſtood with his family till the year 736; when, on the demiſe of *Abûſaïd Khân*, who left no iſſue, *Haſſan*, ſurnamed *Kujuk* (A), ſon of *Timûrtaſh*, ſeeing the governors of provinces ſet up for ſovereigns in their reſpective departments[a], and aſſume the title of ſoltân, or prince, believed he had no leſs a right to aſpire to a crown. In order to compaſs his deſign, he returned to the country of *Rûm*, where his father had many friends; and, aſſembling a conſiderable number of troops, marched into *Azerbejân*, againſt *Mohammed Khân* and *Haſſan Buzruk*, whom he vanquiſhed, killing the firſt in battle; and ſo diſtreſſing the latter, that he at length ſurrendered himſelf into his hands. It is true, *Buzruk* made his eſcape to *Bâghdâd* ſome time afterwards; and, having ſet up another khân in the room of the deceaſed *Mohammed*, marched to try his fortune anew againſt *Haſſan Kujuk*: but he was again defeated, and took refuge in *Bâghdâd*, as has been before related in the foregoing ſection.

A. D. 1335.

Murdered by his wife.

MEAN time *Haſſan Kujuk* became every day more formidable; and it is not known how far he would have carried his conqueſts, if he had not been cut off, in the midſt of his career, by a violent death, in the following manner. This prince having cauſed one *Yâkûb Shâh* to be arreſted on ſome occaſion or other, his wife, who had an intimacy with that perſon, imagined the ſecret had been diſcovered; under which apprehenſion, ſhe took the opportunity, while Sheykh *Haſſan* was faſt

[a] D'HERBEL. p. 403. art. Gioban.

(A) *Abû'lghâzi Khân* calls him Sheykh *Haſſan Khoja*.

aſleep,

aſleep, after hard drinking, to cut his throat. It is remarkable, that, notwithſtanding this ſheykh was ſo powerful, he never aſſumed the title of khân [b]. This prince founded the dynaſty of the *Jûbânians* in 738, two years after the death of *Abûſaïd Khân*, and reigned ſeven: during which time he was always at war with ſome or other of his neighbours, and made himſelf maſter of *Azerbejân* and *Perſian Irâk*; which dominions he left to his brother *Mâlek Aſhrâf* [c]. 1. *Soltân* Haſſan Kujuk. Hej. 738. A. D. 1337.

The Reign of Mâlek al Aſhrâf.

SHEYKH *Haſſan Kujuk* having come by an untimely death in the manner above related, his brother *Mâlek al Aſhrâf* ſucceeded him in the uſurpation of the ſupreme power; and, immediately after, conferred the dignity of khân upon *Naw Shîrwân*, one of the deſcendants of *Hulâkû Khân*: but, in a ſhort time, repenting of what he had done, thruſt him from the throne to which he had advanced him, and ſeized it for himſelf. As this prince was very tyrannical, and led a moſt ſcandalous life, great numbers of his ſubjects, and, among others, the chief juſtice, left his dominions, and went into *Kipjâk*, where *Jâni Bek Khân* then reigned; to whom they repreſented the actions of *Mâlek Aſhrâf* in ſuch a light, that he thought himſelf obliged in conſcience to invade his dominions [a]. Accordingly he ſet forward; and, after a long march, entered *Azerbejân*; in which, advancing as far as the city *Khui*, or *Koy*, he was met by *Mâlek Aſhrâf* with nearly equal forces: but, victory declaring in his favour, the latter was defeated and ſlain, in the year 756. Hereupon *Jâni Bek Khân* ſeized his dominions; and divided among his ſubjects all the treaſure of that uſurper, which amounted to 400 camel-loads of gold and jewels, beſides other valuable effects. After this, the khân returned home, leaving his ſon *Birdi Bek* to govern the conquered countries [b]. The oriental authors give to *Mâlek al Aſhrâf* a reign of thirteen years. 2. *Soltân* Mâlek al Aſhrâf. Hej. 756. A. D. 1355.

[b] Abu'lgh. Khan, p. 190. [c] D'Herb. ubi ſupra.
[a] See before, p. 106. [b] Abu'lghazi Khan hiſt. p. 191. 198.

BOOK

BOOK VI.

The Hiſtory of Timûr Bek, *commonly called* Tamerlan, *and his Succeſſors.*

CHAP. I.

The Tranſactions preceding Timûr's *Reign.*

Sharîfo'ddîn Ali.

AMONG the many oriental authors who have written the life of this great prince, two are particularly famous. The firſt is the mûlla *Sharîfo'ddîn Ali*, a native of *Yezd*, in *Pârs*, or *Proper Perſia*; who wrote in *Perſian* (A), at the command of *Ibrahîm Soltân*, ſon of Shah *Rukh*, ſon of *Timûr*, in the year 1424, nineteen years after the death of that conqueror. Not only *Kondamîr*, but all other hiſtorians, agree that he is the moſt valuable of all thoſe who have written on the ſubject, on account both of the delicacy of his ſtyle, and completeneſs of his work [a]: nor is this to be wondered at, when the reader is informed, that it was compiled from a journal, or memoirs, wherein the minuteſt actions and diſcourſes of *Timûr* on all occaſions were penned down by *Tatar* and *Perſian* ſecretaries, who always attended him for that purpoſe. To theſe were added, reports of facts, by ſeveral officers and great lords who were upon the ſpot; after they had been verified, in the preſence of *Timûr*, by other credible witneſſes, whom he examined himſelf [b].

Ahmed Arabſhâh.

THE ſecond author is *Ahmed ebn Arabſhâh*, a *Syrian*, who wrote in *Arabic*; and, thirty-five years after the death of *Timûr*, publiſhed his hiſtory, which is reckoned by *Golius* to compriſe *all the elegance of that language* [c] (B). But this author lived at too great a diſtance to be acquainted with the actions of that prince ſo well as the former; beſides, being prejudiced againſt *Timûr*, like ſeveral other *Turkiſh* and *Arab* hiſtorians:

[a] Hiſt Tim. Bek. pref. edit. p. 6, & ſeq. [b] Ibid. pref. auth. p. 30. [c] Ibid. pref. edit. p. 8. & VATIERS Tranſlat. of Arabſh. pref. p. 6, &. 11.

(A) This hiſtory is intituled, *Zafer Nameh Amîr Timûr Gûr Khân*; that is, *The hiſtory of conqueſts of prince* Timûr, *ſon-in-law of the khan.*

(B) The work is intituled, *A memorial of the wonders of deſtiny, in the life and actions of* Timûr; *compoſed by* Ahmed, *ſon of* Arabſhâh. The hiſtory of *Al Haſen*, or *Haſſan*, and others, are full of fables, and not much to be regarded.

for

for having conquered their countries, he takes all occaſions to vilify and blacken his character. Theſe writers make him originally a ſhepherd, who raiſed his fortune by robbing on the highway: they have changed his name from *Timûr Bek*, or *Beg*, to *Timûr Lenk*, which ſignifies *lame*, pretending that he was lamed by an arrow, with which he was ſhot by a ſhepherd whoſe ſheep he was ſtealing; and from hence *Europeans* have formed the name of *Tamerlain*, or *Tambourlan* [d]. A. D. 1346.

As the firſt of theſe two authors (C) is, in many reſpects, to be preferred, we judged we could not do better than give the reader an abſtract of his hiſtory; yet adding, by way of notes, what we thought proper, from *Ebn Arabſhâh*, and others. Our giving the hiſtory of this prince, as well as *Jenghîz Khân*, in ſome detail, may ſerve to make the reader ſome amends for the ſcanty memoirs relating to the intermediate ſucceſſors of the latter. And indeed, from the reign of one great prince, we receive more uſeful knowlege, by the variety of extraordinary events which happen, than from thoſe of many others, who have made no great figure in the world. But, before we enter directly upon the reign of *Timûr Bek*, it will be proper to recount certain tranſactions which preceded it, and, in effect, prepared the way to his future grandeur. *The firſt followed.*

IT hath been already mentioned [e], in the hiſtory of the khâns who ſucceeded *Jagatay* in *Great Bukhâria*, that, after the death of *Kâzân Khân*, in 747, the princes of the empire aſſumed the government, and made the khâns at pleaſure; leaving them little more than the bare title, while themſelves uſurped all the authority. The firſt of thoſe princes was amîr *Kazagân*; who, in the adminiſtration of affairs, acquitted himſelf with a conduct which deſerves to be immortalized in hiſtory. *Confuſion in* Jagatay. Hej. 747. A. D. 1346.

AFTER the death of *Abûſaïd Khân*, eighth ſucceſſor of *Hulâkû* in *Irân*, or *Perſia* at large, who died in 1335, the affairs of that country fell into confuſion for want of a ſucceſſor of the race of *Jenghîz Khân* to ſucceed in his dominions, which the princes and governors divided among themſelves; and as the *Turks*, *Moguls*, and *Tatars* (D), had no longer the ſove-

[d] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, pref. edit. p. 8. & VATIERS Tranſlat. of Arabſh. pref. 6 & 11. [e] Page 145.

(C) They have been tranſlated into *French*, the firſt by M. *Petit La Croix* the ſon; the ſecond by Mr. *Vatier*; and *Golius* gave an edition of it in *Arabic*. The hiſtory of *Timûr Bek* has been tranſlated into *Engliſh*; and both are valuable, for the conſiderable light which they give into the geography of ſeveral countries of *Aſia*.

(D) Theſe names, with that of *Jagatays*, are promiſcuouſly uſed by our author.

A. D. 1351. Mâlek Hussayn.

reign power in *Khorassân*, *Mâlek Hussayn*, surnamed *Moazo'ddîn*, son of *Mâlek Kayazo'ddîn*, prince of *Herât*, capital of that country, took advantage of the conjuncture to extend his authority. *Massûd*, surnamed *Vejedîn*, king of the *Serbedâls*, who, on the death of *Abûsaïd*, had formed a small kingdom at *Sebzwâr*, a strong city towards *Nishâbûr*, to put a check to this rival, marched from that fortress in 743 (1342). The armies met near *Zâve*, between both cities; and that of *Mâlek Hussayn* was defeated. But this prince, rallying 300 horse, fell on the *Serbedâls* while they were plundering his camp, killed their general, made a great slaughter, and took all their camp, the young king escaping by flight [e]. On this victory *Mâlek Hussayn* assumed the authority of a king; and, knowing that *Kâzân*'s tyranny had thrown *Jagatay* into confusion, made incursions as far as the borders of *Andekûd* and *Shebûrgân*, near *Bâlk*, in *Khorassân*. *Mîr Kazagân*, on this advice, passed the *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, with the grand khân, and princes of the empire, and marched towards *Herât*; near which *Mâlek Hussayn*, with 4000 horse and 15,000 foot, expected him: but, after an obstinate battle, his troops were defeated, and he fled into the city only with his guards. Next day the *Jagatays* besieged the place, which held out vigorously for forty days; at the end whereof, *Hussayn*, weary of the leaguer, with the consent of his lords, proposed, in case *Mîr Kazagân* would withdraw his forces, to go next year, and ask pardon of the grand khân and him. *Mîr Kazagân*, who was of a sweet and merciful temper, consented on those terms, and returned to *Great Bukhâria* in 752 [f].

Opposed by Kazagân,

Hej. 752. A. D. 1351.

MEAN time the commanders of *Mâlek Hussayn*'s army set up his brother *Mâlek Baker*: but he was restored next year, by the bounty of *Mîr Kazagân*; who, now having sent his son *Mirza Abd'allah* to conquer *Karazm* (which he effected), after passing the spring, as usual, at *Karânver*, went to spend the summer and autumn at the city of *Munek*, for the conveniency of hunting. One day, parting unarmed from *Sâli Saray* with only fifteen persons, he crossed the *Jihûn*, with design to hunt in the country of *Arhenk*: but, while he was in the chace, *Kotluk Timûr*, his son-in-law, in revenge for an affront, fell on him with a company of robbers, and slew this great prince; but some of his officers, pursuing the assassin, overtook and killed him; then carried back the body of *Mîr Kazagân* to *Sali Saray*, in 759. Upon his death, all the princes paid homage to his son the mîrza *Abdo'llah*, who immediately confirmed *Beyan Kûli* in the dignity of khân. After

who is slain.

Hej. 759. A. D. 1357.

[e] Hist. Tim. Bek, l. i. c. 5. [f] Ibid. p. 6—11.

which,

which, contrary to the advice of the princes, he removed to *Samarkant* with the grand khân, whom he caused to be assassinated, to secure himself of the empress, with whom he had fallen in love; placing on the throne *Timûr Shâh Aglen*, son of *Bisun* (or *Yasun*) *Timûr Khân*. A. D. 1357.

TIMUR Shâh Khân did not long enjoy his dignity: for, the princes offended at *Abdo'llah*'s proceeding, *Beyan Seldûz*, the chief of them, raised an army at *Hissar*, or *Shaduman*; and, being joined at *Kesh* by *Haji Berlâs*, *Timûr Bek*'s uncle, marched to *Samarkant*; where *Abdo'llah* (E) being routed, and his brothers taken, they were both put to death, together with the khân of his making. The two princes, who were at that time in great reputation and authority, made themselves masters of the country, and took on them the government. *Beyan Seldûz* was of a good-natured and pleasant disposition: but, as he loved wine to excess, and seldom passed eight days without a debauch of that kind, it bred great confusion in his kingdom, and made the princes set up for sovereigns, some thro' ambition, and others in their own defence [g]. Timûr Shâh Khân.

THE city of *Kash*, or *Kesh*, with its dependencies, remained in the possession of the princes *Timûr* and *Haji Berlâs*, as it had done from the time of *Karashar Noyân*, the lieutenant of *Jagatay Khân*. The country of *Kojend* was in the hands of prince *Bayezîd Jalayr*: *Mîr Hussayn*, son of *Musella*, son of *Mîr Kazagân*, made himself master of *Kabul*, and several other lordships; where he maintained himself, as long as he was able, in the dignity of his grandfather: *Olaja Boga Seldus* became sovereign of *Bâlk*: and *Mehemed Koja Aperdî*, prince of the *Naymâns*, took possession of *Shebûrgân*: the kings of *Badâgshân* fortified themselves in their mountains; while *Key Khosrû* and *Olaja Itû Aperdi* seized *Katlân* and *Arhenk*: lastly, *Kesar Yesûri*, prince of the tribes of *Serpol* and *Takun*, assumed the title of king. All these princes were continually at war; and some were slain in battle, particularly *Mehemed Koja Aperdi*, in a rash attack upon *Mâlek Hussayn*, prince of *Herât*. *Empire divided.*

TOGLUK Timûr Khân, prince of *Jetah* (F), son of *Aymel Koja* (G), son of *Dava* (or *Doyji*) *Khân*, to whom the crown of this country belonged; taking advantage of the confusion Togluk Timûr Khân.

[g] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 11—15.

(E) This young prince fled to *Anderâb*, a city of the little kingdom of *Badaghân*, where he spent his days.

(F) He was king of *Kâshgar*, or, more properly, *Little Bukhâria*, with perhaps the neighbouring parts of *Tartary* on the north.

(G) Or *Amul Koja*, the same with *Ilsan Buga*, eleventh khân of *Great Bukhâria*.

A. D. 1370. which at this time reigned there, in 761 invaded it with a great army, by way of *Tâshkunt* and *Khojend*; the prince of which, *Bayezîd Jalayr*, judged it prudent to join them. *Haji Berlâs*, after raising troops at *Kash* and *Kârshi*, thought fit to retire into *Khoraſſân*. Prince *Timûr Bek*, who was but twenty-five years old, and had juſt loſt his father *Tragay*, concluded the only way for him to ſave his patrimony, and ſerve his country, was, to give way to neceſſity, and ſubmit to the grand khân. This ſubmiſſion was ſo acceptable to *Togluk Timûr*'s commanders, who had entered *Great Bukhâria*, that they conferred on him the command of a toman, or 10,000 men, which had belonged to his great anceſtor *Karaſhar Noyân*; and the principality of *Kash*, or *Keſh*, with its dependencies. Soon after this, a diſſenſion ariſing between the ſaid commanders, they marched out of the country, to attend their maſter [h].

Timûr aſſiſts Huſſayn

MEAN time Amîr *Huſſayn*, intending to make war on *Beyân Seldûz*, ſent to deſire aid of *Timûr Bek*, *Keſûre Yeſûri*, and *Bayezîd*. Theſe princes agreed to aſſiſt him; and, while the two firſt went to join him, the third was ſent, to excuſe this ſtep, to *Togluk Timûr Khân*: but finding, when he came to *Kojend*, that the khan was returned home, he proceeded no farther. The other two princes having joined Amîr *Huſſayn*, they all marched to *Hiſſar*, or the fortreſs of *Shaduman*; and *Beyan Selduz*, not being in a condition to oppoſe them, fled to *Badâgshân*, whither they purſued him. This obliged the king, *Shâh Bahao'ddîn*, to fly alſo; by which means the whole country fell into the hands of Amîr *Huſſayn*, who afterwards put to death *Key Kobâd*, brother of *Key Koſrû*, prince of *Katlân*. The war being thus finiſhed, *Timûr Bek* and *Keſer Yeſûri* returned home; but were not there long, before Amîr *Huſſayn* ſent again to deſire their aſſiſtance againſt *Togluk Seldûz*, who had broken the peace by ſeveral acts of hoſtility. The princes haſted to his aid: but the enemy fled, on the news of their approach.

againſt other princes.

TIMUR Bek, being on his way back, was informed that his uncle *Haji Berlâs* was on his return to *Kash*; and had joined *Mîr Bayezîd*, with deſign to attack *Keſer Yeſûri*. Hereupon he joined prince *Keſer* with his troops, and marched towards that city: *Haji Berlâs*, on this advice, marched thither alſo. The two armies meeting, a bloody battle was fought; in which *Timûr* gained the victory, and obliged his uncle to fly to *Bayezîd* at *Samarkant*. The two princes reſolved to follow him thither: but, in the way, all the troops of *Kash*,

[h] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 15—22. c. 3 & 4.

by what motive is unknown, abandoned *Timûr*, and went over to *Haji Berlâs*. This defertion raiſed a jealouſy in *Keſer Yeſûri*; which he making known both by his words and behaviour, *Timûr* at length quitted him, and returned to his own country; where his uncle gave him a kind reception, and conducted him to *Mîr Bayezîd*. A. D. 1360.

THESE reſolving to renew the war againſt *Keſer*; *Timûr*, who longed for an occaſion to revenge the affront, readily joined with them, and marched at the head of the van-guard. He met the enemy beyond the mountain of *Kaſh*; and, after an obſtinate fight, obliged them to fly. This victory ſecured *Bayezîd* in the throne, and *Haji Berlâs* in poſſeſſion of his territories. Yet theſe two princes had a conſultation, the next day, to the diſadvantage of *Timûr*: who, diſcovering it in the council, pretended his noſe bled; and went out: then, returning home, he mounted his horſe, and retired with his arms into the field; by which means he avoided the ſnare. As ſoon as his uncle heard of his departure, he ſent to deſire him to raiſe the troops of the deſart, and return to his aſſiſtance againſt two princes who threatened them with war. *Timûr* did as he was intreated; and defeated *Ali Gurguri* near *Termed*, which he entered [1]. *Eſcapes a plot.*

MEAN time *Togluk Timûr Khân*, of *Jetah* (or the *Getes*), renewing his deſign of conquering *Great Bukhâria*, in 762 marched on that ſide with a great army. As ſoon as he arrived at *Kojend*, *Mîr Bayezîd*, prince of that place, paid him his reſpects: *Beyân Seldûz* went to meet him as far as *Samarkant*; and *Haji Berlâs*, at this time, made no ſcruple to wait on him. But, the khân having ſeized and put to death *Mîr Bayezîd*, *Berlâs*, for fear of the like treatment, fled with a few troops, and croſſed the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*). There, being overtaken by the regiment of *Kaſhmîr*, a bloody battle was fought, in which *Shugam Berlas* was killed; yet *Haji Berlas*, with his brother *Idekû*, eſcaped, only to be ſlain by robbers at the village of *Koraſh* (dependent on *Sebzwâr*); which, on the reduction of *Khoraſſân* ſoon after, *Togluk Timûr Khân* gave to *Timûr Bek*, who ſlew the murderers of his uncle. The khân likewiſe confirmed him in the ſovereignty of *Kaſh*; and of a toman which deſcended to him by the death of *Haji Berlâs*. Togluk Timûr Khân A. D. 1360.

AFTER this, *Togluk Timûr Khân* marched againſt Amîr *Huſſayn*, who waited for him at the river *Vâkeſh*: but *Key Koſrû*, prince of *Katlân* (whoſe brother, *Key Kobâd*, *Huſſayn* had put to death), going over to the *Getes*, that prince fled; and was purſued acroſs the *Jihûn*, as far as *Kondoz*. The khân, after *promotes* Timûr.

[1] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 22—28. c. 5.

A D. 1362. this, returning to *Samarkant*, put to death *Beyân Seldûz*, on ſuſpicion of harbouring inclinations to revolt: but behaved obligingly to thoſe whom he judged to be ſincerely in his intereſt; and, having brought the empire of *Jagatay* to ſubmit to his authority, gave the government of the conquered countries to his ſon *Elias Koja Aglen*. Several lords and great officers were ordered to attend him, under the command of *Bikîjek*; and *Timûr* had the principal adminiſtration of affairs under the prince: after which, *Togluk Timûr Khân* returned to his capital [k].

who joins Huſſayn. WHEN the khân was gone, prince *Timûr*, obſerving that *Bikîjek*'s proceedings, in contempt of his maſter's authority, would throw things into confuſion, thought fit to withdraw from court, and repair to Amîr *Huſſayn*, in the deſart of *Kivak*. The two malecontent princes went to *Tekil*, the governor of *Kivak*; but, he having a deſign to ſeize them, they left him. *Tekil* purſued them with 1000 horſe: but, tho' they had only ſixty men, they made ſo brave a ſtand, that, when they had but ſeven men left, the enemy were reduced to fifty; who ſtill continued the fight, and had twice ſlain *Huſſayn*, but for *Timûr*. At length, the firſt having diſmounted *Tekel* with an arrow-ſhot, the latter diſpatched him with a pike; whereupon the battle ended. After this, the two princes thinking it ſafer to part, *Timûr* croſſed the deſart, with his wife *Turkhân Aga*, *Huſſayn*'s ſiſter, and came to *Jûrfey*, where he was ſurrounded by *Turkmâns*; and muſt have fared ill, if he had not been known by one of them, who prevented their attacking him, and put him in a condition to join his brother-in-law at a place called *Mahmûdi*, in the deſart.

Taken priſoner; MEAN time *Ali Bey*, having advice of their arrival, with ſixty horſe, ſurpriſed and carried them priſoners to *Makhân* (H); where he detained them for two months, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his brother *Mohammed*, from *Thûs* (or *Maſhhâd*); he alſo ſeized the preſents which *Mohammed* ſent them, and diſmiſſed them with one lean horſe, and an old camel. In this diſtreſs *Mobarek Shâh*, prince of *Sanjer*, went in queſt of them with ſeveral fine horſes, and other neceſſaries; which enabled them to purſue their deſign of returning privately into *Great Bukhâria*. *Timûr*, being known at *Samarkant*, retired to *Keſh*, and thence to *Kandahâr* [l]. From

releaſed again.

[k] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 28—31. c. 6.

[l] Ibid. p. 31—37. cap. 7.

(H) Or *Makân*, a city in *Khoraſſân*, from whence the *Othmâns* are ſaid to have retir'd into *Aſia Minor*, on the irruption of the *Mungls*.

hence,

hence, at the requeſt of the prince of *Siſtân* (or *Sejeſtân*), they marched to his aſſiſtance with 1000 horſe. In their return they were intercepted by ſome people of the country; in which conflict, *Timûr* was ſorely wounded in the hand (I). At length, arriving at *Arſif*, near *Bakalân*, they were there joined by ſeveral princes, and bodies of men. Others, hearing of the ſucceſs of their affairs, broke with the *Getes*, and went to meet them in the country of *Bâlk*. There they were oppoſed by *Abûſa'id*, ſon of *Tayſû*, *Menghcli Buga Seldûz*, and *Hayder Andekûdi*, three princes, their enemies, with 6000 men. The battle, which laſted from morning till night, was renewed next morning; and, altho' the troops of the two princes were much inferior in number, yet, by *Timûr*'s valour, they gained the victory. A. D. 1362.

Of two thouſand horſe, which remained, *Timûr* took one moiety; and, paſſing the *Jihûn* at *Termed*, ſent ſcouts to *Kolûga*, or *the iron gate*. But theſe, falling aſleep, were ſurpriſed by *Ajûni*, brother of *Bikîjek*; ſo that, while *Timûr* thought himſelf ſecure, both the ſcouts and enemy arrived at his camp. The ſoldiers, not having time to draw up in order, were under a neceſſity to repaſs the river; which they did in barks, while *Timûr* made a ſtand in an iſle, to favour their deſign. The two parties remained in ſight of each other for thirty days; after which, *Timûr*, having burnt the barks, went to join *Mîr Huſſayn* at *Kulm*, on the borders of *Bâlk*. From thence they marched towards *Badâgshân*: and, having gathered troops, went and encamped near *Ghûlek*. Here they learned that a new army of *Getes* was arrived in *Great Bukhâria*; and that ſeveral princes were encamped between *Jâla*, and the bridge of *Senghîn*, with 20,000 troops. This news cauſed 6000 men to deſert the princes: yet *Timûr*, not diſmayed, marched with 2000 men to diſpute the paſſage of the bridge [m]. *Enters* Great Bukhâria.

This prince, after maintaining the fight from morning till night, finding himſelf not ſtrong enough to execute his deſign, had recourſe to policy. He left 500 men at the foot of the bridge; and, ſwimming over the *Jihûn* with the reſt, in the night, went and poſted himſelf on the hills. Next morning the enemy, perceiving, by the tracks of horſes, that troops had paſſed the river, abſtained from fighting that day. When *Defeats the* Getes.

[m] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 37—44. cap. 8.

(I) This wound ſeems to have lamed him; and hence poſſibly the *Turkiſh* hiſtorians make him lame of a leg. This he revenged afterwards at *Siſtân*, by putting to death the author of it.

A. D. 1363. night came, *Timûr* ordered his men to approach them, and light fires on the tops of the hills. This ſtruck the *Getes* with ſuch fear, imagining themſelves ſurrounded with a numerous army, that they fled in diſorder; but not towards the bridge, becauſe they believed the men poſted there to be much more numerous than they were. Mean time *Timûr*, perceiving the effect of his ſtratagem, came down from the mountains; and, being joined by *Huſſayn*, made a great ſlaughter of the enemy. This defeat gained great reputation to *Timûr*, who recovered *Kaſh* by another ſtratagem.

Another overthrow of Arighi. Hej. 765. A. D. 1363. ABOUT this time *Elias Koja*, who was encamped at *Tâſh Arighi*, four leagues from *Kaſh*, received advice of the death of his father *Togluk Timûr Khân*. But *Timûr*, whoſe troops were much increaſed ſince the late victory, propoſed to pay him a viſit before his departure, tho' his army was greatly inferior to that of the enemy. He encouraged them by declareing, that, in his ſleep, a voice ſaid to him, *Fear nothing; for the moſt high God will graciouſly give thee the victory.* With this aſſurance, they marched againſt the *Getes* in two bodies; *Huſſayn* commanded the right wing, and *Timûr* the left. The new emperor likewiſe divided his army into two bodies; and, putting himſelf at the head of the left wing, gave the conduct of the right to *Mîr Tokatmûr* and prince *Bikijek*. The two armies being at length engaged, *Timûr* broke thro' the enemy with ſuch fury, that he threw the right wing into diſorder, and drove the firſt rank upon the ſecond Having put them to flight with great ſlaughter, he advanced to attack *Bikijek* and *Tokatmûr* in the rear, whom *Huſſayn* had engaged in front: ſo that, notwithſtanding the number of their troops, and bravery of their generals, they were compelled to follow their companions. *Tokatmûr*, with other generals, were killed; and *Bikijek*, with *Elias Koja Khân* himſelf, beſides other great commanders, taken: but theſe two being known by ſome of *Timûr*'s ſoldiers, they generouſly gave them their horſes, and let them eſcape. *Timûr* purſued the enemy to the river *Yam*, where he made a great ſlaughter; then croſſing the *Sihûn* (or *Sîr*), at *Kojend*, in purſuit of the khan, encamped at *Tâſhkunt*.

with great ſlaughter.

New khân elected. THE two princes, obſerving that the reſt, who had joined them againſt the *Getes*, paid them no great deference, and aimed at being independent, found the only way to prevent things running into confuſion, was, to elect a grand khân; and, having repreſented this in a general aſſembly, propoſed *Kabul Shâh Aglen*; who was accordingly choſen at *Samarkant*. Then, cauſing him to aſcend the throne, they preſented him

him with the royal cap, after the cuſtom of the *Turkiſh* kings, and bowed nine times before him [n]. A. D. 1364.

Kabul Khân.

AFTER the election of *Kabul Khân*, *Timûr* made a great feaſt; which being over, he propoſed to deliver out of priſon Amîr *Hamid*, lieutenant-general of the *Getes*, whoſe father had been his friend, and prince *Eſkânder* his companion. *Huſſayn* conſented, altho' the latter was his enemy. When thoſe, who aſſiſted at the aſſembly, were returned home, *Timûr* ſent two amîrs to releaſe the priſoners: but their keepers, ſeeing the amîrs at a diſtance, and imagining they came to put *Hamid* to death, to ſave them the trouble, knocked him down, and cut off his head. This miſtake proved fatal alſo to *Eſkânder*: for, when Amîr *Huſſayn* heard of it, he ſent to demand that prince; who was ſent to him, and put to death.

Timûr's gratitude.

THINGS ſeemed now to be in a ſettled condition; when, the beginning of next ſpring, news was brought that the *Getes* were marching towards *Great Bukhâria*. The princes, having paſſed the *Sihûn* at *Kojend*, met the enemy at *Ezam*, between *Tâſhkunt* and *Chinaz*: the amîr *Huſſayn* commanded the right wing, and *Timûr* the left. The *Getes* were led by the emperor *Elias Koja* himſelf; and, tho' they were by far inferior in number to the troops of the princes, yet they overcame them by help of the ſtone *Jedi* (K), which, ſteeped in water at a certain hour, has power to produce tempeſts, rain, and thunder. However that be, ſuch a ſtorm and deluge fell, that the earth ſhook like a ſea; and this exceſſive moiſture bred the *eſterka*, a cruel diſtemper, which renders the limbs paralytic, and dries up the body to ſkin and bones.

New invaſion of the Getes.

FOR all this, when the rain was over, the princes attacked the enemy courageouſly: but the *Getes*, who had covered themſelves and horſes with felts, brought for the purpoſe, received them with ſuch vigour, that their forces were obliged to fly. *Timûr* at length rallied them, and a terrible carnage enſued: every man muſt have been ſlain, had not *Shem Kûn Noyân* (brother of Amîr *Hamid* before-mentioned, who commanded the enemy's right wing), been ſlain by prince *Yaku Berlâs*, as he was riſing to ſtrike *Timûr* with his ſabre. As ſoon as *Elias Koja Khân* heard that his general was killed, he retreated with his troops, who were purſued by *Timûr*. Mean time the left wing of the *Getes* preſſed on the right wing, even to the guards of Amîr *Huſſayn*. The fight was bloody, and

[n] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 44—53. cap. 9, 10, 11.

(K) We have already taken notice of this ſuperſtition among the *Mungls* and *Tatars*.

the

A. D. 1364. the enemy triumphing, when *Timûr* advanced, and put *Shamso'ddîn*, one of the generals, to flight. This gave *Hussayn* an opportunity to rally his troops; and he might have obtained the victory, had he followed *Timûr*'s advice to advance: but, whether thro' envy or presumption, he twice abused the messengers sent, for that purpose, by *Timûr*; who, seeing so fair an opportunity lost, thro' *Hussayn*'s caprice, gave over the attack, and resolved to be revenged. When the other was recovered from his ill humour, he sent several messages to *Timûr*, to intreat him to come and see him: but this prince, weary of his manner of acting, refused to go.

Timûr *defeated.*

Next morning the battle was renewed, and, the *Getes* being soon put to flight, *Timûr* pursued them. In the way, his men perceiving the standard of prince *Shamso'ddîn*, who was separated from the rest, with a great number of troops, they gave over the pursuit, and turned towards the white standard: the enemy likewise, perceiving them, rallied, and returned to the charge. The fight was bloody; and at length *Timûr*'s forces were defeated: a great number perished in the sloughs and marshes; many more were killed in the pursuit; more than 10,000 were slain in the whole. This famous battle, called that of *Lay*, or *The slough*, was fought in *Ramadân*, in Hej. 766. A. D. 1364. 776. After this great defeat, *Hussayn*, and the other princes, crossed the *Jihûn*, and returned to *Sheberto*: but *Timûr* staid in the country, with a resolution to oppose the *Getes*. However, finding his endeavours vain, he in some time repaired to *Bâlk*, where he took no small pains to augment his forces [o].

Samarkant *besieged.*

Mean while the *Getes* laid siege to *Samarkant*, at that time without a citadel. The inhabitants defended themselves a long time very bravely: but, provisions at length beginning to fail, they must have surrendered, had not the loss of three-fourths of the enemy's horses, by a mortality, obliged them to retire. The principal men of the city hereupon assumed a superiority over the rest, and caused great disorders in the place. On this advice, *Timûr* and *Hussayn*, having renewed their friendship more strongly than before, agreed to be at *Samarkant* the beginning of spring; where they put to death all the *Serbedâls* who had usurped the authority, excepting *Mulâna Zâde* (L), whom *Timûr* saved thro' a motive of piety. It was now that *Hussayn*, seeing all obstacles removed, discovered his insatiable avarice, and meanness of spirit. Altho' *Timûr* had as much,

Hussayn's *avarice.*

[o] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 53—63. cap. 11, 12.

(L) They were all, or most of them, ecclesiastics, and this *Mulâna* the chief of them.

or

or a greater, ſhare in the war, he even taxed his domeſtics. He exacted vaſt ſums of the princes who had loſt all in the wars; and, altho' he ſaw his ſiſter's jewels among the caſh which *Timûr* lent them to make up the demand, he did not heſitate to receive them. Indeed, when *Timûr* gave his horſes, to ſatisfy for 300 dinars (or gold ducats) which remained unpaid, he would not take them; but waited till *Timûr* diſcharged that debt another way. A. D. 1365.

THE lords, highly incenſed at this conduct of *Huſſayn*, reſolved to break off the union between him and *Timûr*: to whom, after humbling the other, they propoſed to give the abſolute power; as he was of a ſweet temper, generous ſoul, and, in ſhort, poſſeſſed of every virtue neceſſary to form a great prince. To bring this about, they wrote *Huſſayn* word, that *Timûr*, offended with the grand khân and him, was raiſing forces to attack him. *Huſſayn*, on this, ſent to deſire *Timûr* would come to *Samarkant*, to confront his accuſers. *Timûr* immediately went thither, and his accuſers fled to *Kojend*: but, finding *Huſſayn* ſtill harboured his ſuſpicion, and knowing his temper, one day opened his heart to the princes, declaring his intention to remedy the evil. *Shîr Bahrâm*, and *Bahrâm Jalayr*, on this, took off the maſk; declaring their hatred, and deſign of all the princes to break with *Huſſayn*: hereupon they entered into a treaty with *Timûr* to make war on him, and then retired. *Shîr Bahrâm*, having raiſed troops at *Katlân*, began hoſtilities againſt *Huſſayn*: but this politic prince, by his artifice, gained him over to his intereſt. For all this, *Timûr* purſued his enterpriſe; and, having at length raiſed an army, conſiſting of the moſt valiant men of the empire, in autumn 767 detached prince *Seyfo'ddîn*, with the vanguard, againſt *Huſſayn*; who, on this, ſent a treaty, drawn up in the moſt inticing manner, to ſoften *Timûr*: but this prince would pay no regard to his overtures. However, as the governor he had left at *Samarkant* (M), and ſome other princes, had before gone over to *Huſſayn*; ſo, on this occaſion, the tribe of *Yeſûri* deſerted him [p]. *Confederacy againſt him.* Hej. 767. A. D. 1365.

MEAN time *Huſſayn* ſet forward with a great army: but, aiming ſtill to over-reach his rival, ſent another letter to him, with the korân; and, declaring that, by virtue of that book, his intentions were ſincere, propoſed a conference at *Sheki-* *His treachery.*

[p] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 63—73. cap. 13, 14.

(M) About the ſame time alſo died his wife *Olâja Turkhân Aga*, ſiſter of *Huſſayn*; who thereby loſt the cement of union with *Timûr*.

chek,

A. D. 1365. *chek*, each to be accompanied with no more than 100 men. *Timûr*, convinced of the deceit, was not for going: but, to gratify the princes, who chose peace, if it could be had, went. He took 300 men; and, leaving 200 at some distance, advanced with the rest to the place of interview. *Hussayn*, after putting *Shîr Bahrâm* to death, detached 3000 men to surprise *Timûr* at *Dehno*; of which a peasant, who had been a domestic of this prince, fled from the enemy to give him notice. But the officer, who stood centinel at the palace, not giving credit to what the man said, sent him away, without mentioning the matter to *Timûr*: so that, when this prince was near the place of rendezvous, he was alarmed with the appearance of those forces; whose march he stopped in a narrow passage, and then made his retreat fighting.

Timûr surprises Karshi.

THE army, to whom news was brought of *Hussayn*'s treachery, concluding all was lost, dispersed themselves; and *Timûr*, with the other princes, retired to *Makhân*, in *Khorassân*, where he kept a saray of women. There he stopped all the karawâns; and, when he gave them leave to depart, took the road to *Herât* in their sight, as if he designed to go to that city. This the merchants reporting, when they arrived at *Kârshi*, Amîr *Mûssa* left the fortress, intending, with 7000 men, to visit *Uzkunt*: but *Timûr*, when the karawâns were at some distance, returned to his old station; and, having staid while the merchants might be going to *Kârshi*, set out for the same place, altho' he had but 200 men, and there were 12,000 in the neighbourhood of that city, which makes the action so much more remarkable. Being arrived near *Kârshi*, with several lords who accompanied him, he went with only two more; and, walking round the walls with great precaution, at length perceived a proper place for scaling. On this, *Timûr* returned; and, sending 100 men with ladders, to mount the wall, went, with an hundred more, to wait for the opening of the gate in the morning: but the scalers, having succeeded in their design, came and opened it for him, after slaying the drunken guards in the arms of their mistresses. *Timûr* made himself master of the city, while the troops seized the castle, where they took *Mehemed Bey*, son of the amîr *Mûssa*.

Defeats Amîr Mûssa.

THIS lord, being very young, was suffered to escape, that the news might cause his father's troops to disperse. Instead of this, he and *Mâlek Behâdr*, next day, invested the city with 12,000 horse: but they were so harassed and beaten by the sallies of only 100 men, that at length *Mûssa* fled with his 7000 horse; and left *Mâlek*, who still stood his ground, with 5000 koronas (N): yet, as soon as he perceived *Timûr* ad-

(N) Koronas are a militia.

vancing

vancing with his horſe, he fled likewiſe; and, being purſued, his men diſperſed. In the purſuit, *Timûr*, perceiving the wife of Amîr *Mûſſa*, who fled with *Mâlek Bahâdr*, called to him to quit her. *Mâlek*, to ſave his life, which, on that condition, was promiſed him, abandoned the lady, and fled before. For all this, the lady continued her flight full ſpeed; and, as *Timûr* alone purſued, a ſervant offered to ſhoot, if he advanced. The prince, who had neither buckler nor arrows, taking him for a better archer than he was, ſtopped, till *Dawlet Shâh* joined him; and, covering his head with his buckler, renewed the purſuit. On this, the valet let fly at him: but, miſſing his aim, he fled as faſt as the reſt, ſo that *Dawlet Shâh* was not able to come up with them. *Azû Mulk*, then nine months gone with child, was ſoon after delivered of a princeſs, named *Tûmân Aga*, who was afterwards married to *Timûr* [q]

A. D. 1366.

THIS prince wintered at *Kârſhi*; where he gave the government of *Amûya* to *Nikepeyſha*, and that of *Bokhâra* to *Manûcha*; whoſe ſon-in-law, *Ali Yeſûri*, came and ſubmitted with his tribe, after often refuſing to obey *Timûr*'s ſummons. Amîr *Huſſayn* was aſtoniſhed at the recital of what had paſſed: yet, having raiſed an army, he ſet out from *Sâli Saray*; and ſent Amîr *Mûſſa* before with 10,000 koronas, who encamped at *Shekedâlik*. *Timûr* at firſt intended to attack them in the night; but, having only 200 men, he thought fit, after appearing in ſight of the enemy, to retire to *Bokhâra*; and from thence to *Makhân*, by way of *Merû*. Mean time *Huſſayn* came and beſieged *Bokhâra*, where *Manâcha* and *Ali Yeſûri* made a brave defence: but their ſoldiers, having ſuffered by venturing too far in a ſally, could not be brought to fight afterwards. This obliged them to fly by night to *Makhân*, and leave the city to the enemy. Soon after, *Timûr* ſet out with 600 men to reduce *Nikepeyſha*, governor of *Amûya*; which having done, he went and defeated the army of the koronas, encamped near *Bokhâra*; then returned to *Makhân*.

Retires to Makhân.

TIMUR, unable long to be idle, croſſed the *Jihûn* again with 600 men, and ſat down before *Kârſhi*: but, hearing 500 koronas were at *Kuzimondak*, he marched to attack them, not knowing that they had been joined by ſeveral other troops. However, after a bloody fight, he drove them back as far as their main army, which he advanced to reconnoitre: and, on their approach, ruſhing forward like a lion, in leſs than an hour, intirely routed this vaſt multitude. In the purſuit to *Shekedâlik*, they took the principal officers priſoners, with a great booty. *Timûr* reſolved not to give the enemy time to

Attempts Karſhi.

[q] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 73——85. cap. 15, & ſeq.

recover

A. D. 1366. recover their loſs, but march againſt amîr *Huſſayn*: however, the princes refuſing to aſſiſt in that enterpriſe, he returned to *Samarkant*. At his approach, the governor *Uſhâra Bahâdr* ſallied out with the Amîr *Muſſa*'s troops, but was routed, and hardly eſcaped; yet he made another ſally, with 1500 raw ſoldiers, who fled at the cry of *Timûr*'s men. While this prince diverted himſelf in the delicious valley of *Sogd*, news arrived, that a great body of koronas was encamped on the *Tûm*, and Amîr *Huſſayn* with a numerous army at *Kârſhi*.

Croſſes the Sîr. On this advice, *Timûr* thought proper to defer his revenge; and, diſbanding his other forces, with his firſt 600 men retired towards *Kojend*, where he croſſed the *Sihûn*. Underſtanding here, that *Key Koſrû* and *Bahrâm Jalayr* were at *Tâſhkunt*, with 7000 *Getes*, juſt brought from *Jetâh*, he turned that way; in hopes *Bahrâm*, who had by his means recovered his patrimony, and had ſworn to join him againſt *Huſſayn*, would aſſiſt him, when now in his power: but not finding the friendſhip he had reaſon to expect, he reproached the amîr with his ingratitude. On the contrary, *Key Koſrû*, who was ſon-in-law to *Togluk Timûr*, khân of *Jetâh*, entertained *Timûr* magnificently, at his palace, for a month; promiſed to join him againſt every body, and to give *Rakia Khân*, his daughter by another wife, to the Mirza *Jehân Ghîr*, *Timûr*'s eldeſt ſon [r].

Defeats the enemy. MEAN time, Amîr *Huſſayn* having entered *Sebz*, with a great army of koronas, ſent before 20,000 men, under the command of Amîr *Muſſa*, and his moſt conſiderable generals; who, through fear of *Timûr*'s valour, detached three great ſquadrons, by different roads, to intercept that prince's paſſage. *Timûr*, accompanied by *Key Koſrû*, and 2000 *Getes*, on this advice, croſſed the *Sihûn* (or *Sîr*) at *Kojend*; and, with 1500 men, in the night, attacked *Jehân Shâh*, who had with him the ſame number, and diſperſed them. Next day, he defeated *Khermân*, with his 1000 ſoldiers, at *Dizâk*: then, with 200 horſe only, departed, to attack *Mâlek Bahâdr*, who had with him 3000. When the enemy ſaw the thirty men ſo well equipped, who were ſent before, advancing with great boldneſs, they were ſurpriſed; and, taking them for the van-guard of the *Mungls*, that is, the *Getes*, began to fly. *Timûr* purſued; while the fugitives approaching the main body under *Mûſſa*, cauſed them to fly full ſpeed alſo, to rejoin *Huſſayn*.

Peace with Huſſayn. WHEN this prince ſaw them, he was wroth; and, departing with the khân, ſent 10,000 choice men as ſcouts, to attack the two princes; who marched to *Barſin* with 1500, and there cauſed the trumpets to be ſounded; the noiſe of which

[r] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 85—100, c. xvi—xx.

ſo frighted the enemy, that they fled back to *Huſſayn*. After which, *Key Koſrû* went to winter at *Otrâr*, and *Timûr* at *Tâſhkunt*. In ſpring, the meſſengers, whom *Timûr* had ſent to *Jetæh*, returned; and brought word, that a numerous army was coming from thence to his aſſiſtance. As this news ſoon reached *Huſſayn*, he reſolved to make peace with *Timûr*; and, the better to ſucceed, applied to the doctors of *Kojend* and *Tâſhkunt*, to diſpoſe him to it. The mollahs undertook the taſk; and urged the danger which the ſtate was in of being ruined by war, and the *Muſlmâns* being plundered, as well as ſlaughtered, by idolaters (O). Theſe remonſtrances, with a dream which followed, determined *Timûr* to reſolve on peace, and to go himſelf to *Huſſayn*, as the moſt effectual way, to agree on articles. He was met near *Sâli-ſaray* by the amîrs *Mûſſa* and *Olajia Itû*, on the part of *Huſſayn*, to aſk pardon for all that had paſſed. When the peace was ſettled, the princes diſbanded their armies; and having regaled themſelves with diverſions, *Timûr* returned to *Kaſh*, to enjoy the ſweets of this delightful kingdom. A. D. 1367.

NOT long after, while Amîr *Huſſayn* and the khân were gone to reduce the kings of *Badâgshân*, who had revolted, *Mâlek Huſſayn*, prince of *Herât*, ſent forces to ravage the provinces about *Bâlk*, which were ſubject to the amîr. On this news, *Timûr* ſet forward, to repulſe the enemy, who did not wait for him. After which, he went in queſt of the khân and amîr; who, meeting him at *Kondoz*, renewed their friendſhip. They then marched to reduce *Pulâd Buga* and *Aik Buga*, who had revolted at *Kâbul*; which, after ſome loſs, they effected. In their return from this expedition, *Huſſayn* aſked *Timûr*'s advice in relation to a deſign he had to reſide at *Bâlk*. *Timûr* endeavoured to diſſuade him, by the example of his uncle *Mîrza Abdo'llah*; who, contrary to the advice of his lords, would remove his ſeat to *Samarkant*[s]. Although *Huſſayn* could not but approve of *Timûr*'s counſel, yet he did not follow it: but prevailed on him to go to that city; where, as ſoon as he arrived, he began to rebuild the fortreſs of *Hendwân*. This was in 769[t]. *who repairs* Bâlk. A. D. 1367.

MEAN time, advice arriving, that an army of *Getes* were on the march towards *Great Bukhâria*, the two princes ſet forward to repulſe them: but, while the enemy wintered at *Tâſhkunt*, diſcord aroſe among the lords of *Jetah*. *Kamro'ddîn*, of *Watches the* Getes.

[s] See before, p. 211.

[t] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 100—110, c. xxi—xxiii.

(O) The *Getes*, or *Mungls*, of *Kaſhgar*, and the parts of *Tartary* eaſtward, were, for the general, idolaters.

A. D. 1368. the tribe of *Uglat*, *Kepek Timûr*, and *Shîrawl*, joined againſt *Haji Arkenût*, who reſolved to give them battle. When they were ready to engage, a peace was clapped up; and *Arkenût* returned home. But the other two, inſtead of following him, retreated with their troops; and *Shîrawl*'s ſon cut off *Arkenût*'s head: which putting the *Gete* army into diſorder, obliged them to retreat. *Timûr* was for purſuing them in this confuſion: but, as the king of *Badâgshân* had renewed his irruptions into *Huſſayn*'s dominions, this prince prevailed with him to march on that ſide. On his approach the enemy fled: yet at length they fought, and were routed; Sheykh *Ali*, the king, being made a priſoner.

In great danger. HOWEVER, part of thoſe who fled having defeated *Jehân Mulk*, Amîr *Huſſayn*'s ſon, who purſued them, and taken 630 horſes; *Timûr*, enraged, aſcended the mountain: but as his ſoldiers, being fearful, would not follow him, he, with only thirteen horſe, ſeized a narrow paſs, where he fell on furiouſly, and defeated the enemy; although he confeſſed this was the rougheſt battle he had ever been engaged in. Mean time, fifty of their foot, covered with their bucklers, boldly marched up, and let fly a ſhower of arrows at *Timûr*: at the ſame time, 200 more advanced, to ſecond them. But the prince eſcaped this danger, by the addreſs of *Elchi Bûga*; who running up to them, on foot, began to wheedle them, touched them ſeveral times on the neck, and ſpeaking in a ſoothing manner: *The perſon you ſee*, ſaid he, *is the great* Timûr: *he will reſtore you your ſlaves: why then do you fight to no purpoſe? You know, if you are either killed or made priſoners, you will bear the blame of having your ſlaves taken.* When the ſoldiers heard that prince's name, they gave over fighting, kiſſed the earth, in token of ſubmiſſion, and ſent two of their number to beg pardon. *Timûr* promiſed to return their ſlaves, provided they brought the horſes and bucklers they had taken, next morning, to his camp; which they performed.

Huſſayn's *jealouſy.* NOT long after, Amîr *Huſſayn* having ſent to acquaint him, that *Mehemed Beyân Seldûz* and *Key Khoſrû* had made war on him, *Timûr* left *Badâgshân*: On which notice, the rebels wrote to him the cauſe of their diſcontent, and begged his aſſiſtance. As the prince knew this letter was intercepted by *Huſſayn*, he became jealous that *Huſſayn* did not ſhew it him at their interview: and, at his return to *Keſh*, three perſons came to tell him, *Huſſayn* deſigned to ſurpriſe him. This was confirmed by a lord, who ſhewed him a letter from the Khân *Kabul Shâh* (P); importing, that Amîr *Mûſſa* had orders

(P) It is the Khân *Adel Soltân* for *Kabul Shâh* was now khân, in our author, by ſome miſtake; and ſucceeded *Adel Khân*.

to

to watch an opportunity to seize him. *Timûr*, far from distrusting so much, or fearing danger, went to know the truth of this from *Hussayn*, whom he met on the bank of the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*): but, as he was about to speak, word came, that the enemy was near; and being desired to march forthwith against them, he set forward with the troops; on whose approach, Sheykh *Mehemed* and *Key Kojrû* fled. After the pursuit, *Timûr* returned to *Kesh*; and *Hussayn* went to *Bâlk*, to reside in the castle of *Hendwân* [u]. A. D. 1368.

ALTHOUGH *Timûr*'s attachment to *Hussayn* was all the latter's support, yet he ceased not to do him ill offices. He sent for all that prince's subjects in *Kash*, to people *Bâlk*, and to bring away *Timûr*'s sister: because her husband, Amîr *Muyad*, had, in his drink, killed a man, and fled. He likewise dismissed prince *Jehânghîr*, whom *Timûr* had placed near him. Upon all these provocations, he took counsel with Amîr *Mûssa*, and other lords: who after having concluded to make war on *Hussayn*, as a prince not to be trusted, as well as an oppressor of the people, they began the rupture, by the death of *Ali*, brother of *Kezer Yesûri*; and then *Timûr* boldly declared war against him at once. *Timûr declares war.*

HAVING raised troops, he kept with him *Mûssa*, to command the rear; and, after consulting his astrologers, departed from *Kash*: but, at *Kuzar*, that amîr, as usual, seized with a panic fear, returned to *Samarkant*. *Timûr* seemed to take no notice of this action: but sent *Siorgatmish Aglen*, with the Amîrs *Muyad* and *Hussayn Berlâs* before, as scouts, who found those of Amîr *Hussayn* at *Termed*. At *Boya*, within three leagues of that city, *Timûr* met the holy *Seyd Bereke*, the most considerable of the sharifs, or descendants of *Mohammed*: who presenting him with a drum and standard, which are the usual marks of sovereignty, as if inspired, sang a hymn, predicting *Timûr*'s future grandeur Here that prince contracted an inviolable friendship with this great sharif; and ordered, that after his death he should be buried in the same tomb, with his face turned side-ways: that at the day of judgment, when every one should hold up their hands to heaven, to implore assistance of some interceſſor, he might lay hold on the robe of this child of the prophet. *Joined by the princes.*

TIMUR, having passed the *Jihûn*, or *Amû*, and encamped at *Kulm*, was there joined by a great number of princes, who hated *Hussayn*, and came from all parts with their troops. Among the rest, were the Amîr *Olajia Itû*, placed in *Kondoz* by *Hussayn*; Sheykh *Mehemed*, king of *Badagshân*, whom *Ti-* *Besieges* Bâlk.

[u] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 111—117, c. 24, 25.

A. D. 1368 *mûr* had invited; the Amîr *Key Koſrû*, who had fled from *Katlân*, to avoid *Huſſayn*; the Amîr *Yâkû*, with the troops of that country; and *Zende Haſham*, with the hord of *Aperdi*: ſo that *Timûr* ſaw himſelf at the head of a powerful army. Then he gave *Siorgatmiſh Aglen* the title of khân; and having regulated his army, departed for *Bâlk*. As ſoon as he arrived, he blocked up the city on all ſides, and beſieged the citadel, called *Hendwân*. The enemy made a vigorous defence: they ſallied out to repulſe the confederates; and the two armies fought with unparalleled courage till night. In this battle, prince *Omar Sheykh*, a ſon of *Timûr*, fighting bravely, though but fifteen years old, was ſhot through the foot with an arrow; and though the ſurgeons drew a hot iron through the wound, he bore it with extraordinary patience [x].

Huſſayn ſurrenders: NEXT morning, at ſun-riſe, the beſieged made another ſally, and renewed the fight. *Huſſayn*, who at a diſtance beheld this terrible encounter, perceived his affairs to be in a deſperate condition. *Timûr* ſent to acquaint him, that, if he deſired his life, he muſt ſubmit, and deliver up the fortreſs. *Huſſayn*, for once, acting with prudence, ſent two of his ſons, with the khân he had ſet up, offering to reſign his crown to *Timûr*; and only requeſting a free paſſage out of the citadel, in order to go in pilgrimage to *Mekka*. *Timûr* having granted this requeſt, the amîr ſent again to acquaint him, that he would depart the next day; and requeſted a promiſe, that no perſon ſhould attempt any thing againſt his life. *Timûr* yielded to his deſire: but *Huſſayn* was ſo accuſtomed to break his word, that he ſuſpected the prince could not keep his promiſe; and therefore went out the ſame night, with two ſervants. After wandering for ſome time, not knowing where to go, he arrived at the old city of *Bâlk*; and, when morning came, through fear, got upon the minâra (Q) of the principal moſk, where he hid himſelf.

taken, and ſlain, THIS prince might have eſcaped, if the time fixed by fate for his death, ſays our author, was not come: for a ſoldier of *Timûr*, who had loſt his horſe, going up, to try if he could perceive it from thence, ſpied *Huſſayn*, whom he knew. The amîr, who, in his proſperity, had never the leaſt generoſity to a ſoldier, flung down a handful of pearls; and, promiſing greater things, made the man ſwear he would not diſcover him. But the ſoldier, as ſoon as he got down, ran to *Timûr*,

[x] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 118—125, c. 26, & ſeq.

(Q) Steeple, or turret, built near the maſjeds, or moſks, from whence the muzîms, or cryers, proclaim the times of prayers. *La Croix.*

and

and related the whole. When the officers and soldiers heard this, they ran to the mosk; while *Hussayn*, who perceived them coming down, hid himself in a hole. But, still pursued by ill-luck, a skirt of his garment happened to be seen: so that, being taken, he was carried bound to *Timûr*; who, unwilling to break his promise, said to the amîrs who were near him, "I renounce the right I have of taking away his life; and "cancel the sentence of his death, by which I might revenge "myself." But when *Hussayn* was dismissed from *Timûr*'s presence, *Kây Kosrû*, prince of *Katlûn*, desired that the amîr might be delivered to him, in order to do justice on him for taking away his brother's life. *Timûr* exhorted that prince to forego his resentment; while the remembrance of his antient friendship, as well as alliance, with *Hussayn*, melted him into tears. Upon this *Olajia Itû*, an amîr of years, and great experience, imagining, that if *Hussayn* escaped, through *Timûr*'s affection, they might all repent of it afterwards, made signs to *Kay Kosrû* and *Muyad* to go out of the assembly: which they did, without asking *Timûr*'s leave; and, taking horse, followed *Hussayn*, and slew him. A. D. 1368. *with two sons.*

At length the fortress of *Hendwân* being taken, *Konsaïd* and *Norûz Soltân*, two of *Hussayn*'s sons, were burnt, and their ashes scattered in the air. His two other sons, *Jehân Mulk* and *Kalil Soltân*, fled into *India*, where they perished. The khân whom *Hussayn* had set up was also put to death (R). *Timûr* got all the treasure which that prince had amassed with so much avarice; and kept four ladies of his saray to himself; these were, *Saray Mulk Khânûm*, daughter of *Kâzân Soltân Khân*; *Olûs Aga*, daughter of *Boyan Seldûz*; *Islâm Aga*, daughter of *Kezer Yesûri*; and *Toji Turkhân Kâtûn*. He gave the great queen, *Sevenj Kotlûk Aga*, daughter of *Turmeshîrîn Khân*, *Hussayn*'s first wife, *Dilshad Aga*, to *Zende*; and the other ladies to considerable lords. He likewise ordered, that the inhabitants of *Bâlk*, who had shut themselves up in the citadel, with their late prince, should return to the old city, and rebuild it. The citadel, as well as palaces of *Hussayn*, were all razed to the foundations; and every thing belonging to him destroyed, that there might remain no footsteps of a prince so hated [y]. *The citadel destroyed.*

[y] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 125, & seqq.

(R) This was *Kabul Shâh* (or *Soltân*) *Khân*.

A. D. 1369.

CHAP. II.

The Exploits of Timûr, *from his Enthronement, to the Reduction of* Irân, *or* Persia *at large.*

Timûr *enthroned.*

AFTER the taking of *Bâlk*, all the amîrs, princes, and generals of the army, the khâns of *Termed*, and *Seyd Bereke*, chief of the sharîfs, who had predicted *Timur*'s advancement to the throne, assembled in that city, and unanimously chose him to fill the imperial seat of *Jagatay*. When the lucky hour arrived to perform the ceremony of coronation, *Timûr* ascended the throne, placed the crown of gold on his head, and girded himself with the imperial belt, in presence of the princes of the blood, and the rest, who all kneeled down before him; and, having wished him prosperity, made him sumptuous presents, sprinkled handfuls of gold and precious stones upon his head, and gave him the title of *Saheb Karân*, which words signify, *the emperor of the age*, and *conqueror of the world*. This happened in the *Mungl* year of the *Dog*, which answers to that of the Hejrah 771, in the month of *Ramazân*. He treated the inhabitants with the utmost rigour, beheaded some, imprisoned others, enslaved their wives and children, burnt their houses, seized their riches, and ravaged the country. Thus he rooted out the rebels, and, at the same time, distributed the plunder among his lords and officers.

Hej. 771. A. D. 1369.

A plot discovered.

FROM *Bâlk*, *Timûr* returned to *Kash*; where he appointed officers of state, both military and civil. He then repaired to *Samarkant*, which he made the seat of his empire (A). The Amîr *Mussa*, who had deserted *Timûr* through discontent, as is before-mentioned, on that prince's success, fled to *Turkestân*; but, being pursued, fled back to *Zende Hashâm*, at *Shebûrgân* in *Khorassân*, and prevailed on him to revolt. *Timûr* having ordered the kûrûltay, or diet, to be held; and *Zende Hashâm* not appearing, he sent him a threatening summons: but this young prince, instead of obeying, imprisoned the messengers. Hereupon the emperor went with an army, and besieged him in *Sefiddez*, or *the white fort*. At the sight of the imperial troops, *Zende Hashâm* lost courage; and, having sued for pardon, delivered up the Amîr *Mûssa*: whom, instead of punishing, *Timûr* feasted, and loaded with favours, giving him the command of a tribe, and a province. For all this, *Hashâm* re-

(A) This removal was contrary to his own advice given before to *Hussayn*, whom he would have dissuaded from removing from *Sali Saray* to *Bâlk*, as a thing highly imprudent, and dangerous. See p. 223.

belled a second time; but being besieged in *Sheburgân*, submitted a second time, was pardoned, and received among the officers of the court [a]. A. D. 1370.

In the year of the *Hog*, which answers to 772, *Timûr* crossed the *Sihûn* (or *Sîr*), to invade the country of the *Getes*; two of whose princes, *Komze* and *Orenkitmûr*, submitted to him, with their tribes and countries, the government of which he gave to *Kepek Timûr*; who soon after rebelling, he marched against him, by way of *Sayrâm*, on the borders of *Jetâh*, and, in a month, reduced the enemy. Mean time, the Amîr *Mûssa*, and *Zende Hashâm*, forgetting all their obligations, conspired, with *Abû Is-hâk*, and others, to seize *Timûr*, while hunting: but the plot being discovered, the conspirators were tried, and convicted: yet the emperor put none of them to death. He pardoned *Mûssa*, on account of his great age, and relationship by marriage; only banished two sheykhs, as descended from *Mohammed*; and condemned *Zende Hashâm* to a dungeon at *Samarkant*. *Invades the* Getes. Hej. 772. A. D. 1370.

As soon as *Timûr* was returned to his capital, he sent ambassadors to *Hussayn Sofi* (B), king of *Karazm*, to demand restitution of the countries of *Kat* and *Kivak* (C); which he had seized five years before, during the troubles, though belonging to the empire of *Jagatay*. *Hussayn*'s answer was, *That he had conquered them by the sword*; *and that* Timûr *might recover them the same way, if he could.* Hereupon the Mullah *Jalâlo'ddîn*, who was the emperor's mûfti (D), to prevent bloodshed, desired leave to try what he could do: but the *Karazmian*, instead of listening to his advice, imprisoned the mullah. On this notice, *Timûr*, in 773, marched at the head of his army, by way of *Bokhâra*; and, at *Sepaye*, on the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*), defeated the enemy's scouts. From thence, they arrived at *Kat*, which they invested. *Kûchey Mâlek* was ordered to go down into the ditch, but being afraid to venture, the Chaush *Komâri* readily obeyed. He was followed by others; who advancing towards the breast-work, Sheykh *Ali Behâdr* first laid hold of it, and would have mounted. *Mobasher*, envying him this honour, took hold of his heel, and both fell; yet *Ali* returned, and got upon the parapet. Then the soldiers, having forced a passage, on all sides, into the town, seized the *Attacks* Karazm. Hej. 773. A. D. 1371.

[a] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 130—141, l. ii. cap. 1—4.

(B) Son of *Yanghaday*, of the tribe of *Konkegrat*, called also *Kunkurat*, *Kongorat*, and by the *Chinese*, *Honkila*.

(C) This seems to be the same place with *Kayuk*, in *Abu'lghâzi Khân*'s history. See the description of *Karazm* hereafter, Vol. VI.

(D) Or chief priest, who decides affairs of the law.

A. D. 1371. governor, and put the greater part of the garrison, as well as the inhabitants, to the sword; carrying away the wives and children, whom *Timûr* next day set at liberty. As for *Kûchey Mâlek*, he ordered him, for his cowardice, to be bastonadoed, and then led to *Samarkant*, tied to the tail of an ass.

Grants a peace. AFTER this, he advanced, and his van-guard having defeated the enemy, at *Jiwi Korlan*, he ordered inroads to be made on every side; so that all the provinces of *Karazm* were ruined. *Hussayn*, being in no condition to defend himself in the city of *Karazm* (E), sent to beg pardon, and demand quarter: but, diverted by *Kay Kosrû*, who promised to go over to him, with his *Tomân*, he marched out with his troops to the river *Kawn*, six miles from the capital. However, he was repulsed; and finding himself blocked up in his fortress, soon died with grief. His brother *Isûf* (or *Yusef*) *Sofi*, who succeeded him, had recourse to submission: and as *Timûr* thought that *Sevinâ Bey*, commonly called *Khân Zâdeh* (F), the daughter of *Ak Sofi*, *Isûf*'s brother, who was reckoned the greatest beauty in the world (G), would be a fit match for his son *Jehân Ghîr*, he granted peace, on condition of the marriage. On his return to *Samarkant*, he ordered *Kay Kosrû Katlani* to be arrested, and prosecuted for his intrigues with *Hussayn Sofi*: of which having been convicted, he was delivered, bound, to the officers of Amîr *Hussayn*, who put him to death, to revenge the murder of that prince; and his province given to *Mehemed Mireke*, son of *Shîr Bahrâm*, his relation [b].

Marries Jehân Ghir. WHEN *Kay Kosrû* was apprehended, his son Soltân *Mahmûd*, with two other lords, left the court, and retired to *Karazm*; where they persuaded *Isûf Sofi* to violate the peace: and accordingly, in autumn, he laid waste the country of *Kat*.

Hej. 774. A. D. 1372. But, in *Ramazân* 774, on the news of *Timûr*'s march, he sent persons to intercede for him, and renew the treaty; promising forthwith to send the princess *Khân Zâdeh* to *Samarkant*. Next spring, *Timûr* dispatched ambassadors, with rich presents, to conduct to his court that princess; who set out with a portion of precious stones, jewels, and furniture, of great value. *Timûr* gave her a magnificent reception; and the marriage with his son was solemnized with the greatest pomp, after the happy

[b] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 143—156, c. 7.—11.

(E) The same with *Urjengh*, called *Korkanj*, and *Jorjania* by the *Persians*.

(F) That is, *the daughter of the khân*.

(G) The poets say, since *Adam*; and that she had the genius of an angel, and shape of a fairy.

moment

moment had been fixed, with the exacteſt care, by the moſt learned aſtrologers, and profound philoſophers. A. D. 1373.

In the month of *Shawal* 776, which was the beginning of the *Mungl* year of the *Hare*, *Timûr* ſet forward on his march to *Jetâh*, ſending before his ſon, the Mirza *Jehân Ghîr*, with the van-guard. When they had paſſed *Sayrâm*, and were arrived at *Jarûn*, a town of *Jetâh*, they were informed, by a priſoner; that *Kamro'ddîn* (H), prince of the tribe of *Uglat*, was encamped with an army at *Gheuk Tûpa*, or *the blue hill*, where he waited for *Haji Bey*, not expecting any enemy. On this advice, they haſtened their march: but *Kamro'ddîn*, getting intelligence of their approach, retired to an inacceſſible place, called *Birkey-Gûrian*, where there are three defiles of mountains, extremely ſteep; and three great rapid rivers. *Jehân Ghîr* was now advanced to the third defile, where *Kamro'ddîn* had fortified himſelf, and having attacked his forces, with great ſlaughter, till night, they took to flight. Next morning, the prince purſued them; and *Timûr*, coming up at ſun-riſe, detached ſome of his chief captains, who ſwam along the ſtream of the river *Abeile* (I). When they got on the enemy's lands, they plundered all who did not ſubmit [c]. *Marches into* Jetâh. Hej. 776. A. D. 1374.

Timûr went on to *Baytak*; from whence he ſent the mîrza his ſon, with a great army, to fight and ſeize *Kamro'ddîn*. The prince, having ruined the cantons which are in *Uch-fermân*, found his enemy in the mountains, whom he purſued, and obliged to abandon his troops. He ravaged all the country, razed his palaces, and, among other ladies, ſeized on his wife *Buyân Aga*, with his daughter *Dilſhad-aga*. After *Timûr* had waited fifty-three days at *Baytak*, he received this news; and, on his way home, married the princeſs *Dilſhad-aga*. Then ſetting forward again, marched by *Râſſi Daban*, and encamped at *Ozkunt*. Here *Adel Shâh*, ſon of *Bahrâm Jalayr*, now dead, gave him a ſplendid entertainment, and preſented him with ſome fine horſes. Under this maſk, his deſign was, in concert with two other lords, to have ſeized *Timûr*: but conceiving ſtrong ſuſpicions, by the motions of the conſpirators, he left the aſſembly, and thus fruſtrated their plot. During the winter, when he was returned to his capital, they came and confeſſed their crime; while *Timûr* politicly pretended to have *Avoids a conſpiracy.*

[c] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 157—165, c. 11.—14.

(H) He uſurped the kingdom of *Kâſhgar* from *Ilyas Koja Khân*, as related before, p. 150.

(I) This ſeems to be the river *Ili*, riſing in *Little Bukhâria*, on which the khân of the *Eluths* encamped. *Ab-ili* ſignifies *the water* Ili.

A. D. 1374. known nothing of it, and, at the same time, highly caressed *Adel Shâh*.

Punishes the plotters.

Hej. 777. A. D. 1375.

In the beginning of the year 777, the troops were ordered to assemble, as if to invade *Karazm*. As soon as the âmîrs arrived at the imperial city, the Sheykh *Mehemed Bayân Seldûz* (one of the conspirators in the late plot) was apprehended; and his crime having been fully proved, he was delivered into the hands of *Heri Mulk Seldûz*, his relation, who put him to death, in revenge for killing his brother. *Ali Dervîsh* and *Mehemed Dervîsh*, being equally guilty, were also put to death. In spring, *Timûr* sent several amîrs, with 30,000 horse, into *Jetâh*, with orders to search diligently for *Kamro'ddîn*, and, when found, to put him to death. After this, he marched with a great army towards *Karazm*; and being come to *Sepaya*, on the *Jihûn*, saw *Turkhân Erlât*, another of the conspirators, pass over with his troops, as willing to join him: but, through some sudden fear, he immediately returned to his orda, near *Korzwân*. *Pulâd*, who was ordered to pursue him day and night with some troops, having passed *Andkâd*, overtook him at *Farâb* (or *Otrâr*), on the *Sihûn*. The two parties fought like lions: but, at length, the enemy flying, the victors pursued, and *Pulâd* alone overtook *Turkhân*; who, finding his horse tired, got off, and brought down *Pulâd*'s with an arrow. He let fly another at his enemy, before he was able to get up: but, as it went through his cap, without hurting him, *Pulâd* rushed on; and closing him, after a long struggle, flung him on the ground, and cut of his head. At the same time, an officer brought the head of *Tûrmîsh*, brother of *Turkhân*, and both were laid at the foot of the throne [d].

Âmîrs revolt.

Among the amîrs sent to *Jetâh*, *Sâr Buga* and *Adel Shâh*, conspiring with *Katay Bahâdr*, *Elchi Buga*, and *Hamdi*, whom *Timûr* had left governor of *Andekhân*, on the frontiers of *Turkestân*, got together their ordâs of *Jalayr* and *Kipjâk*, and marched to *Samarkant*, which they besieged. Hereupon *Ak Buga*, the governor, wrote word of this to *Timûr*; who, though he had already passed by *Kat*, and was arrived at *Khas*, immediately returned. While he encamped near *Bokhâra*, the Mîrza *Jehân Ghir*, who advanced before, met the rebels (obliged to raise the siege) at *Karmîna*, and defeated them. After which, they retired to the deserts of *Kipjâk*, and listed themselves in the service of *Urûs Khân*, emperor of that country. *Sâr Buga* and *Adel Shah* had not been long in the service of that prince, before they fled from his court, after having killed his lieutenant, and went to *Jetâh*; where they

[d] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 165—170, c. 14—16.

per-

perſuaded *Kamro'ddîn* to join them, in making war on *Timûr*. Hereupon that prince marched to the country of *Andekhân*, where *Omar Sheykh*, *Timûr*'s ſecond ſon, was governor: but, being deſerted by the hezâra of *Kûdak*, he retired to the mountains, and ſent his father word, that the enemy, with a great army, had ruined *Andekhân*. A. D. 1375.

THIS news ſo inceñſed *Timûr*, that he immediately ſet out for *Jetâh*. On which advice, *Kamro'ddîn* commanded his houſhold and orda to leave *Atbâſhi*, while he remained in amburſh with 4000 horſe. *Timûr* coming to the place, and ſuſpecting no ſuch ſhare, ſent his amîrs, with all the army, in purſuit of the enemy; while he followed, with no more than 200 men to accompany him. *Kamro'ddîn*, glad of this occaſion, ſallied out with his men upon the emperor; who, no way diſmayed, ſpurred his horſe againſt the enemy, and, being obliged to expoſe his perſon, performed ſurpriſing acts of valour; which were ſo well ſeconded by his ſoldiers, that they at length defeated that numerous hoſt. After this, he met *Kamro'ddîn* again at *Senghez Agâjeh*, and conſtrained him to fly. *Uchkara* purſued him ſo cloſely, that, at length, he obliged him to return, with eight men only; who being ſurrounded by the amîr's ſoldiers, *Kamro'ddîn*, after having his horſe killed, had much ado to get off on foot, wounded in ſeveral places. Kamro'ddîn *defeated.*

BEFORE the laſt battle, *Timûr* dreamed, that in one of the forty-ſix viſions, which are eſteemed prophetic, he ſaw the Sheykh *Bûrhâno'ddîn Klich*; and having humbly begged of him to pray for his ſon *Jehân Ghîr*, then ſick at *Samarkant*, the holy man only anſwered, *Be with God* (K). This, with another dream he had afterwards, increaſed his melancholy, and convinced him, that he ſhould loſe his dear ſon; whom he found dead, at his return to that capital. This prince, who was but twenty when he died, was buried at *Kaſh*; and left two ſons: *Mohammed Soltân*, by *Khân Zâdeh*; and *Pîr Mohammed*, a poſthumous ſon, by *Bâkti Mulki Aga*, daughter of *Elias Yeſûri*. *Death of* Jehân Ghîr,

TIMUR, about this time, being informed, that *Adel Shâh Jalayr* was in the mountains of *Karachuk*, beyond *Otrâr*, ſent thither two amîrs, with fifteen horſe; who having found him at *Akſûma*, a ſpy-tower on the top of mount *Karajik*, put him to death, according to law. Soon after, Mîrza *Omar Sheykh*, *and* Adel Shâh.

(K) We inſert ſuch particulars, as proper to ſhew the character of this prince; who, tho' a great, and, in other reſpects, a wiſe, judicious man, was yet a dupe to the ſuperſtitious folly of dreams and fortune-telling, owing to the force of bad inſtruction when young.

with

A. D. 1375. with ſeveral amîrs, were ſent againſt *Kamro'ddîn*; whom they met, and defeated, on the borders of *Kûratû*, a country of the *Getes* [e].

War in Kipjak. THE troops were no ſooner returned, than *Timûr* reſolved to march in perſon into *Jetâh*; and his van-guard were ſo lucky as to come up with *Kamro'ddîn*, at *Bugam Aſi Gheul*: where, after a furious battle, they put him to flight, ravaged his country, and reduced his ſubjects to obedience. After purſuing him as far as *Kûchar*, *Timûr* returned to his capital, by way of *Oynagû* and *Uzkunt*. That prince, when at *Kûchâr*, being informed, that *Tokatmîſh* (or *Toktamîſh*) *Aglen* had withdrawn from the court of *Urûs*, khân of *Kipjâk*, in order to come over to him, ſent *Tumen Timûr Uzbek* to meet and conduct him to *Samarkant*; where he was received with great honour. *Timûr* heaped favours on him, and gave him the government of ſeveral places for his ſubſiſtence. He likewiſe aſſiſted him againſt *Urûs Khân*, who ſoon after attacked him; entered his dominions with a great army, and placed *Toktamîſh* on the throne of *Kipjâk*. This prince being driven out, he A. D. 1376. reſtored him again, in 778. But as theſe wars have been already related more at large, in the hiſtory of that empire [f], we ſhall ſay no more about them here.

Timûr's *greatneſs.* THE ſovereignty of *Timûr* ſeemed now to be arrived at the ſummit of felicity, many of his officers bearing the titles of khân and ſoltân; when, to increaſe his happineſs, in the year Hej. 779. A. D. 1377. of the *Serpent*, and that of the Hejrah 779, in the month of *Rabiyo'laker*, the Mirza *Shâh Rukh* was born. Soon after this, *Timûr* made a fourth expedition into *Karazm*. Whilſt he was at *Otrâr*, to obſerve *Urûs Khân*, *Iſûf Sofi*, king of that country, ſent an army to *Bokhâra*, which ravaged the province, and carried off whatever they could meet with. *Timûr*, on this, ſent an ambaſſador, to complain of theſe hoſtilities: but *Iſûf*, inſtead of ſhewing any reaſon, threw the ambaſſador in priſon. He did the like to a ſecond envoy; and ſent *Tui Bogay*, ſurnamed *the robber*, with his followers, to carry away the cattle of the *Turkmâns*, which were about *Bokhâra*. However, *Timûr* let him alone for this year, the remainder of which he ſpent at *Zenjir Saray*, after he had married *Tuman Aga*, daughter of the Amîr *Mûſſa*; for whoſe ſake he adorned *Samarkant* with ſeveral beautiful monuments, and, among the reſt, a pleaſure-houſe, to the weſt of that city, called *Bâghi Behiſht*, or, *the garden of paradiſe* [g].

[e] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 170—178, c. 16—18. [f] See before, p. 107. [g] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, l. ii. p. 178—193, c. 19—26.

In

In *Shawal* 780 *Timûr* set forward with his army; and, entering *Karazm*, invested the town of *Eski Skuz* (L), while several parties ravaged the country. On this, *Ysuf* or *Yusef Sofi* sent a challenge to *Timûr*; who, putting on his armour, contrary to the prayers of his commanders, went to the edge of the ditch, and called on *Yusef* to come out: but that prince thought it safer to keep within the walls. However, *Timûr*, having received some melons from *Termed*, judged it might be thought uncourteous if he did not send *Yusef* some, when he was so near him: this was done in a gold bason, delivered at the wall. But *Yusef* had so little courtesy, that he ordered the fruit to be thrown into the ditch, and gave the bason to the town-porter. After this, the besieged sallied; and frequent skirmishes drew on a general battle; in which the enemy were defeated, and retired into the city. After this, *Timûr* ordered the amîrs to begin the siege of the capital; which having continued near four months, in which time the castle was ruined, the khân *Yusef Sofi* died with grief, as the emperor had predicted (M). At the same time the batteries being renewed, and breaches made, the town was attacked, and at length taken, after a very brave resistance. The city was pillaged, many of the inhabitants killed; and all the learned men, as well as tradesmen, sent to *Kash*.

A. D. 1378. Karazm *conquered.* Hej. 781. A. D. 1379.

This city, which had long before this been a seminary of learning, hence was surnamed *Kûbbet Elilmi Veledeh*, that is, *The Dome of Science and Virtue*: it was also called *Shâhr Sebz*, or *The Green City*, from the verdure of its gardens and meadows. At the end of the year 781 the emperor declared it his ordinary residence in summer, and the second seat of the empire. He therefore inclosed it with new walls; and built a new palace, called *Ak-saray*, from the exceeding whiteness and height of its walls. After this, he divided the city among his amîrs, and the troops of his household.

Kash *walled.*

In winter *Timûr* sent to summon *Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn Pîr Âli* (son of *Mâlek Hussâyn*, prince of *Herât*, who died in 1369) to the kûrûltay, or assembly of the states, which was to be held the next spring. *Pîr Ali* pretended submission to the summons: but delayed the messengers with excuses, in order to finish the fortifications of *Herât*; which he had encompassed the year before with a wall two leagues in circuit, in-

Mâlek Kayazo'ddîn *summoned.*

(L) This, possibly, was the old city of *Karazm*, *Korkanj*, or *Urjengh*, or some part of it; for, by what follows, it was this city which was besieged.

(M) The author, on several occasions, intimates as if *Timûr* had the spirit of prophecy. *La Croix.*

A. D. 1379. closing the suburbs, and gardens without the wall of the old city. These things were reported to *Timûr* at the time when *Ali Bey*, son of *Argûn Shâh Jûn Garbani*, returned to his obedience, and was pardoned. The emperor even consented that his daughter should marry his grandson *Mehemed Soltân*, son of *Jehân Ghîr*; and conferred with him about his design upon *Herât*, whither *Ali Bey* promised to go in spring [h].

Timûr's ambition.

It was *Timûr*'s ambition of universal monarchy which made him undertake such glorious things: he used to say, *that it was neither fit nor decent that the world should be governed by two kings*. About this time many rebels had seized the provinces of *Irân*, and set up for independent monarchs. This exceedingly displeased *Timûr*; who, having conquered the kingdom of *Tûrân*, which *Jenghîz Khân* formerly divided between his sons *Tushi* and *Jagatay*, he resolved to subdue the empire of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large. Preparatory to this, he made his son, the mîrza *Mirân Shâh*, then but fourteen years of age, governor of *Khoraſſân*; and sent him thither, accompanied with several amîrs, and fifty companies of horse. The *Tatar* troops, having crossed the *Jihûn*, passed the autumn, and most of the winter, at *Bâlk* and *Shebûrgân*; but, towards the end of that season, took from *Mâlek* the town of *Badghîz*.

He invades Mâlek. Hej. 782 A. D. 1380.

Towards the end of the year 782, *Timûr*, having raised a great army of *Turks* and *Tatars*, crossed the *Jihûn*, and advanced within the country of *Khoraſſân*. When he arrived at *Andekûd*, his devotion prompted him to visit the illustrious *Santon Baba Senkû*, one of those darwîsh who make profession of folly (N). This person, in an enthusiastic fit, flung a breast of mutton at the emperor's head; who, believing this to be a good augury, said: "I am persuaded that God will "grant me the conquest of *Khoraſſân*, because this kingdom "has always been called the breast, or middle, of the inha- "bitable world." This prediction, says our author, had its effect. *Timûr* left *Andekûd*; and, as soon as *Mâlek Mehemed*, brother of *Mâlek Kayazo'ddîn*, who was then in the fortress of *Saraks*, had notice of his march, he came before the throne, and had the honour to kiss the imperial carpet, as well as to

[h] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 194—201. c. 26—29.

(N) These are natural fools, or blockheads, at least they pretend to be so, of whom the east is full. The *Mohammedans* have an extraordinary veneration for them; and say, that God loved them before their creation, and, on that account, did not endue them with reason; so that they are incapable of offending. *La Croix*.

receive

receive many careſſes and preſents. When, after a long march, the army had paſſed by *Maru Arrûd*, commonly called *Morgâb*, they at length encamped at *Chekedaſek*, eleven leagues from *Herât*. A. D. 1380.

HERE the emperor ſent to deſire *Ali Bey* to raiſe troops forthwith, and join him, according to the league between them: but he not only refuſed to obey, but impriſoned the envoy. As *Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn* had that day taken *Niſhâbûr* from the *Sarbedals*, *Timûr* marched to *Jam* (O) and *Kûſûpa*, that the enemy's troops, who were in thoſe parts, might not join *Mâlek*. The governor of *Kûſûpa* went to meet the emperor; who, after paying a viſit, at *Taybâd*, to the learned and virtuous doctor *Zayno'ddîn Abubekr*, marched to *Fuſhenj*, about twenty-five miles ſhort of *Herât*, and beſieged it. This town was ſurrounded with high walls, a good rampart, and deep ditch, full of water. Its other fortifications were ſo ſtrong, that no citadel could compare with it: yet the ſoldiers, croſſing the ditch on planks, advanced to the wall, and made a great ſlaughter of the enemy with their arrows. *Timûr*, who often rode round the place without armour, to encourage his men, was wounded with two arrows. Mean time ſome amirs mounted the wall, while others forced the gate; and, entering alſo by the breaches, put to the ſword all who eſcaped their hands before. Thus *Fûſhenj* was taken at the firſt aſſault; after which, the army marched to *Herât*, and laid ſiege to that city[1]. Fû-ſhenj *beſieged, and taken.*

THE troop of *Gûris* (or *Gowris*), reckoned the moſt valiant men of *Irân*, made a ſally: but being forced to retire, after a bloody conflict, the citizens, to ſave their lives, and fine houſes from deſtruction, refuſed to make reſiſtance: ſo that *Mâlek*, finding he could not bring them to a ſecond ſally, was obliged to ſubmit; and, coming out to beg pardon, kiſſed the imperial carpet on his knees. *Timûr* gave him a veſt of honour, careſſed, and then diſmiſſed him. This was in *Muharram*, the firſt month of the year 783. Then the conqueror ordered the treaſures, and other riches, which the *Gowri*, or *Gawri*, kings had amaſſed for ſeveral years (conſiſting of ſilver coin, brute precious ſtones, the richeſt thrones, crowns of gold, veſſels of plate, gold and ſilver brocades, with other curioſities), to be carried away: he likewiſe commanded the walls, both old and new, to be razed. A tax likewiſe was levied on the inhabitants, for their ranſom; and the gates of the city, Herât *ſurrendered.* Hej. 783. A. D. 1381.

[1] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 201—208. c. 30—32.

(O) *Jam* is about ſeventy miles to the eaſt of *Niſhâbûr*.

covered

A. D. 1381. covered with iron plates, and adorned with sculptures and inscriptions, were carried to *Kash*. After this, *Mâlek Kayazo'ddîn* was ordered to deliver up the fortress of *Eskilj*, called also *Amân-kûh*; then governed by the amîr *Gowri*, his youngest son, reckoned the most brave and experienced lord in the kingdom, whom *Mâlek* prevailed on to deliver up the place, accounted by him impregnable.

Other places submit. *TIMUR*, highly pleased with his success at *Herât*, sent troops to conquer *Nishâbûr* and *Sebzwâr*: but, as the affair of *Ali Bey* disturbed him, he marched in person to *Kellât* and *Tûsh* (or *Mashhâd*), making a visit to the tomb of *Abû Moslem Merûzi* (P), in the way. *Ali Bey*, on advice of the emperor's march, came out and submitted; so did the governor of *Sebzwâr*; and both were received with favours. He then proceeded for *Esferâyîn* (Q), belonging to the Amîr *Veli*, (or *Wali*), prince of *Mazânderân*. The soldiers immediately rushed on the walls, in which they made considerable breaches; and, entering the place, put to the sword a great number of people, and demolished all the houses of that great city. After this, *Timûr* sent an ambassador to the Amîr *Veli*; who submitted, and promised shortly to repair to his master. While the emperor diverted himself at the pleasure-house called *Ogûl Yatû Yaylak*, they put to death the robbers of *Kûrashe*; who had killed the Amîr *Haji Berlâs* and his brother, *Timûr*'s near relations, as before-mentioned.

Ali Bey *revolts.* *TIMUR*, having made several regulations in the political state of *Khorassân*, confirmed *Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn*, prince of *Herât*, and the other amîrs, in their respective governments; after which, he returned to his own dominions, and passed the winter at *Bokhâra*. But, while he diverted himself in that proud city, his pleasure was imbittered with the loss of his daughter *Taji Khân*, called also *Akia Beghi*, married to *Mehemed Bey*, son of Amîr *Mûssa*; a princess who had scarce her equal in beauty and virtue. He was so deeply afflicted at her death, that, when advice was brought that *Ali Bey*, in conjunction with the Amîr *Veli*, had besieged *Ali Muayd*, whom he had left governor of *Sebzwâr*, he was no-way moved; nor would have resented the insult, but for the remonstrances of his sister *Kothuk Turkhân Aga*, who urged the bad consequences which would attend his neglect of affairs. Roused by the words of this princess, he

(P) General of *Abû'l Abbâs Saffah*, first of khalifahs of the house of *Abbâs*, to whom these princes owed their advancement. *La Croix.*

(Q) A city between *Nishâbûr* and *Jorjân*, dependent on the former; called also *Al Mehrejân*. *La Croix.*

assembled

assembled his forces; and, tho' it was in the midst of winter, set forward from *Bokhâra*. He crossed the *Jihûn* with his army, over a bridge of boats; and, having passed by *Makhân*, encamped in the neighbourhood of *Kelât*, where *Ali Bey* shut himself up; nor could be prevailed on to submit, either by threats or promises; relying on the mountain whereon that fortress was built, which he imagined to be inaccessible [k]. A. D. 1381.

TIMUR, to deceive the bey, went down to *Korân*, dependent on *Abswerd* (R); where he gave out, that he intended to invade *Mazânderân*. On this report, *Ali Bey* took heart; and sent the horses, sheep, and other animals, which had been shut up in the fortress, to graze again in the meadows: when on a sudden the emperor changed his route, and returned to *Kelât*, which he invested on all sides. *Ali*, seeing himself thus unexpectedly beset, had recourse once more to *Timûr*'s clemency; and promised, in case his majesty would come to the gate of the town with only a few persons, that he would repair to the gate, and ask pardon for his faults. To which the emperor agreed. The walls of *Kelât* were built on the brink of a high mountain; and along them was a narrow passage among the rocks, which way was shut in by a gate, and joined to that of the town. Here the treacherous *Ali Bey* placed men in ambush, with orders to kill *Timûr*, who went to the place appointed, with only five horsemen: but the assassins, by some mistake, staid in their concealment beyond the time, and even forgot to leave open the door by which the emperor was to have entered; so that, after waiting a long time for *Ali Bey*, he returned to his camp. Kelat *besieged.*

As soon as he arrived there, in *Rabiyo'lawel* 784, he ordered the troops of *Mekrit* and *Badâgshân*, the fittest in the world to clamber mountains, to scale the walls. They were followed by *Timûr* with a troop of brave officers; and made such a slaughter, that *Ali Bey* promised by oath to make his submission next day to *Timûr*, at the gate of the town; which he did. But as he was indulged in his request, not to repair to court till next day, he in the night barricaded the passages by which the imperial troops had ascended the mountain, and again violated his engagement. Fourteen days after, the emperor went to the fortress of *Kahkaha*, in the road to *Bawerd*, which he rebuilt: but sent *Siorgotmish Khân*, with the Mîrza *Ali*, Tenshîz *reduced.* Hej. 784. A. D. 1382.

[k] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 208—219. c. 32—37.

(R) A town to the north of *Tûs*, in the desart of *Kivak*, formerly called *Bayerd*. *La Croix*.—Also *Bawerd* and *Ibard*, as in *Abû'lghâzi Khân*'s history.

and

A. D. 1382. and the brave Sheykh *Ali Behâdr*, to block up the passages to *Kelât*; while he went to reduce *Tershîz*. This is a famous fortress, almost inaccessible, as being situated in the mountains; and reckoned impregnable, for its high walls, and ditches wide and deep: it was garrisoned with *Gowri's*, as well as provided with arms and provisions. The enemy were so obstinate, that they would not evacuate the place at the command of *Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn* himself: but, the walls and breastworks being battered down, they begged for quarter; and were inrolled, for their bravery, in *Timûr*'s troops[1].

The amîr Veli *and* ABOUT this time *Jalâlo'ddîn Shâh Shuja*, king of *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*), sent one of his principal officers, with a letter, to assure the emperor of his services and sincere friendship, accompanied by rich presents. In return for which, *Timûr* sent others, with an envoy, to demand the daughter of that prince for the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, son of the late Mîrza *Jehân Ghîr*. After this, he marched towards *Mazânderân*: at which news the Amîr *Veli* had recourse to submission; and, promising soon to repair to court, *Timûr* withdrew again with his army. Mean time Sheykh *Ali Bahâdr* mounted the walls of *Kelât* in the night, with only a few domestics: but, mistaking his way in the dark, was perceived by the enemy, who began a bloody fight: yet, when their quivers were emptied on both sides, some persons, thro' a religious motive, brought about an accommodation. *Ali Bey* met and embraced the Sheykh *Ali Bahâdr*; and, after entertaining him for several days, went with him to the imperial camp at *Radekhân*; where he was received into favour, at the intercession of the sheykh, with whose behaviour on this occasion *Timûr* was highly pleased.

Ali Bey *submit.*

Put to death. THE emperor, having now intirely reduced the kingdom of *Khorassân* under the obedience of the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh*, dismissed his troops, and hasted to his capital. *Ali Bey*, with the Amîr *Gowri*, and his brother *Mâlek Mehemed*, sons of *Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn*, were sent bound to the Mîrza *Omar Sheykh* at *Andekhân*: but *Mâlek* himself, and his eldest son *Pîr Mehemed*, were kept at *Samarkant*. These were all put to death, except *Pîr Mehemed*, on the following occasion. During the winter, *Mâlek Mehemed*, son of *Mâlek Fakro'ddîn* (S), to whom *Timûr*, in pity of his poverty, had given the government of *Gowr*; being joined by *Abûsa'id Esphâhed*, whom that monarch had also released out of prison, marched to *Herât* with a troop

[1] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 219—227. c. 37—39.

(S) This *Mâlek Mehemed* and his brother were cousin-germans to *Mâlek Hussayn*, father of *Mâlek Kayâzo'ddîn*.

of *Gowri's*, and, assisted by other rebels, committed all sorts of disorders. The governor, and other officers, having retired to the fortress of *Ektiaro'ddîn*, the rebels burnt the gate, and put all the *Turkish* garrison to the sword, who had jumped off the walls to save their lives. On this advice, the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh* marched from the river *Morgâb*, where he was then encamped, to *Herât*; and slew so many of the rebels, that his soldiers built a high tower of their heads [m]. A. D. 1382.

In 785 died the princess *Dilshadaga*, wife of *Timûr*; and, a few days after, *Kotluk Tûrkhân Aga*, his eldest sister: famous for building hospitals, mosques, colleges, and other public works. These losses deeply affected him for a long time: but at length, reflecting that *an hour only, employed by a prince in executing justice, is of more importance than the worship given to God, and all the prayers made during one's whole life*, he applied himself by degrees to public affairs. Having learned that there were some commotions in the country of the *Getes*, the greater part of whom were not *Mohammedans*, he ordered the Mîrza *Ali* to march thither with an army, and destroy those seditious people; then to pursue *Kâmro'ddîn*, the author of those troubles. He sent after them Sheykh *Ali Bahâdr*, and other amîrs, with 10,000 horse; who, at *Atakom*, met the first party on their return, they being defeated and plundered by the people of *Bahrîn*; but afterwards took revenge on them with great slaughter. They all went back together, in pursuit of *Kamro'ddîn*, to *Issigheul*, and thence as far as *Gheuk-topa* (or the *Blue Hills*); but, not finding him, returned in autumn. Jetah *invaded*. Hej. 785. A. D. 1383.

Mean time Sheykh *Dawd*, whom *Timûr* had made chief commander in *Sebzwâr*, having slain the governor *Taban Bahâdr*; the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh* laid siege to the place, and slew abundance of the rebels: but the Sheykh *Dawd* escaped to the fortress of *Bâdrabâd*, which the prince sent troops to invest. On this advice, the emperor detached the Sheykh *Ali Bahâdr* and *Uchkara Bahâdr*, at the head of a great army, against the Amîr *Veli*, prince of *Mazânderân*; and marched himself towards the country of *Sistân* (or *Sejestân*), which was in rebellion also. At the beginning of *Ramadân* 785, his army sat down before *Herât*, whose inhabitants, as was mentioned, were joined with the *Gowri* rebels: from thence he marched to *Sebzwâr*, which was attacked and forced. Near 2000 slaves, taken, were piled alive, one upon another, with mortar and bricks; as a monument to deter others from revolting, and punish the inhabitants of that city. After this, he sent his vanguard to *Sistân*; and followed with the rest of his army, which *Cruel punishment*. A. D. 1383.

[m] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 227—233. c. 39—41.

A. D. 1383. consisted of 100,000 warriors. In his way, prince *Shâh Jalâlo'ddîn*, of *Fârah* (or *Pârrah*), came and submitted to him. The army likewise took the fortress of *Zâreh* (T), with the slaughter of near 5000 soldiers, of whose bodies they made a mountain, and with their heads erected a tower.

Sistân besieged; WHEN the emperor arrived at *Sistân* (U), he ranged his army round it in form of a crown. Presently there appeared some lords deputed from *Shâh Kothbo'ddîn*, to offer tribute to *Timûr*, and the usual customs: but, during this conference, the besieged sallied out in multitudes with good troops. *Timûr*, who knew of their design, placed 2000 men in ambush; while an amîr advanced with a few horse to begin the fight, and then turned to the right, pretending to fly. The enemy, who were only foot, encouraged by this feint, pursued them vigorously to the place of ambuscade; where the horse, rushing out, after a bloody fight, drove them to the gates of the town. Next night 2000 of the enemy sallied out to surprise the besiegers, and advanced as far as the tents, and even to the middle of the camp: but they met with so warm a reception, that those, who escaped being killed, with great difficulty got back to the town [n].

taken, and destroyed. NEXT day the army assaulted the place on all sides, and at the same time the besieged made a sally; but were repulsed by the Mirza *Ali*, with 500 horse, who entered the town with the enemy. However, they were opposed by a strong party, who shut them in, and began a furious engagement: but *Akitmur Bahâdr*, being informed of what had happened, hasted with 1000 horse, and, cutting the gate to pieces, delivered Mirza *Ali* and his men out of the hands of the enemy. The king, *Shâh Kothbo'ddîn*, despairing to defend himself, came out of the town to ask pardon of the emperor; who granted it, and distinguished him from the other princes by his favours. Mean time between 20 and 30,000 of the populace, sliding down by the walls, advanced to attack the besiegers, who repulsed them with great slaughter. Then, pursuing their victory, they gave a second assault; and, having made several breaches in the walls, entered the city, which they left deso-

[n] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 233—241. c. 41—44.

(T) In *Sistân* or *Nimrûz* province, near a lake of the same name.

(U) It is also called *Sejestân*, or *Sajestân*, and *Zaranj*. It stands on the river *Senarûd*, a branch of the *Hendmend*, which falls into the lake of *Zereh* (or *Zareh*). The province, which has the same name, is otherwise called *Nimrûz* (that is, the southern country). *La Croix*. This author says, it is a part of *Khorassân*; but it is indeed a distinct province of considerable extent.

late:

late: they not only demoliſhed the walls and houſes, but ſlew all the inhabitants, men, women, and children. Thus was this fine city deſtroyed, and all the treaſures of the *Siſtân* kings carried away, in the month of *Shawal*. The king *Kothbo'ddîn*, generals of the army, and governors of provinces, were ſent to *Samarkant*. A. D. 1383.

FROM *Siſtân* the army marched to *Boſt* (W). In their paſſage they took the fortreſs of *Tak*: and, when they came to the river *Hirmen* (or *Hendmend*), deſtroyed an antient monument there called *The bank of Rûſtem*. Being informed at *Kuke Kala*, that *Tûmen Nikûdari*, revolting, had beſieged *Kij* in *Mekrân*, the emperor ſent the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh* with troops to reduce him; and altho' the Amîr *Sayfo'ddîn*, his old friend, ſtrove to reclaim him, he continued obſtinate, and was killed in the firſt onſet. As the army marched by the upper part of the *Hirmen*, the prince of *Mam Katû* waited on *Timûr* with preſents: but, as *Timûr* knew him to be the perſon, who, when he returned from *Siſtân* with the Amîr *Huſſayn*, had wounded him in the hand, he ordered him to be ſeized, as ſoon as he was gone out from his preſence, and ſhot to death. After this, the troops, on their march, took the city of *Mam Katû* and *Kala Surk*, that is, *Red Caſtle*. Then arriving at *Hezarpez*, where 3000 of *Tûmen*'s ſubjects had fortified themſelves in the mountain, they took it by aſſault, tho' deemed impregnable; and put them to the ſword, to puniſh them for the diſorders they committed. The like was done at *Dehne*, another citadel, which the tribe of *Tagâchi* had ſeized, and towers built of their heads, as uſual. *Other cities reduced.*

THE army proceeded next to attack the *Owgani* (X) of *Kûh Soleyman*, a fortreſs on a mountain of that name, who had lately ſubmitted, and were now revolted. A bloody battle was fought, in which ſeveral brave men were killed: but, the place being at length taken, the *Ougani* were all put to death, according to the laws of *Jenghîz Khân*. From thence *Jehân Shâh Yakû Bahâdr* was ſent to *Kandahâr*, which he carried by aſſault; and, ſeizing the governor of the province, ſent him to court, where he was hanged. *Timûr*, on his arrival there, rewarded *Jehân Shâh*; and then diſpatched him with forces to *Kelât* (Y); which, after ſeveral aſſaults, he took and demoliſhed. *Siſtân*, *Zableſtân*, and their dependencies, being thus Kandahâr *taken.*

(W) A town of *Siſtân*, on the borders of *Zabuleſtân*, or *Zableſtân*. *La Croix*. Others, with *De l'Iſle*, place it in *Zabuleſtân*, on the borders of the province of *Kandahâr*.

(X) Theſe are the *Awgâns*, *Awgwans*, or *Afgâns*, who lately cauſed ſuch troubles in *Perſia*.

(Y) A town in the kingdom of *Koran*, near *Kandahâr*; different from *Kelât* in *Khoraſſân*.

A. D. 1383. brought into subjection, the emperor disbanded the amîrs, officers, and troops; then setting out for *Samarkant*, he arrived there in fourteen days. Soon after, a son was born to him, named *Ibrahim Soltân*; but this prince did not live long, dying very young.

Invades Irân afresh. Hej. 786. A. D. 1384. AFTER *Timûr* had staid three months in his capital, to pass the delightful season, he resolved to march to *Mazânderân*. He staid some days at *Bâlk*, for the arrival of several bodies of troops; which, amounting to 100,000 men, considerably increased his army. Being come to the river *Morgâb*, he took the road of *Burkey Tâsh*; and, coming down from *Saraks*, went to *Bâverd* (or *Abiverd*), and thence to *Nesa* (Z), where he learned that the Amir *Veli* had shut himself up in the citadel of *Dârûn* (A). On the way thither, his van-guard met that of the amîr, and came to a battle. *Mobasher*, who began the attack, was shot in the face with an arrow, which, entering near his teeth, went out at his neck: but, notwithstanding his wound, he rushed on his adversary, and cut off his head. The enemy, scared at this action, fled; and *Timûr* rewarded *Mobasher*'s courage. The army, on their arrival at *Dârûn*, besieged it; and, after several assaults, took it, putting the governor and garrison to the sword°.

Astarabâd *destroyed.* FROM *Dârûn* they marched by *Chilawn*, a country full of villages; and, passing the river at *Jorjân*, encamped at *Shasumân*: there, the two armies meeting, a bloody fight ensued. These skirmishes continued twenty days; at the end whereof, the Amîr *Veli* advanced, and fought with heroic valour; but was at length obliged to fly, and many of his best officers fell in the pursuit. Toward evening, *Timûr* ordered thirty companies to lie in ambuscade; and, in the night, the Amîr *Veli* sallied out of the fortress upon the right-wing commanded by prince *Mirân Shâh*, who marched against him: and, at the same time, those in ambuscade fell on: so that, being put to flight, many of his troops fell into the pits which they had dug to entrap the enemy. After this, the army, marching forward, arrived in the morning at *Astâr âbâd* (B), capital of *Mazânderân*; where they burnt and destroyed every-

° Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 241—253. c. 44—48.

(Z) *Nisay*, or *Nesay*, as in *Abû'lghâzi Khân*'s history: it is called also *Little Damascus*. *La Croix* says, it is a city in the desart of *Kivak*, between *Khorassân* and *Karazm*.

(A) A city of *Khorassân*, now belonging to *Karasm*, to the north of *Nesa*, towards the river *Amû*.

(B) Situated at the south-east corner of the *Caspian* sea.

thing,

thing, without ſparing even ſucking infants. This war happened in the month of *Shawal* 786. A. D. 1384.

THE Amîr *Veli* fled the ſame night, with his wives and children, by the way of *Langaru*, to *Damgân*; and, leaving them in the fortreſs of *Shîrdekûh*, marched to *Ray*, or *Rey* (C). The troops ſent in purſuit almoſt overtook him at that city; which made him fly into the woods of the country of *Ruſteyndâr*, and thus eſcaped. This amîr was ſon of Sheykh *Alî Biſâd*, one of *Taghitmûr Khân*'s commanders, who was ſlain, at the ſame time with his maſter, by the *Sarbedâls*. *Veli*, who was preſent, eſcaped to *Neſa*; where at length becoming powerful, he marched to *Aſtâr abâd*, which he reduced: while *Lokmân Pâdi Shâh*, ſon of *Toghitmûr*, fled, and wandered from place to place; till, liſting into the ſervice of *Timûr*, this monarch, after taking that city, reſtored him to the government of it. Lokmân *reſtored.*

THE emperor, leaving above two-thirds of his army to winter at *Aſtâr abâd*, marched with the reſt towards the kingdom of *Ray*. Soltân *Ahmed Sheykh Avîs Jalayr*, who was then at *Soltânîya* in *Irâk*, alarmed at this unexpected approach, left a ſtrong garriſon there, under the command of his ſon *Akbûga*, and retired to *Tauris*. Mean time *Omar Abbâs*, at the head of threeſcore horſe, ſet out towards *Soltânîya*, in the terrible ſnows, to gain intelligence. The enemy, on the news of his march, departed in great haſte, with their young prince, for *Tauris*; but, as they were not all gone out when *Omar Abbâs* arrived, that commander entered the place ſword in hand, and made himſelf maſter of it. *Timûr*, who, in ſpring, came to *Soltânîya*, having ſent to *Shîrâz* for *Sarek Adel* (one of the greateſt lords belonging to Sheykh *Avîs*, then in the ſervice of Soltân *Zeyn al Abo'ddîn*, ſon of Shâh *Shuja*, lately dead), conferred on him the government of that province, and the territories dependent on it; leaving with him alſo an army, to ſubdue the neighbouring countries. *Soltân Ahmed flies.* Hej. 787. A. D. 1385. Soltânîya *taken.*

AFTER this expedition, *Timûr*, returning from *Soltânîya*, entered the mountains of *Ruſteyndâr*; and, as the princes of the country fled, he eaſily became maſter of it. The Amîr *Veli*, on this news, fled alſo from *Yalûs*; while the army turned towards the cities of *Amol* and *Sarye* (or *Sari*); but the princes, who poſſeſſed thoſe places, prevented the danger, by offering to pay tribute, and obey *Lokmân Pâdiſhâh*, prince of *Aſtâr abâd*. *Timûr*, having thus reduced *Irân*, as far weſtward as *Soltânîya*, returned to the ſeat of his empire.

DURING the winter, *Tokatmîſh* (or *Toktamîſh*), khân of *Kipjâk*, ſent an army of near 90,000 men, by way of *Dârbend*, Kipjâks *take* Tauris.

(C) In all probability the antient *Ragau*, or *Rages*.

A. D. 1385. to attack *Tauris*. In this army, who were for the moſt part infidels, of a mercileſs nature, there were twelve *Aglens* (D), princes of the royal blood of *Tuſhi*, with ſeveral amîrs. The inhabitants of *Tauris* having, by advice of the Amîr *Veli*, who had retired thither, fortified their city, repulſed the enemy for eight days; but at length the army of *Tôktamiſh Khân*, being more numerous than that of the beſieged, became maſters of the place, where they exerciſed all manner of cruelties and abominations. Then having, in ſix days, pillaged all the treaſures, which had taken up many years to amaſs, they carried them off, with numerous ſlaves, to their own country [p].

Loreſtân *reduced.* *TIMUR*, when he heard of this devaſtation, was greatly incenſed at it, and confirmed in his reſolution to conquer *Irân:* which, being in confuſion for want of a ſovereign, was ſubject to ſuch invaſions, and liable otherwiſe to fall into the hands of ſome other power; which might prove detrimental to himſelf. In the year 788, therefore, he croſſed the *Jihûn* with a formidable army; and, after a long march, arrived at *Firûzkûh* (E). Here being informed of the outrages committed by the people of *Lûreſtân*, or country of *Lûr* (*Lor*, or *Lawr*), who had lately attacked and plundered a karawân of pilgrims, paſſing thro' their country to *Mekka*; he thought himſelf obliged to chaſtiſe ſuch villains. Therefore, taking with him every fifth man, he marched thither with all expedition; ordered *Urujerd*, with the neighbouring places, to be plundered; and at length reduced *Korram abâd*, an almoſt impregnable fortreſs, whither the robbers of *Lûreſtân* were retired; the greater part of whom, being taken, were thrown headlong from the tops of the mountains. Having thus ſubdued this little principality (F), he rejoined his army at *Nahawend* (a city not far off, to the ſouth-weſt).

A. D. 1386.

Takes Tauris. THIS monarch, having received advice that Soltân *Ahmed Jalayr* had raiſed troops at *Bâghdâd*, and returned to *Tauris*, haſted towards this laſt city, at the head of his army: but the ſoltân, not willing to wait his coming, fled. Troops, being ſent to purſue him, overtook and plundered his baggage. Hereupon he abandoned his army, accompanied with

[p] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 253—260. c. 48—51.

(D) All the princes of the blood of *Tuſhi* (or *Juji*) are ſurnamed *Aglen*. *La Croix.*

(E) A fortreſs in *Kûheſtân*, or *Perſian Irâk*, a few leagues to the N. E. of *Ray*.

(F) Its prince was *Mâlek Azzo'ddîn*; but it is not ſaid what became of him.

ſome

ſome troops: but, at the ſalt-pits of *Nemekzar*, beyond *Nakchivân*, was overtaken again by *Elias Koja*, ſon of Sheykh *Ali Bahâdr*, with a ſmall number of horſe. The ſoltân made a brave reſiſtance; and *Elias*, having been diſabled by a wound, gave him an opportunity of eſcaping. On this occaſion there happened many diſorders at *Nakchivân*; where, among other damages, the great dome of the palace of *Ziao'l Mulk* was burnt. Mean time ſeveral great lords and ſharifs of *Azerbejân* came to ſubmit to the emperor: and a ſum of money was impoſed on the inhabitants of *Tauris*, by way of ranſom for their lives. A. D. 1385.

THE whole kingdom of *Azerbejân* being now reduced, the court remained at that capital during the ſummer. Here *Sarek Adel* (G) was put to death by a ſling from the walls; and the moſt ſkilful maſters in every art and ſcience were ſent to *Samarkant*. At the ſame time the Amîr *Veli* was ſeized wandering in the province of *Kalkal* (*), and put to death. In autumn the army marched to *Merend* (or *Marand*); and then to the river *Urûs* (H), which it paſſed, over the bridge of *Ziao'l Mulk*, one of the moſt magnificent in the world, built all of ſtone, of a vaſt length, and flat at top. It is in the territory of *Nakchivân*, near the town of *Yulaha* (I): one of its arches, which joins to a mountain, at whoſe foot the river runs, is ſixty cubits wide: there is another of fifty-five cubits. There is alſo a great gate at each end, made out of the rock: the whole not to be equalled for beauty. *Azerbejân reduced.*

THE army, after reducing the citadel of *Korni*, and town of *Surmalu*, on the river, which they found in their road, came to *Kârs*: a town with a citadel ſo ſtrongly built of ſtone, and difficult of acceſs, that thoſe of the country deemed it impregnable: for all this, the governor *Pirâz Bâkht*, a *Turkmân*, after a very brave defence, was obliged to ſurrender the place; which was plundered, and then razed to the ground. As *Timûr*'s aim, from the firſt, was to make war on the infidels; becauſe it is recommended by God to *Mohammed*, as the moſt excellent of all actions; ſo, being at this time ſo near *Georgia*, he reſolved to make war on that country, which he had long before meditated. With this view he decamped from *Kârs*, tho' in very froſty weather; and, by way of *Kitû*, arrived at *Invades Georgia*,

(G) He had fled from the court of the *Ilkhânian* kings (or of Soltân *Ahmed*) to that of *Timûr*.

(*) Part of *Khilân*, or *Ghilân*.

(H) Or *Aras*, of old *Araxes*.

(I) Poſſibly, a miſtake for *Julfa*, or rather *Julfa*. The bridge is mentioned by *Tavernier*. c. 4. p. 19.; who tells us, it was deſtroyed, with the city, by Shâh *Abbâs*, to prevent the *Turks* from ſettling there.

A. D. 1387. *Tefîs*, capital of that country, which was well fortified with strong walls, besides a citadel: but, by the valour of *Timûr*'s troops, the city was taken, and prince *Mâlek Ipokrates* brought in chains to the camp. After this, the emperor took the diversion of hunting: the soldiers first made the circle called the *Nerk*; and then performed the *Jerk*, by approaching towards the centre, so to inclose the game q.

and subdues it. The army being encamped at *Sheki*, near the mountains, several bodies were sent into different parts of the country, which reduced many cities and provinces. The *Lekezians* were pillaged, and most of them slain: the provinces of *Tenkgût* and *Akjeb* were subdued. The camp removing to *Kabala*, or *Kambala*, the amîrs razed *Kala Surk*, or *the Red Castle*; and from thence, by *Karabâgh-surkâb*, came to the *Kûr* (or *Cyrus*), which they crossed, over a bridge of rafts. Then, marching to *Berdaa* (in the province of *Arân*), that city submitted without any opposition. When they came to *Karabâgh* (or *the Black Garden*), *Timûr* sent for *Ipokrates*; and used such convincing arguments, that he turned *Mohammedan*. He presented the emperor with a coat of mail, reported to have been that which the prophet *Dawd*, or *David*, forged in a smith's shop; and made proof, by soaking and dying it several times. *Timûr*, in return, made him several presents, and permitted him to return home: which good treatment of their princes induced most of his subjects to embrace the *Muslmân* faith.

Shîrwân *submits.* At this time the Amîr *Sheykh Ibrâhîm*, prince of *Shîrwân*, distinguished for his power, honesty, and noble descent, came and submitted to *Timûr*. Among other parcels of presents, there was one of eight captives, whom he had bought; and, as some person said that the ninth piece was wanting (K), he presented *himself*, to make up the number: which action so highly pleased the emperor, that, besides other bounties, he bestowed on him the kingdom of *Shîrwân*, and its dependencies, with the title of king; under which he became famous. Other sovereigns followed this prince's example; particularly those of *Ghilân*, or *Kilân*, who, confiding in their mountains and woods, marshes and sloughs, which rendered access difficult, as well as in the strength of their walled places, had not obeyed any king for many ages.

Defeats the Kipjâks. *TIMUR*, having passed the winter at *Karabâgh*, on the banks of the *Urûs* (or *Aras*), in the beginning of the year 789

Hej. 789. A. D. 1387.

q Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 260—269. cap. 51—54.

(K) It is the custom also to present nine pieces of a sort.

marched

marched to *Bardaa*. Here he received advice that *Toktamîſh*, khân of *Kipjâk*, had revolted; and ſent an army to make an irruption into *Azerbejân*, by the way of *Dârbend*, contrary to the counſel of his principal lords: but *Ali Bey*, and *Kazanſhî*, who had killed his own father, having found acceſs to him, perſuaded him to break off friendſhip with the emperor, and become his enemy. As ſoon as they were arrived near the *Kûr*, troops were ſent over to obſerve their motions; who were defeated: but, a ſtrong body being detached to ſupport them, under the command of the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh*, *Haji Sayfo'd-dîn*, and other princes, the enemy were ſoon put to a ſhameful flight. They were purſued as far as *Dârbend*, and a great number taken priſoners, whom *Timûr* generouſly releaſed; after mildly reflecting on their khân's breach of treaty without any provocation. A. D. 1387.

FROM the *Kûr* he marched to *Gheukche Tenghîz*, that is, *the Blue Sea*, where the empreſs *Saray Mulk Khanûm* arrived, with her two ſons, from *Samarkant*. At length he proceeded to *Alenjik*, where there was a fortreſs belonging to Soltân *Ahmed*. Three days after, his ſoldiers, in the night, aſcended the mountain adjoining to this place; and, at day-break, attacking it, made themſelves maſters of the lower citadel, which they deſtroyed. Thoſe, who guarded it, fled to the upper fortreſs; where, for want of water, they at length capitulated, promiſing on oath to depart. But, juſt as the beſieged were going to perform their agreement, ſo great a rain fell, that, in twenty-four hours, all their ciſterns were filled with water; and the people, having quenched their thirſt, put the enemy to defiance: who, ſuſpecting no ſuch contravention, had deſcended the mountain, and returned to the camp. Hereupon, the ſiege being renewed, the walls were at length battered down, and the water turned off; ſo that in a ſhort time the fortreſs was taken, and razed to the ground[r]. *Deſtroys* Alenjik.

AT this time advice arriving, that the *Turkmâns* were continually moleſting the *Mohammedans*; that they robbed the karawâns, not ſparing even thoſe of *Mekka*; and that nobody could paſs in ſafety by the places where they dwelt, *Timûr* left the province of *Nakchivân*, and marched towards them. In the way, he ordered the baggage to repair to *Alatak*; and, when he arrived at the caſtle of *Bayezîd*, formerly called *Aydîn*, his troops pillaged it, and carried off all which the inhabitants had left in the adjacent country. Paſſing farther to *Chaſtiſes the* Turkmâns.

[r] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 269—278. c. 54—58.

the

A. D. 1387. the caſtle of *Avanik* (L), where *Meſer*, ſon of *Kara Mehemed*, reſided, they ravaged all the country likewiſe. From hence they marched to *Arzerûm*, which they took the ſame day they arrived. *Timûr*, who encamped on the river *Shia-ſhûr*, ſent an ambaſſador to perſuade *Taharten*, ſovereign of *Arzenjân*, to ſubmit; which he did, and conſented to pay the karaj, or tribute (M). After this, he ſent three of his beſt ſquadrons, under command of the Mirza *Mirân Shâh*, in ſearch of *Kara Mehemed* (N), father of *Kara Yuſef*, the *Turkmân*; whoſe lands they ravaged, carrying away their wives and children; but found him not. However, another ſquadron, detached on the ſame errand, at length diſcovered him on the top of a mountain, and attacked him there; but, the place being rendered inacceſſible by the ſteep rocks, they returned to the camp.

Reduces Armenia. FROM thence *Timûr* marched to *Mûſh* (O), which was plundered; and at length arrived at the city of *Aklât* (P), which ſubmitted to him. Then, proceeding to *Adeljawz*, the prince thereof came out to meet him with preſents, and was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of his principality. The emperor continued his march by the lake of *Vân*; and, having paſſed *Bend Mahi* (Q), at length arrived at *Alatak*, where the baggage and body of the army waited for him. After this, the forces advanced to *Vân* and *Vaſtân*. *Mâlek Azzo'ddîn*, who commanded in the former, ſhut himſelf up in the citadel, which is very ſtrong, ſituated on the ridge of a mountain, and bounded on one ſide by the lake. The army uſed all their efforts to take both the caſtle and the town. Two days after, the prince came out, and ſubmitted: but, the inhabitants refuſing to ſurrender, the ſiege was renewed; and the fortreſs, which had never been conquered before, was entered on the twentieth day by the ſoldiers; who ſlew a great number of thoſe rob-

(L) *Wân*, or *Vân*, ſituated in the *Upper Armenia*. *La Croix*.— On the eaſtern ſide of a lake called that of *Vân*, alſo *Aktamir*.

(M) Which the *Mohammedan* princes exact from the *Chriſtians* and *Jews*.

(N) Chief (or founder) of the monarchy of the *Kara Kuyonlu*, or *Black Sheep*; whoſe hiſtory is given hereafter.

(O) A village in the *Lower Armenia*, at the foot of a mountain, from whence ſprings a little river: it is two days journey from *Mayafurkîn*, and three from *Aklât*. *La Croix*.

(P) Or *Eklât*; called alſo *Kellât*, and *Kalât*, the capital of *Lower Armenia*.

(Q) A place where a little river falls into the lake of *Vân*; and where are caught a great many little fiſh called *tarrîk*. *La Croix*.

bers,

bers, and caſt down many from the mountain top, tied neck and heels. A. D. 1387.

TIMUR, having ordered the caſtle of *Vân* to be demoliſhed, went to *Salmâz* (a city of *Azerbejân*), where he left *Mâlek Azzoddîn* in poſſeſſion of all *Kûrdeſtân*. At the ſame time the prince of *Armitzek* came to ſubmit himſelf, and was confirmed in the principality of *Armit*. After this, the emperor marched to *Marâgha*, and from thence to *Ghilân*: from whence, in autumn 789, he ſet out to conquer the kingdoms of *Fârs* (or *Pârs*) and *Irâk*. He had ſome time before ſent to ſummon to his court *Zayno'labeddîn*, prince of *Shîrâz* (R), whoſe father, Shah *Shûjah*, before he died, had recommended him to *Timûr*'s protection: but this prince, inſtead of obeying the ſummons, ſeized on and impriſoned the envoy. The army, taking its route thro' the country of *Hamadân*, arrived at *Jerbadekhân* (S); from whence the emperor marched, and encamped before *Iſpâhân*. Immediately the governor *Seyd Muzaffer Kâſhi*, maternal uncle of Soltân *Zayno'labeddîn*, with other chief men, came out to implore the mercy of *Timûr*; who entered the city, and lodged in the fortreſs of *Tabarrûk*: then placing a garriſon there, and a governor, returned to his camp[s]. *and* Kûrdeſtân. Hej. 786. A. D. 1387. Iſpâhân *ſubmits*.

THE quarters of the city were ſhared among the amîrs; each of whom ſent a commiſſary into his quarter, to collect the money granted by the inhabitants to redeem their lives. But, while every thing ſeemed in a quiet ſtate, a raſh young fellow, of the ſuburbs, named *Ali Kuchaſa*, a ſmith; in the night, cauſed the drum to be beaten in the city. On this, a rabble gathered, who cut the throats of all the commiſſaries, and more than 3000 *Turks*: ſo that none were ſaved, in this maſſacre, excepting ſuch as the wiſer inhabitants of each quarter defended from thoſe villains; who alſo ſlew the guards, and ſeized the gates. Next morning, when *Timûr* was informed of this ſedition, he ordered his army to take the city by force; and, when they had carried it by aſſault, ſent men to guard the quarter of the ſharîfs, and doctors of the law: but ordered all the reſt of the inhabitants to be put to the ſword, excepting thoſe who had preſerved any of his ſoldiers. To make ſure work, every company of men was obliged to furniſh *The inhabitants ſlaughtered.*

[s] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 278—290. c. 58—60.

(R) At preſent capital of *Pârs* (as the *Arabs* write *Fârs*), or *Proper Perſia*: but at that time *Eſtakar*, or *Aſtakar* (ſuppoſed to be the antient *Perſepolis*), is ſaid by our author to have been the metropolis.

(S) A city of *Kuheſtân* (a part of *Perſian Irâk*), called alſo *Ghilpayghan*, or *Gulpaykhân*.

A. D. 1387. furniſh a certain number of heads: but many ſoldiers, who were unwilling to kill the *Muſulmâns*, bought heads of the executioners, to make up their reſpective quotas. At firſt a head was ſold for twenty dinârs *Kupeghi*: but, when every one had the number he was taxed at, it yielded only half a dinâr; and at laſt no perſon bought any. On the other hand, the ſoldiers, who were leſs ſcrupulous or humane, killed all they met; and, by the tracks of feet in the ſnow which fell, traced thoſe who fled to their hiding-places, where they put them to death. According to the regiſters of the divân, the number of heads amounted to 70,000: which were laid in heaps on the walls, and afterwards piled up in towers, as uſual. This terrible ſlaughter happened on *Monday* the ſixth of *Zu'l Kaadeh*, in the year before-mentioned.

Pârs *and* Kermân *yields*

AFTER the reduction of *Iſpâhân*, *Timûr* marched towards *Shîrâz*: on which advice, *Zayno'labeddîn*, prince of *Pârs*, or *Proper Perſia*, fled with his troops to join Shâh *Manſûr*, governor of *Toſtar* (T), his couſin-german: but his ſoldiers, being bribed, went over to *Manſûr*; who, ſeizing the imprudent prince, firſt impriſoned him, and afterwards his treacherous troops, confiſcating all their effects. Mean time the emperor arriving at *Shîrâz*, on the firſt of *Zulhajeh*, that metropolis, with the whole kingdom, ſubmitted to him. The governors, aſſembling, agreed to pay 1000 tomans (U) *Kapeghi*; and the kotbah was read in *Timûr*'s name. Here Shâh *Yahîa*, prince of *Yazd*, a city of *Pârs*, nephew of the late Shâh *Shuja*; Soltân *Ahmed*, prince of *Kermân*, brother of the ſame *Shuja*; and *Abu Iſhâk*, his grandſon, from *Sirjian*; all the neighbouring ſovereigns; alſo the atabeks of *Lor* (W) and *Gurghian Lar* (X), came and made their ſubmiſſion; while the troops went to pillage the countries which refuſed to obey the ſummons [t].

[t] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 290—299. c. 60—62.

(T) Formerly called *Kuſhter* (or *Shuſhter*), in the province of *Ahwaz*, which is part of *Khuzeſtân*. *Abû'lfeda* ſays, this town is the moſt antient in the world. *La Croix*.

(U) A toman is worth twenty *French* crowns. *La Croix*.

(W) A nation in *Khuzeſtân*. *La Croix*. Some place them in *Perſian Irâk*.

(X) A city and province of *Pârs*.

CHAP.

A. D. 1387.

CHAP. III.

Wars with the Kipjâks *and* Getes. *Conqueſt of the Countries to the* Euphrates.

IN the interim advice came, that *Toktamîſh*, khân of *Kipjâk*, defeated by *Timûr* in the weſt, had gone round, and attacked his dominions in the eaſt. His army, having paſſed by *Saganâk*, ſat down before *Sabrân*; but were obliged to raiſe the ſiege. However, as they continued to ravage the country, the Mîrza *Omar Sheykh* marched from *Andekhân*; and, being joined by the troops left at *Samarkant*, croſſed the *Sihûn* (or *Sîr*) in autumn. They met the enemy's army in the field of *Juklik*, five leagues to the eaſt of *Otrâr*; and fought till night: when *Omar Sheykh*, carried by his intrepid valour, breaking thro' the enemy's army, was miſſed by his own; who thereupon fled. However, the mîrza eſcaped to *Andekhân*; and, having rallied his troops, ſet out a ſecond time: but, when he got to *Kojend*, news came that *Anketûra*, nephew of the Amîr *Haji Bey*, of the tribe of *Irkanût*, forgetting the emperor's favours, with an army from *Moguleſtân*, was already arrived at *Sayrâm* and *Tâſhkunt*. *Omar Sheykh* immediately returned to cut off their retreat; and came up with them before *Akſiket*. The armies, for ſome days, marched along the banks of the *Sihûn*, in view of each other, waiting for an opportunity of engaging to advantage [a]. Toktamîſh Khân *repulſed.*

AT length, one night, *Anketûra*, leaving 1000 men in his camp, with orders to light fires, that the mîrza might think all the army was ſtill there, marched with the reſt of his troops, and croſſed the *Sihûn* in a convenient place. At the ſame time *Omar Sheykh* advanced againſt and fought him: but, as the enemy far ſurpaſſed him in number of forces, he deſiſted, and entered *Andekhân*. *Anketûra* purſued him, and aimed to ſeize all the avenues: but the mîrza, to prevent him, ſallied out, and fell upon the *Getes*, ruſhing into the midſt of his enemies; till *Tukel Bahâdr* made after him, and led his horſe back by the bridle: after which, *Anketûra*, weary of the expedition, returned homewards. Mean time the troops of *Kipjâk* pillaged the towns of *Great Bukhâria*; and, being met, at *Bokhâra*, by another body of their army, beſieged that city. But, as they were always worſted in their attacks, they raiſed the ſiege, and made incurſions through the country; in one of which, they *The* Getes *defeated.*

[a] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 290—299. c. 60—62.

burnt

A. D. 1387. burnt *Zenjîr Saray* (A), (one of the emperor's palaces) whither they were conducted by Soltân *Mahmûd*, son of *Kay Kosrû Katlâni*.

New conquests settled. When *Timûr* received advice of this invasion, he gave the government of *Shîrâz* to Shâh *Yahîa*, nephew of Shâh *Shuja*; that of *Ispâhân* to Soltân *Mehemed*, son of Shâh *Yahîa*; that of *Kirmân* to Soltân *Ahmed*, brother of Shâh *Shuja*; and invested the Soltân *Abu Is-hâk*, Shâh *Shuja*'s grandson, in the government of the province, as well as city and castle, of *Sirjiân*, which he bestowed on him and his heirs for ever; signing all their patents with the imperial signet called *Altomga*, that is, the mark of the *Red Hand*. Then the emperor sent all the great amîrs belonging to the court of the late Shâh *Shuja*, with all the handicraftsmen of *Shîrâz*, to *Samarkant*: after

A. D. 1388. which, he set out for that city, at the end of *Moharram* 790. As soon as the enemy heard that he had crossed the *Jihûn* with his army, they thought fit to fly back to *Kipjâk*, and were pursued as far as *Bilen*.

Cowardice punished. As it appeared strange to this monarch, that, in the battle of *Juklik*, the army of *Tokatmîsh Khân* should get the better of his troops; he ordered the amîrs, who were in that battle, to be examined in council, and the transgressors prosecuted. Among the rest, *Berat Koja* had his beard shaved (B); and, after being severely reproached for his cowardice, they painted his face with ceruse and vermilion; put a coiffe on his head, as if he had been a woman; and made him run barefoot thro' the city. On the other hand, *Kuche Mâlek*, who, with thirteen men only, had attacked, in the night, 300 infidels of *Ankatûra*'s troop, and delivered several prisoners out of their hands; received as a reward, among other favours, a principality, for him and his descendants, with the privilege of *Terkân* [b].

Affairs of Karazm. Hej. 790. In the beginning of the year before-mentioned, *Timûr* departed for *Karazm*; and, when he came to the river *Shedris* (C), learned by a deserter, that *Ilitmish Aglen* (king of that country), and *Soleymân Sofi*, had quitted that kingdom, and re-

[b] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 299—305. c. 62—63.

(A) Two leagues from *Kârshi*. Which insult was revenged afterwards by the burning of *Saray*, capital of *Kipjâk*. See *La Croix*, hist. Tim. Bek, l. iii. cap. 60. p. 514.

(B) There is no greater reproach among the eastern nations, than to have the beard shaved, after it is once grown; especially if done by the common executioner. *La Croix*.

(C) Which runs into the *Jilûn*; and divides the kingdoms of *Jagatay* and *Karazm*. *La Croix*.

treated

treated to *Kipjâk*. Hereupon he ſent ſome troops in purſuit of them, by way of *Komkint* and *Kîz;* who, overtaking them, made a great ſlaughter, and plundered their baggage. When he came to the capital of *Karazm*, he ordered the inhabitants to remove, with their goods, to *Samarkant*; and razed that great city to the very foundations, ſowing the ground with barley, to puniſh his enemies making war upon him. However, three years after, in 793, *Mûſik* being ſent by *Timûr* to *Karazm*, he repeopled the country, and brought it up to its antient ſplendor. He ſurrounded with walls not only the cities of *Kât* and *Kivâk*, but likewiſe all the demeſnes of the khân; that is, the part of *Karazm* which *Jenghîz Khân* gave to *Jagatay Khân*. A. D. 1388.

DURING *Timûr*'s expedition into *Karazm*, *Mehemed Mireke*, ſon of *Shîr Bahrâm*, whom he had made governor of *Katlân*, and honoured in marriage with his daughter *Soltân Bâkt Begum*, revolted; and marched to *Termed*, but could not take that city. On the firſt news of this rebellion, the Mîrza *Omar Sheykh* purſued the rebels, who thereupon diſperſed; which broke all *Mireke*'s meaſures, who fled to the kingdom of *Katlân*. Being followed by the mîrza, he haſted to the narrow paſs called *Darey Darvâz*, to ſeek protection of Shâh *Jalalo'ddîn* (D), who refuſed him entrance into the caſtle: to add to his affliction, moſt of his domeſtics abandoned him. Mean time *Omar Sheykh* could get no tidings of him: but, while he ſtaid in *Katlân*, waiting the event, one of his officers, in his way to *Samarkant* with ſome domeſtics, arrived at a fountain in *Katlân:* where obſerving the tracks of horſes which had gone out of the common road, he had the curioſity to follow them; and had no ſooner paſſed ſome hills, than he perceived *Mehemed* ſitting with four ſervants, while their horſes fed on the graſs. He immediately ſurrounded, ſeized, and bound them: then ſent notice to the mîrza, who ordered him to put *Mireke* to death. *Revolt of* Mireke

AT the ſame time that *Mireke* rebelled, the Amîr *Jehân Shâh* departed from *Kondoz* with the tomâns of *Bûrûlday*, *Taykhân*, and *Aperdi*. In their march, that of *Bûrûlday* revolted, and returned back: the amîr, with ſome troops, purſued them to *Bakalân*, and pillaged their houſes. After which, hearing of *Mereke*'s rebellion, he prepared to march againſt him; and haſted to the *Jihûn* with part of the forces: where *and* Bûrûlday *ſuppreſſed.*

(D) Prince of the frontiers of *Tibet*, inhabiting the mountains between that county and *Katlân*. *La Croix.*—This muſt be underſtood of the country of *Little Tibet*, to the north of *Kaſhmîr*, in *Hinduſtân*.

he

A. D. 1388. he was to be joined by two other commanders with the reſt. But, as ſoon as night came, *Junayd Bûrûlday*, and his brother *Bayezîd*, revolting with the ſquadrons they commanded, conſiſting of 3000 horſe, fell on *Jehân Shâh*, who had no more than ſixty men: yet this valiant general, having the river on his back, advanced with his ſoldiers againſt the rebels; and, when they had emptied their quivers, had recourſe to their lances and ſwords. Mean time *Koja Yuſef*, ſon of *Olajîa Itû*, ſent *Jehân Shâh* word, that he was haſting to his aſſiſtance. This news giving the men new heart, they held firm till night; when *Yuſef* arrived with 100 men, and fell ſo vigorouſly on the enemy, that they fled, while many were ſlain in the purſuit [c].

Mahmûd *elected khân.*

When *Timûr* was on the way to *Karazm*, *Siorgatmîſh Khân* fell ſick at *Bokhâra*, and died there; and, at his return, Soltân *Mahmûd* (E), ſon of the deceaſed, was eſtabliſhed in his place. After this, he married the Mîrzas *Mehemed Soltân*, his brother *Pîr Mehemed*, and the Mîrza *Shâh Rukh*.

The Kipjâks *defeated.* Hej. 791. A. D. 1389.

At the end of the ſame year, *Toktamîſh Khân*, of *Kipjâk*, brought a numerous army into the field; compoſed of the troops of *Ruſſia*, *Chirkaſſia*, *Bulgaria*, *Kipjâk*, *Krîm*, *Kaffa*, *Allan*, and *Azâk*. *Timûr*, on this news, departed, with the troops of *Samarkant* and *Kaſh*, to the place of rendezvous, ſix leagues from his capital; from whence he ſent orders thro' the empire for his troops to repair thither: but, before any could arrive, advice came that *Ilitmîſh Khân*, with a vaſt number of horſe, had croſſed the *Jihûn* at *Kojend*, and encamped not far diſtant. The emperor, without waiting for any other troops, contrary to the intreaties of his lords, ſet forward, through the ſnow, which was already ſo deep that it touched the bellies of the horſes. For all this, he marched night and day; and, ſhortly after, was joined by the Mîrza *Omar Sheykh*, with the troops of *Andekhân*.

with great ſlaughter.

TIMUR then ſent a body of horſe to fall on the enemy's rear; and block up the paſſages, to hinder their retreat. Next morning they came in ſight of the enemy; and immediately made the great cry *Sûrûn*, to begin the fight. After a bloody battle, the enemy were obliged to fly; and, being purſued, many flung themſelves into the *Jihûn*, to avoid the ſword: while the reſt, meeting with the troops ſent to cut off their retreat, were hemmed in, and the greater part cut to pieces. *Timûr* then returned to his capital; and, in the month of

[c] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 305—315. l. iii. c. 1, & ſeq.

(E) By miſtake, called in the hiſtory *Mehemed*.

Safar

Safar 791, encamped near that city; waiting for the troops from all parts of the empire, which arrived in the beginning of ſpring. In the month of *Rabîyo'lawel* he departed for *Kipſâk*; and paſſed the *Sihûn* at *Kojend*, over a bridge of boats, at the head of a formidable army. The van-guard ſurpriſed the enemy's ſcouts, and cut moſt of them to pieces: the reſt fled to *Toktamîſh Khân*, who had laid ſiege to *Sabrân*, but was obliged to raiſe it; and, as ſoon as he heard that *Timûr* had paſſed the river, fled with precipitation thro' the deſart. He was purſued for ſome time as far as *Sarek Uzân*, on the river *Arch*, by a body of troops; who killed ſeveral of the enemy's rear, and then returned to *Akſuma* (F), where the emperor was encamped. A D. 1388.

TIMUR then advanced forward; and, having paſſed the town of *Bîlân* and *Sarek Uzân*, at length came to *Alkûſûn*, a village of *Kipſâk*. Here being informed that the *Sarbedâl* princes (G), and *Haji Bey Yun Garbâni*, were revolted, with the garriſons of *Kelât* and *Tûs*, he ſent the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh* to *Khoraſſân*, with the main body of the army. In his way, he cauſed *Mâlek Pîr Mehemed*, ſon of *Mâlek Kayazo'ddîn*, prince of *Herât*, and his ſon *Mahmûd*, to be put to death at *Samarkant*; ſo to remove the cauſe of the diſorders in *Khoraſſân*. He did the ſame by *Zayn al Abeddîn*, prince of *Shîrâz*; ſo that there remained not one of thoſe *Kûrd* (H) princes. At *Bahrabâd* (near *Tûs*) he met the *Sarbedâl* kings, who fought with great reſolution: but, being ſurrounded by the mîrza's troops, were all cut to pieces, excepting prince *Malûk*, and two or three of his guards. Mean time the Amîr *Akbûga*, from *Herât*, who had beſieged *Tûs*, took it; and, tho' *Haji Bey* fled, he was ſeized at *Semnân* in *Kûmes*; and, being ſent to the mîrza, was put to death. Sarbedâl *kingdom ruined.*

MEAN time *Timûr* was prevailed on by his lords to quit the farther purſuit of *Toktamîſh Khân* for the preſent, and turn his arms againſt *Kezra Koja Aglen* (king of *Jetah*) and *Ankatûra*. He parted from *Alkûſhûn* in 791, and took the road of mount *Urnak* (I); beyond which, being in great want of water, they found in the deſart a vaſt meadow covered with Timûr *marches* Hej. 791. A. D. 1389.

(F) A ſpy-tower in *Kipſâk*, mentioned before.

(G) *Sarbedâl*, or *Serbedâl*, ſignifies *Head on the branch*; becauſe the factious among them hung their turbâns on branches of trees, in token of reſolution. Twelve of them reigned forty-five years, from 737 to 788, in *Sebzwâr*: the laſt of theſe kings was *Koja Ali Muayd*, who died in the camp of *Timûr*. *La Croix.*

(H) Perhaps, rather *Gowri* princes.

(I) The reſidence of *Oguz Khân*, founder of the *Mungl* empire; called alſo *Urnak Lornak*. *La Croix.*

A. D. 1389. ice and ſnow, tho' in the midſt of ſummer, which relieved both men and cattle. Having hunted at *Aygher Yali* (on the river *Tik*), they at length came to the town of *Shiḥar Aygher*: where they defeated 1000 horſe belonging to *Ankatûra*, who, they learned, was at *Uronk*, or *Uronkyar*, another town of *Jetah*. The army haſted thither: but, the guide having loſt his way in the night, *Timûr* next day divided it into two bodies; one he kept himſelf; and gave the other to the Mîrza *Omar Sheykh*, to ſeek the enemy. After paſſing thro' many towns and villages, he encamped at *Karaguchûr*, a temple of the *Mungls*; while the mîrza, taking another road, at length came up with *Ankatûra*, at the town of *Kûbak*: where he defeated and made him fly to *Kakamaburjî* (K); leaving to the victor his cattle and daughters, who were exceeding beautiful [d].

into Jetah; On his return, he was ordered to go in queſt of part of the army ſent out before on another occaſion. He was accompanied only with fifty perſons; but they were all princes, amîrs, and generals. When he arrived at the plain of *Ichmas Alagheul* (L), they met with 800 of the enemy's horſe; whom, tho' ſix to one more numerous, they defeated, after a bloody fight, and returned with their cattle to the camp at *Karaguchûr*. As *Timûr* ſtaid here to fatten his horſes, he detached 30,000 men toward *Artiſh* (M), in queſt of the enemy. When they arrived at the *Irtiſh* (N), they marched along that river; and many paſſed into the iſles, and other places, where they ſlew and took a great number of priſoners, with their effects. At their return, the enemy decamped; and, paſſing the great deſart, after many days journey, arrived at *Aymal Gûjû* (ca-

[d] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 315—328. c. 2—5.

(K) An antient caſtle on the frontiers of *Jetah*, and north of *Turkeſtân*. *La Croix*.—By *Turkeſtân* the author muſt mean here the country of *Kâſhgar* in *Little Bukhâria*; which is ſo called at one time by the oriental writers, becauſe *Kâſhgar* was the reſidence of the khâns of the *Turks*.

(L) A plain in *Jetah*, near the river *Irtiſh*, where there is a ſalt lake. *La Croix*.

(M) *Artiſh*, or *Irtiſh*, a town of *Moguleſtân*. *La Croix*.—The ſame, perhaps, with *Ardiſh*, often mentioned in the reign of *Jenghîz Khân*.

(N) Formerly called *Artiſh*; a river which runs thro' all the country of *Jetah* and *Moguleſtân*, and falls into the *Obi*. *La Croix*.—By *Moguleſtân*, is not to be underſtood the antient country of the *Mungls*, to the eaſt of mount *Altay*; but that part of *Tartary*, on the weſt ſide, poſſeſſed by the *Elûths* or *Kalmûks*.

pital

pital of *Jetah*) (O); where he lodged in the palace of *Saray Urdam*, with great magnificence. A. D. 1389.

After this, *Timûr*, in order effectually to root out the *Getes*, divided his army into several bodies, under so many generals, who were to take different routes; being provided both with guides, and memoirs of the roads. The Mîrza *Omar Sheykh*, crossing the mountain *Dûbeshin Andûr* (near the lake *Artak gheul)*, went as far as *Karakoja* (P), three months journey of the karawân from *Samarkant:* another party went to the town of *Kara Arf*, and valley of *Shûrûjluk*, in *Moguleſtân: Kodâdad Huſſayni*, with a body of 20,000 men, arriving at *Bikût*, by way of *Urichû*, towns in the same country, met with the tribes of *Bulgaji* and *Ilker;* whom they defeated, after a bloody battle, which continued for twenty-four hours. Those, who escaped, fell into the hands of *Timûr*; who, with his guards and household troops, having taken the road of *Oluk Kûl* (Q), met them at the hill of *Sichkhân Daban* (R), and cut them to pieces. A fifth body went as far as *Ligh* and *Gheveyar*, towns in *Moguleſtân*. *and defeats*

Several amîrs, who had been ordered to follow *Timûr* in this expedition, after many days journey, came to *Urdaban* (a mountain of *Jetah*, near *Great Bukhâria*): then crossed the river *Abeile* (S), and arrived at *Sutgheul* (T). At length they advanced to *Chicheklik* and *Balaykhân*, towns of *Moguleſtân*, which they plundered. When they came to that of *Molzûdû*, they met with *Kezra Koja Aglen*, king of *Moguleſtân*, at the head of a great army: as they were much inferior to the enemy in number, they dismounted; and, tying the bridles of their horses to their girdles, let fly their arrows: they fought back to back, turning on all sides, without stirring out of the place for forty-eight hours; at the end of which, they made a treaty with the enemy, and retired to *Yulduz*, the place of rendezvous. Kesra Koja Khân,

(O) Capital of *Jetah*, and frontier of *Moguleſtân*. *La Croix.*—It is difficult to fix the situation or bounds of these countries, according to this author, who seems often to vary in his description of places.

(P) A town in *Moguleſtân*, called also *Aramuth*. *La Croix.*—*Aramuth* is in *Little Bukhâria*, near *Turfân*.

(Q) The great stream of the river *Irtiſh*. *La Croix.*

(R) *Daban* signifies a mountain. *La Croix.*

(S) It runs into the *Sihûn*. *La Croix.*—We rather conjecture it to be the river *Ili*, on which the khân of the *Eluths* used to encamp, as we have observed before, p. 231, note (I).

(T) A town on the bank of the great lake of sweet water. *La Croix.*

A. D. 1389. *who quits* Jetah.

When *Timûr*, who was then at *Keytû* (U), heard this news, he joined the toman of *Mahmûd Khân*; and, passing by *Konghez* (W), arrived at *Yulduz*; where, chusing out the bravest men of his army, he crossed the river at *Ulakianawr* (X), and followed the track of *Kezar Koja Aglen*. After passing the great desart, he arrived at *Karabûlak* (Y); from thence he went to *Tabertâsh* (Z); and, coming to *Kûshon Kay* (A), discovered the enemy's army, who fled under cover of the night; and, as they took different routes, many fell into the hands of *Timûr*'s troops, and were slain. The emperor, having passed the mountain *Nayrin Keutel*, pursued the enemy as far as *Karatâsh*, another mountain: and thus constrained the king of *Jetah* to abandon his kingdom, after suffering infinite fatigues, and seeing all his warriors either slain or taken prisoners, as well as his wives and children, together with the inhabitants of this country: which besides was intirely ruined, as far as *Kûlan Keutel* (B), and the cattle all carried away.

Timûr *at* Yulduz.

After this, *Timûr* began his march homewards; and, when he came to *Jalish* (a town near *Bikût*), he divided the immense booty among his soldiers. From thence, passing by the town of *Kajirtû*, and mountain *Bilajir*, he arrived at *Yulduz* (C), that is, *The morning star*; so called from the beauty of its fountains and pastures: a most delightful place. The grass there is so nourishing, that it fattens the leanest horses in a week's time. From thence the Mirza *Omar Sheykh* was sent home, by the way of the *Iron Gate*, named *Koluga*; beyond which he met the prince *Kublik*, one of the great amirs of the *Getes*, whom he defeated with great slaughter; and, being taken, his head was cut off, according to the laws of *Jenghiz Khân*. The mirza, having seized his effects, and ex-

(U) A town of *Moguleſtân*, near the *Irtish*. *La Croix*.

(W) A town of *Moguleſtân*, on the shore of the great lake *Atrak Gheul*. *La Croix*.—It signifies *the lake of the* Turks. Perhaps the same called above, *Artak Gheul*.

(X) A passage over the river *Ankora* in *Moguleſtân*. *La Croix*.

(Y) A famous fountain at the foot of the mountain *Benghiar*. *La Croix*.

(Z) A village dependent on *Karakorom*. *La Croix*.

(A) A village in *Moguleſtân*, frontier of *Kalmûk*. *La Croix*.—This author places *Kalmûk* to the north of the river *Amûr* or *Saghalian*.

(B) A mountain at the extremity of *Moguleſtan*, towards *China*. *La Croix*.

(C) Distant from *Samarkant* two months journey of the karawân, or 480 leagues, at the rate of eight leagues *per* day. It is called *Cyalis*, in the travels of *Benedict Goes* the Jesuit to *Katay*, and is in the road from *Russia* to *China*. *La Croix*. This is called the *Greater Yulduz*.

terminated

terminated his ſubjects, continued his route by *Kûzan* (D), *Ucheferman* (E), and the great city of *Kâſhgar* (F); from whence at length he arrived at *Andekhân*[e]. A. D. 1389.

TIMUR, having finiſhed his expedition againſt the *Getes*, left *Kechik Yulduz*, or the *Leſſer Yulduz*, in order to return, after a march of above 1000 leagues. When he came to *Oluk Yulduz*, or the *Greater Yulduz* (G), he made a magnificent entertainment for the generals and officers of his army; on whom he beſtowed robes of honour, and belts adorned with precious ſtones. Then ſetting forward the ſixteenth of *Shaabân*, he arrived at *Samarkant* the ſeventh of *Ramazân*, that is, in twenty-two days, though reckoned two months journey by karawân. In winter he went to *Bokhâra*; and paſſed the ſeaſon at *Gheul-ferketi*, near that city, where he took the diverſion of fowling; the ponds being ſtocked with an incredible number of ſwans, and other kinds of birds. Here he gave the princeſs *Soltân Bakt Begûm*, widow of *Mereke*, to the Amîr *Soleymân Shâh*; and married the young Mîrza *Abûbekr* to the daughter of the Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn*: but the joy on theſe occaſions was allayed by the death of *Kudak Khûtân*, his father's widow. *Returns to* Samarkant.

WHEN winter was over, *Timûr* went to encamp at *Akiar*, in the meadow of *Kaſh*, on the bank of the river *Koſhka* (H). As the officers were become very rich by the ſpoil they had gotten in the wars, he thought it adviſeable to augment the regiments; that, by increaſing the expences of the commanders, he might diminiſh their wealth, which might ſeduce them from their obedience. For this purpoſe, he aſſembled the kûrûltay in 792: which being over, he gave the grandees another magnificent feaſt; and, on this occaſion, married his grandſon, the Mîrza *Omar Sheykh*, to the princeſs *Sevinj Kothuk Aga*, daughter of *Sheyrin Bey Aga*, who was very handſome. After this, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and returned to *Political regulations.* Hej. 792. A. D. 1390.

[e] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 328—338. c. 5, & ſeq.

(D) A town of *Tebet*, or *Tibet*. *La Croix*.—His route could not, in our opinion, lie near that country.

(E) A town of *Turkeſtân*. *La Croix*.—That is, of *Kâſhgar*.

(F) Capital of *Turkeſtân*. *La Croix*.—Properly capital of the country of the ſame name: but the khâns of the *Turks* having reſided there for ſome time before the reign of *Jenghiz Khân*, it has been called the capital of *Turkeſtân*, of which it made a part.

(G) That mentioned before.

(H) It runs into the *Tûm*, which falls into the *Jihûn*. *La Croix*.

A. D. 1390. *Samarkant:* but, in a few days, came down to the meadow of *Ilgazigaj*, without that city.

Kamro'ddîn *pursued.* AT the beginning of the same year, the emperor sent an army into the country of the *Getes*, under command of the amîrs *Soleymân Shâh*, *Kodadad Hussayn*, *Shamso'ddîn Abbâs*, and his brother *Ozmân*. Having crossed the *Sihûn* (or *Sir*) at *Tâshkunt*, they marched to *Issigheul* (I), and from thence to *Gheuktopa* (a hill mentioned before); from thence they took the road of the mountain *Arjakú* (K), destroying the country, slaying or inslaving the people, and carrying away their effects. Thus they went thro' all the provinces of the *Getes*, and advanced as far as *Al Mâlegh*; where, having swam over the river *Abeile* (L), they arrived at *Karatâl*, a hord belonging to *Ankatûra*. There being informed that 400 men, detached before to get intelligence, had met with *Kamro'ddîn*; that most of the soldiers on each side were slain, and that the said prince had marched towards *Ichna Buchna* (M), they departed in search of him; and, having passed thro' that town, arrived at *Uker Kaptaji*, another; where they left their baggage, and rode post towards the *Irtish*. When they came to that river, they learned that *Kamro'ddîn* had crossed it, and was gone towards *Tawlas* (N), into the woods where sables and ermins are found. The amîrs passed the *Irtish* in the rafts and boats which the enemy had left behind; and marked their arms with fire on the pine-trees, as an evidence to succeeding ages of their conquests beyond that river. After they had been absent six months, they returned by *Altûn Kawrke*, a town on the great lake of *Atrak Ghçul* (O), where there is a great road made along its banks [f].

Timûr invades Kipjâk. IN autumn *Timûr* got ready his troops to make war in *Kipjâk*. Having visited the tomb of Sheykh *Maslahet*, where many miracles are said to be wrought, he crossed the *Sihûn* at *Kojend*; and went to *Tâshkunt*, between *Barsin* and *Chinas*, with

[f] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 338—347. c. 7—9.

(I) A lake near *Berket*, in *Jetah*.

(K) In *Jetah*, near *Al Maleg*. *La Croix*.

(L) Which discharges itself into the *Sihûn*. *La Croix*.— But *Al Maleg* is at a great distance from that river: which circumstance seems to confirm what we have said in a former note, concerning the river *Abeile*.

(M) A town of *Turkestân*. *La Croix*. This is *Turkestân* in the large sense before-mentioned.

(N) A town of *Tartary*. *La Croix*.—Frier *William de Rubruquis* mentions a town, in his journey thro' *Tartary*, called *Talas*; but whether the same with this, we cannot determine.

(O) In *Turkestân*, on the borders of *Moguleslân*. *La Croix*.

design

design to pass the winter in that city, where he lay dangerously sick for forty days. On his recovery, the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh* arrived with the troops of *Khoraſſân*; and, on the twelfth of *Safar* 793, *Timûr* began his march, conducted by *Timûr Kotluk Aglen*, son of *Timûr Mâlek*, khân of *Kipjâk*; *Konje Aglen*, another prince of that country; and *Aydekû Uzbek*. He left the Mîrzas *Pîr Mehemed* and *Shâh Rukh* to govern the empire of *Jagatay* in his absence; and sent away all the ladies, excepting his favourite Soltâna *Chulpan Mulk Aga*, daughter of *Haji Bey*, of *Jetah*. Hej. 793. A. D. 1391.

When they arrived at *Kara Suman* (a town of *Kipjâk*), ambassadors arrived from *Toktamîsh Khân*, with a letter; and presented him with a shonkar (P), and nine very fleet horses. Altho' *Timûr* took the bird in his hand, he shewed the ambassadors no marks of a good reception. In answer to their master's letter, which begged pardon for what was passed, and promised submission for the future; after reproaching his ingratitude, and breach of oath, he said, *Toktamîsh* was not to be trusted: however, that, if he sincerely desired peace, he should send *Ali Bey*, his first minister, to treat with his great amîrs. He then regaled them, and gave them vests of gold brocade. They were ordered to follow the army; which, *March* the fifth, set forward to conquer the empire of *Tuſhi*. They passed by *Yaſſi*, *Karachoh* (Q), and *Sabrân*: but, in three weeks, for want of water, the horses were reduced to extremity. At length, on the twenty-sixth, they arrived at *Sarek Uzan*, where, the river being high, their want was supplied. Having swam over the stream, they continued their march in the great desart; and encamped in places where there were wells, to avoid the like inconvenience. Here two servants fled to the enemy. *Refuses to draw.*

On the ninth of *April* they came to a mountain called *Kûchek Tâk*; and, in two nights and one day, to *Ulûk Tâk* (R); from whence he viewed the vast desart of *Kipjâk*, which, for its extent and verdure, looked like the sea. There he ordered a stone obelisk to be erected, with the date of his expedition cut thereon. From thence they hunted to the river *Ilanjûk* (*), which they crossed; and, in eight days, arrived at *Anakargû* (a tribe in *Kipjâk*). In all this six or seven months march *His army distressed.*

(P) A bird of prey, described Vol. IV. p. 289.

(Q) A town of *Kipjâk*, between *Yenghikunt* and *Sabrân*. *La Croix.*

(R) (That is, the little and the great mountain). They are in *Kipjâk*, between the rivers *Arch* and *Ilân-juk*. *La Croix.*

(*) Which runs into the river *Tik*. *La Croix.*—This seems to be the *Yem*.

A. D. 1391.

from *Tâshkunt*, they had not met with a single man, or any cultivated land. Victuals were now extremely scarce: and a pound of bread sold for sixty-seven dinârs *Kopeghi*; so that they were forced to hunt for their food. Among other game, they found a sort of stags, larger than buffalos, called *Kandagay* by the *Mungls*, and *Buken* by the *Kipjâks*. After this hunting, *Timûr* reviewed his army: on which occasion the custom is, for every commander to pray for the emperor on his knees, and speak an elogium in his presence. Among the rest, we are told, that, having advanced towards the regiment of *Mahmûd Khân*, this general (S) spoke as usual, and gave presents to the emperor; who, in his turn, caressed and praised him for the good order of his troop.

Seek the enemy.

When the review was over, *Timûr*, resolving to send a general to command the mangalay, or van-guard, the young Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* fell on his knees, and besought his father to honour him with that post. The emperor, much pleased with his resolution at so tender an age, granted his request; letting him, at the same time, know: "That he had need of "great presence of mind, a strong constitution, and perfect "activity, to acquit himself of an employ which was the prin-"cipal part of war, and on which the security of the army "intirely depended." On the twenty-fourth of *April*, the hour being fixed by the astrologers, the mîrza put himself at the head of the scouts, to go in quest of the enemy. They found a beaten road, and fires in many places: then passed the river *Tûpal* (T); but no signs of an enemy. At length they met with ten troopers in a wood, who gave them tidings of *Tokatmîsh Khân*. After passing several lakes and rivers, *May* the eleventh they arrived at the river *Tik* (U); which the army were two days in swimming over, because *Timûr* suspected ambuscades at the three passages. Six days after, coming to the river *Semmûr* (W), the scouts heard the cries of the enemy; and one of them, being taken, declared, that many of the ordas had encamped there, but had returned as soon as sensible of *Timûr*'s approach.

Get intelligence,

The emperor, on this advice, advanced in order; and, *May* the seventeenth, arrived at the river *Ayik* (X), (or *Jaïk*),

(S) So that the khân was one of *Timûr*'s generals, and behaved as a subject.

(T) Which falls into the *Tik*. *La Croix*.

(U) A river of *Kapschâk*, or *Kipjâk*, which falls into the *Caspian* sea. *La Croix*.

(W) It falls into the *Tik*. *La Croix*.

(X) Or *Jaïk*, a river which falls into the *Caspian* sea. *La Croix*.

which

which the army croſſed partly over a bridge, and partly by ſwimming. Three of the enemy, who were taken, related, that the two fugitive ſervants above-mentioned firſt informed *Tokatmîſh Khân* of *Timûr*'s invaſion: that the khân, enraged at this news, ſaid, he would raiſe two armies; and ſent to aſſemble troops from his camp, then at *Kerk Gheul* (Y): that, expecting *Timûr* would croſs the *Tik* at the ordinary paſſages, he lay there in ambuſcade to ſurpriſe him. After receiving this account, the emperor marched with great precaution, and had lines drawn round the camp every night. The army was greatly fatigued with paſſing the ſloughs and marſhes they met with in this country. At length three regiments of the enemy came in view, but ſoon diſappeared: however, the ſcouts found a troop of horſe in a wood; who making reſiſtance, many were killed, and forty taken. They had repaired to *Kerk Gheul*, according to proclamation; but, to their ſurpriſe, finding no troops aſſembled at the place of rendezvous, they wandered in the woods: after making this diſcovery, they were all put to death. At length they brought the ſon of the prince of *Memak* (Z), who had been wounded. He ſaid, he was on the road to *Saray* (capital of *Kipjâk*), to meet the khân; but did not find him at the rendezvous, nor could give any account of him[g].

A. D. 1391. *of* Toktamîſh.

MEAN time the ſcouts, aſcending a hill, diſcovered thirty companies of horſe in armour, watching to ſurpriſe the invaders; and then retired without noiſe: while *Aykûtmûr* ſtaid behind with ſome horſe, farther to view the enemy; who, obſerving what paſſed, fell upon him full-ſpeed. The valiant amîr made a brave reſiſtance: but, having two horſes ſhot under him, he was ſurrounded on foot, and cut in pieces by the *Kipjâks*, who did not know him. His death was followed by that of *Heri Mulk*, ſon of *Yadghiar Berlâs*; the famous *Ramazân Koja*; and the celebrated *Mehemed Erlât*; who were the greateſt captains *Timûr* had: but their death was ſoon revenged; for the army, advancing, attacked, and put them to flight, with great ſlaughter. After this, the ſcouts of the enemy appeared, and ſkirmiſhed every day with *Timûr*'s ſoldiers. At length the two armies coming in ſight, on the fifth of *July*, that monarch ranged his army with great care, dividing it into ſeven bodies: and, as this was never practiſed before among his troops, 'twas believed to be done by ſpecial inſpiration.

Meet the ſcouts.

[g] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 347—366. c. 9—12.

(Y) A lake in the country of *Nagaya* in *Kipjâk*, between the *Wolga* and the *Jaik*. *La Croix.*

(Z) A province bordering on that of *Saray* in *Kipjâk*. *La Croix.*

THE

A. D. 1391.

Order of battle.

THE emperor gave the command of the first body, which served for the van-guard, to Soltân *Mahmûd Khân*; and the Amîr *Soleymân Shâh* was his lieutenant-general. He placed the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* at the head of the second division, which passed for the main body. The third, which served as the rear, or body of reserve, consisting of the regiment of guards, and twenty companies of select veterans, was conducted by *Timûr* himself; and posted behind the second body, to reinforce the other divisions, in case of need. At the head of the fourth, which served for a right wing, was the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh*; whose lieutenant-general was the Prince *Mehemed Soltân Shâh*. The fifth body, designed as a van-guard to the said right wing, was led by the Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn*, who usually engaged in the most dangerous enterprises. The sixth, consisting of the troops of *Andekhân*, composed the left wing, and had for its leader the Mîrza *Omar Sheykh*. Lastly, the seventh body served for a van-guard to the left wing, and was commanded by *Birdi Bey*, son of *Sâr Buga*, and by *Kodadad Hussayn*, amîrs of undaunted bravery, and approved conduct. The army of *Tokatmish Khân*, which exceeded that of *Timûr*'s by some companies, was divided into three bodies, as usual. His officers were all princes of the blood of *Tushi*, and his soldiers completely armed. The battle began at the sound of the great trumpet *Kerrenay* (*). *Timûr* prayed to God devoutly for success, and *Seyd Bereke* promised him victory.

The fight begins.

THE Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn* was the first who rushed on the enemy's left wing, and overthrew it. A party of *Kipjâks* advanced, to attack his rear; but were forced to return, by *Jehân Shâh Bahâdr*, who marched against them with his regiment, out of the body of reserve. Mean time, the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh*, with the right wing, put their cavalry into confusion, and overthrew their left wing; while *Mehemed Soltân*, with the main body, broke through that of the enemy. *Omar Sheykh*, with the left wing, did great execution; and *Birdi Bey*, with *Kodadad Hussayn*, put their right wing to flight. The other generals had no less success. *Tokatmish Khân* observing how his troops diminished; and finding he could not withstand the squadrons which *Timûr* commanded in person, attacked the Mîrza *Omar Sheykh*: but though to no purpose, yet he after fell on the orda of *Seldûz*, with such fury, that, for all Sheykh *Timûr Bahâdr*'s brave resistance, the *Kipjâks* had nearly defeated him, rushing into the middle of the squadrons; and were about to post themselves behind the imperial army, with a resolution to keep their ground, and gain the victory.

(*) Of a monstrous size, very deep sound, and heard several miles off.

TIMUR

TIMUR, who was in purſuit of the enemy's main body, being informed of this, turned his troops on that ſide: but as ſoon as *Tokatmiſh Khân*, whom *Omar Sheykh* had already engaged, perceived the imperial ſtandard moving towards him, he loſt courage, and fled. The other generals following his example, the *Mungl* army was intirely routed; while the victors purſuing, made a dreadful ſlaughter of them, for forty leagues together. The emperor, having returned the Deity thanks for this great victory, and received the compliments of his generals, detached two thirds of his cavalry, to deſtroy the remainder of the enemy; whoſe flight being obſtructed by the river *Wolga*, very few of them eſcaped the ſwords of their purſuers; who carried away their women, children, baggage, and other effects. After this, *Konje Aglen*, *Timûr Kotluk Aglen*, and *Aydekû*, three princes of the blood of *Tûſhi*, who bore an antient hatred to *Toktamiſh*, from whom they had fled, obtained leave of *Timûr* to go in queſt of the tribes which they formerly commanded, promiſing to bring them over to his ſervice: but *Konje* only, who was very familiar with the emperor, returned, with part of his ſubjects whom he found: the other two, aſpiring to the crown of *Kipjâk*, fled, with their clans, into the deſart [h]. A. D. 1391. Tokatmîſh Khân *defeated.*

MEAN while, *Timûr*, following the troops which he had ſent in purſuit of the enemy, arrived at the *Wolga*, and encamped in the plain of *Urtûpa*, which, for its verdure, and pure air, ſurpaſſes all others. Here he gave a magnificent feaſt to his amîrs, at which was ſung and played a piece of muſic, called *the triumph of* Kipjâk. This plain was the ſeat of *Tûſhi Khân*, and his ſucceſſors. All the army had a ſhare in the diverſions; and the twenty-ſix days ſpent in pleaſure, made the ſoldiers forget all their paſt fatigues. As, after this victory, there remained no more enemies in the deſarts, or the iſles of *Wolga*, *Timûr* ſet forward on his return, followed by a great train of captives. All the poor men in ſervice of the army, who before could ſcarce find ſuſtinence, were now in poſſeſſion of ſo many horſes and ſheep, that, not able to carry all away with them, they were obliged to leave part behind. However, they carried off the tents of *Kipjâk*; which are fixed with very little trouble, and need not be taken to pieces at decamping, being made portable, ſo as to be carried by dromedaries from place to place. *Great rejoicings.*

WHEN the army arrived at the *Tîk*, *Konje Aglen*, who but a little while before had returned, with his ſubjects, to the camp, now fled with them into the deſart. Some days after Timûr *returns.*

[h] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 366—379, c. 12—14.

tha

A. D. 1391. the army had crossed that river, *Timûr*, leaving the Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn*, with other commanders, to conduct the body of the army, and baggage, went before, through the rest of the desart, to *Sabrân* and *Otrâr*; then, crossing the *Sihûn*, arrived at *Samarkant*; where he was received with the usual solemnity. After this, he began his journey for *Tâshkunt*, and repassing the river, encamped in the great plain of *Barsin*, near that city; where, in the beginning of the year 794, the Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn* arrived, with the troops: so that this important campaign continued eleven months. Towards spring, the emperor returned to *Samarkant*, by way of *Kojend*; where he entertained the court with a general hunting; and appointed the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Jehân Ghîr*, governor of the kingdom which formerly belonged to the Great Soltân *Mahmûd*; that is, all the country from *Gâzna* and *Kâbul*, as far as *Hindûstân*; and from *Kandahar* to the river *Indus* (A), called in *Persian*, *Ab Send*.

Hej. 794. A. D. 1392.

Marriages celebrated. As many princes and great lords begged leave of him to marry their children, he not only consented, but, to let them see he shared in their joy, would also be present himself at their feasts. A royal banquet was prepared for this purpose, in the meadow of *Kanigheul*; where the tables were ranged like an army in order of battle, *Timûr* being placed at the head of them, on a throne of gold. The bridegrooms were on one side, and the brides on the other. To honour the occasion, the Mîrzas *Pîr Mehemed*, and his brother *Rustem*, married the daughters of *Kayâzo'ddîn Terkhân*; and the Mîrza *Abû Bekr*, son of *Mirân Shâh*, espoused the daughter of the Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn*[1].

Expedition into Irân. WHILE *Timûr* was on his return from *Kipjâk*, he resolved to make an expedition into *Irân* (or *Persia* at large), to suppress the disorders which, during his absence, had gotten footing there. With this view, he sent into all the provinces, to assemble the troops, for a campaign of five years. When he was near *Bokhâra*, *May* 25th, he was seized with a distemper, which held him till *June* 10th. The 6th of *Ramazân* (*July* 2) he departed, at the head of his troops, having sent the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* before, with the van-guard. He crossed the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*) at *Amûya*, and, by way of *Makhân* and *Abiverd*, arrived at *Yassi Daban*; where, on the appearance of the new moon, he read the prayers of *Bayrâm*, which is the grand

[1] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 379—386, c. 14—16.

(A) Otherwise called *Ab-send* (that is, *river Send*), and *Mehrân*. It springs from the lake of *Bibre*, near *Lahor* (in *Hindustân*. *La Croix*.

feast

feaſt of the *Muſulmans*. At *Ilgazigaj Kabûſhân* (B), he joined the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân*, who commanded the body of ſcouts; and, at length, arriving in the territory of *Aſtarabâd*, encamped on the river of *Jorján* (C); where *Piri Paſhâ*, ſon of *Lokmân Paſhâ*, paid his devoirs to his majeſty. A. D. 1392.

THE army, after three days march from *Aſtarabâd*, came to a very thick wood, through which they opened three paſſages, and inſenſibly arrived at *Sâri* (D); whence *Seyd Kamâl-e'ddîn*, lord thereof, had fled to *Seyd Râzio'ddîn*, at *Mahanaſar*. Theſe are three towns, ſituated four leagues from *Amol*, on the ſhore of the *Caſpian* ſea: where they had built a fort on an adjacent hill, which joined the ſea on one ſide; and, inſtead of ditches, was ſurrounded with precipices, waſhed for the ſpace of a mile by the ſea, which, in turbulent weather, flowed within the rocks. Round the wall, they had fixed great trees, ſo cloſe together, that they ſerved inſtead of a ſecond wall. Hither the princes of *Amol* and *Sâri*, the rich inhabitants, and foreign merchants, retired, with their families and effects, confiding in the ſtrength and in acceſſibleneſs of the place. *Timûr*, informed of theſe particulars, paſſing the lakes and marſhes, arrived, in three days, at *Amol*; where he ordered the Seyd *Kayâzo'ddîn* to go and adviſe his father to come to him. *Affairs of* Mazânderân.

TIMUR, after ordering all the water in the ciſterns of *Amol* to be ſpilt, followed with his army; which could march no more than three miles a day, becauſe obliged to cut down trees, to render the marſhes and ſloughs paſſable. *September* 21, the ſcouts on both ſides met, and fought. Three days after, the Seyd *Kamâlo'ddîn Derâz*, and *Mûlâna Amâdo'ddîn*, came, and implored pardon; which *Timûr* granted, on condition, that the ſharîfs, who commanded in all thoſe quarters, ſhould ſend him part of the goods of the inhabitants, and one of their children in hoſtage. The ſharîfs not liking theſe conditions, *Timûr* ſent ſome officers, with the maſters of the barks of the *Jihûn*, to ſeize the enemy's veſſels; which they did; and carrying the ſoldiers, by ſquadrons, to the foot of the walls, they beſieged *Mahanaſar* in form. Thoſe who defended the out-works being ſoon obliged to fly into the place for ſafety, the ſoldiers at the ſame time ſcaled the walls. Mahanaſar *beſieged*,

ON the 25th of *November*, the enemy obſerving *Timûr* to approach the place on horſeback, through fear, came out in *and ſurrendered.*

(B) A village between *Abiverd* and *Aſtarabâd*. *La Croix*.

(C) It paſſes by a city of the ſame name, and falls into the *Caſpian* ſea (at *Aſtarabâd*). *La Croix*.

(D) A city of *Ghilân*. *La Croix*—Rather of *Mazânderân*.

companies,

A. D. 1392. companies, and implored his protection; which appeased his wrath. After this, he made them presents, and exhorted them to embrace the orthodox sect of the *Sunni*, in whose maxims he instructed them, and to renounce the errors of the *Shiay*, which they followed. *Timûr* staid some days at *Mahanasar*, to dispose of the great riches, which were lodged there, among his soldiers; and then ordered the place to be reduced to a heap of rubbish. After this, he commanded all the *Fedais* (E), who were very numerous in this country, to be put to the sword; which was accordingly done. Thus the province was freed from the disorders which those assassins caused there: for, if they found a man who had a paper or book in his possession, no matter whether a lawyer, philosopher, or man of letters, they held it lawful to put him to death. *Eskânder Sheykhi*, to revenge the death of his father, and other relations, slain by the *Darvîshes*, disciples of Seyd *Kawâmo'ddîn*, invested *Amol*, that no man might escape his wrath; and made the most terrible massacre in that city ever mentioned in history. Seyd *Kamâlo'ddîn*, and his son, were sent in a vessel to *Karazm*; the Seyds *Mûrtâza* and *Abdallah*, with their sons, and several others, were carried to *Tâshkunt* [k].

Cruel massacres.

Irâk *invaded.* Hej. 795. A. D. 1393. THE province of *Mazânderân* being intirely brought under subjection; *Timûr*, in the beginning of the year 795, caused a fine palace to be built at *Shasman*, in the neighbourhood of *Jorjân*, and lodged there. At the end of winter, he prepared to continue his conquests; and fixed the campaign of that year for the kingdoms of *Pars* and *Irâk*. He departed from *Mazânderân* the 20th of *January:* having sent the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân*, at the head of the van-guard, accompanied by his brother *Pîr Mehemed*, the Sheykh *Ali Bahâdr*, and other amîrs. He gave the command of another van-guard to the Mîrza *Shâh Rukh*; and went himself to *Yilâk Veli* (F). The Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân*, and his brother, on their arrival at *Kazvîn*, defeated, and took prisoner, the governor *Shâh Souar*. On their approach, the governor of *Soltâniya* fled. They garrisoned the place, and marched towards *Bâghdâd*. In the way, a courier brought an order for them to reduce all the inhabitants of *Kurdestân*, and free the country from those robbers.

[k] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 386—396, c. 16—19.

(E) The same whom *Europeans* call assassins. *La Croix.*—They are called *Ismaelians*, *Batani*, and by other names, in the oriental historians. They seem to have been the reliques of those whom *Hûlâkû* had extirpated about 100 years before.

(F) A town on a mountain, where the Amir *Veli* used to pass the summer. *La Croix.*

Hereupon

Hereupon the Sheykh *Ali Bahádr* was sent with a body of troops upon that expedition, accompanied by one of the chief men of the country, who offered to be his guide. A. D. 1393.

IBRAHIM Shâh, prince of those places, received Sheykh *Ali* very friendly, and sent his son Soltân *Shâh* with presents to the princes; who, content with this submission, ordered Sheykh *Ali* to return. He accordingly began his march: but, on the road, his guide, frustrated of his hopes, by his peace with *Ibrahîm Shâh*, treacherously slew him with a knife, as he was eating, The assassin was immediately seized by Sheykh *Ali*'s men, who put him to death, with the most cruel torments, and afterwards burnt his body to ashes. Kûrdestân *submits*.

MEAN time, *Timûr* having proceeded from *Yilâk Veli*, by *Damgân* and *Semnân*, cities of *Kûmes*, to *Ray Shâhriar*, in *Persian Irâk*, there took a select body of men, and marched to *Urûdjerd* (G). He arrived there the 26th of *February*, and was joined by the Mîrza *Omar Sheykh*, who had taken the road of *Ava*, the fortress of *Kiow*, *Marvân*, and *Kerherûdh*; all towns of *Kûhestân*, which submitted, excepting *Kiow*, but it was easily reduced. *Timûr* left a governor for *Nahawend* (H); and, three days after, arrived at *Korramabâd* (I), whose governor had fled. Then leaving troops to besiege the place, he sent parties of horse into all quarters of *Loreslân*, to root out the robbers; and departed for *Tostar* (K). In eleven days, he came to the bridge of the river *Abzâl* (L); and, when *Mîrân Shâh* returned from *Kashân* (M), which submitted, sent *Omar Sheykh* to *Havîza* (N), which made no resistance, its governor, for *Mansûr* king of *Fârs*, being fled. The bridge over the *Abzâl*, which is built of stone and brick, with great beauty and strength, has twenty-eight lofty magnificent arches, each of Khûzestân *reduced*.

(G) A city of *Kûhestân*, in *Irâk*, eighteen leagues from *Hamadân*. *La Croix*.

(H) Otherwise called *Nûhâwend*, a town of *Kûhestân*: built by *Nûh*, or *Noah*, on a mountain, fourteen leagues south from *Hamadân*, near *Urâjerd*. Here *Yazdejerd*, last king of *Persia*, was vanquished, in *A. D.* 638. *La Croix*.

(I) A fortress of *Loreslân*, near the town of *Lor*, and residence of the prince of *Loreslân*. *La Croix*.

(K) Capital of *Kûrestân* (a mistake for *Khûzestan*), between *Fârs* and *Irâk Arabi*. *La Croix*.

(L) A river which runs through *Khûzestân*, by *Tostar*; and falls into the *Persian* gulf at *Hesn Mâhdi*. 'Tis famous for an aqueduct a mile long, built by *Shâbûr* (or *Sapores*) king of *Persia*. *La Croix*.

(M) A town of *Kûhestân*, three days journey from *Ispâhân*; where porcelain is dug, with which the walls and houses of the *Persians* are covered. *La Croix*.

(N) Corruptly so called, from *Ahwâz* (which is the true name), a city of *Khûzestân*, on the river *Abzâl*. *La Croix*.

A. D. 1393. which has a leſſer. At the foot of it is a town, called *Dezfûl*, whoſe governor preſented *Timûr* with twenty loads of ſilver. When *Timûr* arrived at *Toſtar*, he ſent troops to pillage the country; and, croſſing the *Chehâr Donke*, *March* 18th, encamped in a foreſt of palms, near that city.

Shâh Manſûr *ſeizes* Pârs.

We have already mentioned, that, on *Timûr*'s march to *Fârs*, in 1390, Soltân *Zayn Alabo'ddîn*, king of that country, retired to Shâh *Manſûr*, governor of *Toſtar*, who ſeized, and impriſoned him in the caſtle of *Kerikerd*, four leagues from that city: but, at length, eſcaping, by the aſſiſtance of friends, to *Malek Azzo'ddîn Kerit*, at *Urûdjerd*, this latter conducted him to *Iſpâhân*; of which he poſſeſſed himſelf, by means of the officers, who were in his intereſt, while Soltân *Mehemed* retired to the fortreſs, and, a month after, withdrew by conſent. Then Shâh *Manſûr* marched with an army to *Shîrâz*; and, being let in by the ſharîfs, Shâh *Yahîa* retired to *Yazd*. Soltân *Zayn Alabo'ddîn*, imagining that the amîrs of Shâh *Manſûr* would come over to him, becauſe moſt of them had raiſed themſelves in his father's court, marched with a ſmall army towards *Shîrâz*: but, being met near the fortreſs of *Aſtakar* (O) by Shâh *Manſûr*, was obliged to fly back to *Iſpâhân*.

Attempts Iſpâhân.

Mean time, the Pehlavan *Muhaddeb*, governor of *Abrkûh*, fearing leſt Shâh *Manſûr*, who threatened his town, ſhould become maſter of the whole kingdom, made an alliance with Shâh *Yahîa*, and then invited him to his city: but *Yahîa*, at the inſtigation of his courtiers, breaking his oath, ſeized the pehlavan, and ſent him in chains to *Yazd*; where he was put to death, by that perfidious prince's order. On advice of this, Shâh *Manſûr* went with a formidable army to beſiege *Abrkûh*; and, leaving troops to block-up the caſtle, marched to attack *Yazd*: but, underſtanding by the way, that Shâh *Yahîa*, to prevent the viſit, had ordered the governor to deliver the fortreſs, he returned, and received it without oppoſition. In his way back, he harraſſed the country about *Iſpâhân*; and, as he repeated the ſame devaſtations next year, *Zayn Alabo'ddîn* aſked aſſiſtance of the Soltâns *Ahmed* prince of *Kermân*, and *Abû Is-hâk*, of *Sirjân*. They joined their forces, and marched towards *Shîrâz*: but, being met by *Manſûr*, were defeated, and returned home [1].

The city betrayed.

In the following ſpring, this prince marched again to *Iſpâhân*; and, as ſoon as he arrived, ſent for one whom, 'twas

[1] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 396—409, c. 19—23.

(O) Suppoſed to be *Perſepolis*, by the ruins of a palace, or temple, now called *Chil Menâr*, or *the forty pillars*

pre-

presumed, he kept there to carry on his intrigues; for, the moment he was gone, the inhabitants delivered up the city. The soltân fled; but, being taken between *Veramin* and *Shahriar*, Shah *Manſûr* ordered his eyes to be put out with a hot iron. After this, he marched twice to *Yazd*: but, by the perſuaſions of his mother, left it in poſſeſſion of *Yahia* his elder brother. When *Timûr* encamped without *Toſtar*, this was the condition of the kingdom of *Fars* (or *Perſia*), to which there were no fewer than ten pretenders, all of the houſe of *Muzaffer*; who naturally delighting to make war on one another, put the empire of *Irân* into great diſorder: for which reaſon, *Timûr* reſolved to ſubdue thoſe turbulent princes, and reſtore peace. A. D. 1393.

WITH this view, *April* 17, he left *Toſtar*, which he made himſelf maſter of, and marched with expedition towards *Shîrâz*. The 22d, he encamped at *Ram Hermez*. The 25th, croſſed the river *Abargûn* (P). Next day, he got to *Laſhter* (a great town of *Fârs*); and the 27th, encamped at the head of the river *Kanbidak* (Q). The 30th, he croſſed the *Kavedân* (R); and went to lie at *Nubenjian* (S). *May* 1, he encamped at the foot of *Kalaa Sefid* (or *the white caſtle*), one of the ſtrongeſt citadels in all *Aſia*. It ſtood at the top of a very rugged mountain, where there was but one ſlippery way to aſcend; and ſo made, that, in any narrow ſtrait, three men might hinder 100,000 from paſſing. On the top was a fine plain, twelve miles in compaſs, ſtocked with water, animals, trees, and cultivated lands: ſo that they were ſecure againſt famine; and, as it was deemed inacceſſible, as well as impregnable, no prince had ever yet beſieged it. Timûr *reduces* Kalaa Sefid.

HOWEVER, *Timûr* aſcended the mountain, with his officers, to the gate of the fortreſs, followed by ſeveral troops. The two wings encamped on another mountain, which joined the place. Orders being given for a general aſſault, the army attacked the citadel on all ſides. Next day, the attack was renewed; and the ſoldiers broke the rock with pickaxes, to clear the way. At length, *Akbûga*, an officer, mounting a ſteep rock, the enemy were ſo ſurpriſed to ſee themſelves attacked in a place which they thought none dared to aſcend, that they gave over fighting: ſo that the ſoldiers advancing on all ſides,

(P) A river which divides *Khûzeſtân* from *Fârs*, runs by *Semirem*, and falls into the *Abzal*. *La Croix*.

(Q) It falls into the *Perſian* gulf, near *Bander Rîk*. *La Croix*.

(R) A river which paſſes by *Kazron*, and falls into the *Perſian* gulf. *La Croix*.

(S) A city of *Fârs*.

A. D. 1393. the fortress was taken, and the garrison precipitated from the top of the mountain. The governor *Sadet* was put to death; but he honoured the blind Soltân *Zayn Alabeddîn*, who was kept here, and promised to revenge him on the cruel *Mansûr*. As for *Akbûga*, who first mounted the rock, and had but one horse before, he gave him so much silver, women, slaves, goods, horses, and other cattle, that, to his great surprise, he became a rich man at once.

Mansûr *attacked.* THE 3d of *May*, *Timûr* set forward, in quest of Shâh *Mansûr*; and coming to *Shîrâz*, perceived, in the fields without the city, 3 or 4000 horse, armed with coats of mail, helmets, and breast-plates of leather, lined with iron; their horses covered with a kind of cuirasses made of thick silk, and their ensigns displayed At the head of these men, inured to war, and expert archers, *Mansûr* advanced like a furious lion; and attacked *Timûr*'s main body, composed of 30,000 *Turks* (T), the most dexterous men of their time: yet he overthrew their squadrons, broke their ranks, made way into the midst, and gained posts behind the army, posts of the utmost consequence. Then returning, furious as a dragon, to the fight, he ran directly up to *Timûr*, who had stopp'd, with fourteen or fifteen persons, to consider the extreme vigour of this prince; and, though he had not his lance at hand to oppose him, yet the emperor stood till *Mansûr* came up, and struck him twice with his simitar on the helmet, which warded off the blows. Then *Adel Aktashi* held a buckler over *Timûr*'s head, and *Komari Yesaûl* advanced before him: he did several great actions, and was wounded in his hand with a sword.

Killed by Shâh Rûkk. SHAH *Mansûr*, having been repulsed from before the emperor, fell upon the infantry of the main body; while the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* so briskly attacked the right wing of the *Persians*, that it gave way, and being pursued, a terrible slaughter was made. The Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed* bravely defeated their left wing. Several regiments which were in the main body, having been routed by Shâh *Mansûr*, rallied, of their own accord; and the Mîrza *Shâh Rûkh*, who fought near *Timûr* like a lion, re-assembled a whole battalion of soldiers who fled. In short, this young prince, although but seventeen years old, behaved with so much valour and conduct, that he hemmed in the shâh, cut off his head, and cast it at the feet of the emperor his father. This lucky accident so discouraged the *Persian* troops, who, till then had fought well, that they fled. But while *Timûr*, after returning God thanks for the victory, and em-

(T) *Turks*, *Moguls*, and *Tatars*, are, by the author *Sharifo'ddîn Ali*, used synonymously, as hath been already observed.

bracing

bracing his ſons, was preſented, by the amîrs, with the gold cup, according to the cuſtom of the *Mungls*, they, on a ſudden, ſaw a body of the enemy advancing behind to attack them: however, they were quickly repulſed, and cut to pieces in their flight [m]. A. D. 1393.

AFTER this victory, *Timûr* made his triumphal entry into *Shîrâz*, and lodged in the gate of *Sâlm*, which alone of nine was left open. The treaſures of Shâh *Manſûr* were then diſtributed among his amîrs, and a ranſom levied on the inhabitants. The like was done at *Iſpâhân*. The princes of the family of *Muzaffer*, having no place to retire to, reſolved, in good earneſt, to ſubmit, and made rich preſents to the emperor: but the ſheykhs, doctors, and imâms, with the chief inhabitants, of *Fârs* and *Irâk*, having preſented him petitions, (in which they ſet forth the diſorders brought in by the *Muzafferian* princes, and requeſted that his majeſty would no longer truſt the command of two kingdoms in the hands of thoſe tyrants) he, in the middle of *June*, ordered thoſe princes to be ſeized, loaded with chains, and their houſes pillaged. He appointed governors in their room; placing over the kingdom of *Fârs*, which is the moſt full of cities, towns, and villages, of any country in *Aſia*, his ſon the Mîrza *Omar Sheykh*; and reſtored *Pîr Ahmed* to the government of the little kingdom of *Loreſtân*, or *Malamîr*, of which Shâh *Manſûr* had deprived him. In fine, towards the end of *June*, being arrived at the village *Kûmſha*, near *Iſpâhân*, he iſſued out that famous order, ſo remarkable in hiſtory, and much deſired by the people, that the princes of the houſe of *Mûzaffer* ſhould be put to death (U); which was rigorouſly executed, according to the laws of *Jenghîz Khân*. Muzaffe-rian *princes ſlain.*

TIMUR, after five days ſtay, left *Iſpâhân*, and came, in two days, to *Jerbâdekhân*. Next night he arrived at *Ankûan*, whoſe inhabitants, being atheiſts, had fortified themſelves in caverns and rocks: but the army drowned them, by forming rivulets along the mountains, and then breaking down the Yezidi *deſtroyed.*

[m] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 409—419, c. 23—25.

(U) Theſe were Shâh *Yahia*, who reigned at *Yazd*; Soltân *Ahmed*, at *Kermân*; Soltân *Mehdi*, ſon of Shâh *Shuja*, and Soltân *Gadanſer*, who were at *Shîrâz*; Soltân *Abu Is-hâk*, who reigned at *Kermân*. In ſhort, all the princes of that houſe were put to death, who could be found, excepting Prince *Shebeli*, whoſe eyes had been put out by his father Shâh *Shuja*; and *Zayn Alabo'ddin*, blinded by Shâh *Manſûr*: theſe two were ſent to *Samarkant*, and had ſome of the beſt ground of that city aſſigned them for their maintenance.

A. D. 1393. banks, let the water descend in torrents into their lurking places. In *July* 10, he hunted in the plain of *Parakan*. The 13th, he decamped, and came to the meadow of *Fûl Karkara*. The 16th, took horse. And the 18th, encamped in the plain of *Hamadân*; where, to divert the court, he gave a magnificent feast. After this, to recompence the services of the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh*, he invested him in the kingdom of *Hûlâkû*, giving him the sovereignty of *Azerbijân*, *Kûhestân* (X), *Shîrwân*, and *Ghilân*; with their dependencies, and the adjacent countries, as far as *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, subject to the *Othmâns*: on which occasion, the mîrza gave his father a magnificent entertainment at *Hamadân*.

Ghebrs massacred. *TIMUR* departed from *Hamadân* the 3d of *August*; and being arrived at *Kûlâghi*, a town of *Kûrdestân*, he led his troops against the robber *Sarek Mehemed*, the *Turkmân*; who had fortified himself in the mountains, where he had a citadel, called *Habâshi*. The soldiers got up to the top of the mountain *Aurmân*, and fought so resolutely, that, in the night, the *Turkmâns* retired to other mountains: but were pursued, and numbers of them killed; their baggage likewise, and cattle, were seized. As there was another place in those parts, in which a great number of ghebrs (Y) were gotten together, *Timûr* ordered it to be subdued. The siege lasted for some time: but, being at length taken, it was reduced to rubbish, and the people put to the sword. After this, the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh* took, and ruined, the castles of *Kûrgan* and *Karûtû*, in *Kûrdestân*. The court being arrived at *Ak Bûlak* (Z), spent the *Ramazân* there. When it was over, the Great mufti *Nûro'ddîn Abdarârhmân*, famous for his learning, came as ambassador from Soltân *Ahmed Jalayr*, of *Bâghdâd*, with offers of submission, and presents: which the emperor did not receive after his usual kind manner; because he suspected *Ahmed*'s sincerity, in regard the prayers were not read, nor money coined, at *Bâghdâd*, in his name.

Timûr marches HOWEVER, *Timûr* honoured the mufti for his merit: but dismissed him, without any positive answer; because he resolved to besiege *Bâghdâd*: towards which city, he began his

(X) Instead of *Ray*, *Derbend*, and *Bakû*, as in the original, we have inserted *Kûhestân*; which signifies *the mountain country*, and answers to *Jebâl* of the *Arabs*; being the same with *Persian Irâk*: or, in a more limited sense, the north-eastern part, of which *Ray* was the capital.

(Y) Adorers of fire, professing the antient religion of the *Persians*.

(Z) (Or *the white fountain*), a town near *Erbel*, or *Arbela*, in *Kûrdestân*. *La Croix*.

march

march *October* 3d. He marched day and night, to encamp at *Yan Bulak* (A). Thence he went to *Kûra Kurgan* (B); and, next morning, met *Mehemed*, prince of the *Turkmâns*, whom he routed, at the head of 100 horſe. At *Shâhrzûr* (C), he marched in a litter, conducted by choice men, through narrow paſſages, between ſteep mountains. When he got to *Ibrâhîm Lîk* (D), he inquired of the inhabitants, whether they had ſent pigeons to *Bâghdâd*, to give notice of the approach of his army? and, on their anſwering in the affirmative, made them write another billet, importing; that the duſt, which they had perceived at a diſtance, was cauſed by the *Turkmâns*, who fled to avoid *Timûr*. This letter was tied under the wing of a pigeon, which immediately fled to its houſe at *Bâghdâd*. But although this advice gave Soltân *Ahmed* freſh courage, yet he did not intirely confide in it; having, on the receipt of the firſt, ordered his furniture to be carried over the *Tigris* [n]. A. D. 1393.

THE 10th of *October*, when *Timûr* arrived at *Bâghdâd*, the ſoltân had already croſſed the river, broken the bridge, and ſunk the boats, flying by the way of *Hilleh* (E). The *Tatar* troops, who covered near two leagues of ground, caſt themſelves into the water, with a great cry, and paſſed the *Tigris*, notwithſtanding its rapidity. *Timûr* went ten leagues in purſuit of the ſoltan, and then returned to *Bâghdâd*, at the intreaty of his amîrs, who continued their route. Obſerving, when they arrived at the *Euphrates*, that the ſoltân had broken the bridge, and ſunk the boats, they marched along the ſhore, till they found four boats, and then croſſed it, with the army: but the horſes of the ſoldiers being fatigued, the amîrs were obliged to purſue the ſoltân themſelves. They firſt came up with his baggage, and at length overtook him, in the plain of *Kerbela*, with near 2000 horſe, 200 of whom turned on the amîrs; who, getting off their horſes, ſhot their arrows, and thus repulſed them twice. The third time they returned to the charge, with great vigour: many were killed on both ſides; and the amîrs purſued them no longer. *to* Bâghdâd.

[n] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 419—432, c. 25—30.

(A) A village near the ſame place. *La Croix.*

(B) A town of *Kûrdeſtân*, near *Shâhrzûr*. *La Croix.*

(C) A city of *Kûheſtân*, frontier of *Kûrdeſtân*. *La Croix.*—It at preſent belongs to *Kûrdeſtân*.

(D) A place of devotion (on the *Tigris*), twenty-ſeven leagues north of *Bâghdâd*. *La Croix.*

(E) Or *Hellah*, and *Hellah Bani Mazid*: a city of *Irâk Arabi* (on the eaſt ſide of *Euphrates*), between *Bâghdâd* and *Kûfa*. *La Croix.*

A. D. 1393. *Soltân* Ahmed *flies.*

THAT day being extremely hot, and the plain of *Kerbela* (F) affording no water, the ſoldiers expected to periſh for want of drink. On this occaſion, *Aybaje Aglen* and *Jalâl Hamid* ſent men to ſeek for water, who could get no more than two pots full; and as *Aybaje* drank one, without quenching his thirſt, he told *Jalâl*, that, unleſs he gave him his pot alſo, he ſhould certainly die with drought: hereupon the amîr generouſly yielded him the water, yet eſcaped death himſelf; which action, when told to *Timûr* by *Aybaje*, at their return, greatly pleaſed him. They then departed, and came to *Maſhhâd*, where *Huſſayn*, ſon of *Ali*, was ſlain: every one kiſſed the gate of the holy place, and paid his devotion. After this, they returned, having taken priſoner *Alao'ddawlet*, ſon of Soltân *Ahmed*, who fled towards *Syria*, and ſome other of his children; beſides his wives and domeſtics, ſlaves and ſpoil.

The Kûrds *ſuppreſſed.*

ABOUT the ſame time the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* returned from his expedition againſt the *Kûrd* robbers; whom he ſo effectually reduced to obedience, or exterminated, that one or two men might travel ſafely thro' their country: whereas, before, large karawâns, guarded by 100 archers, were obliged to take by-roads. Soon after, he was ſent governor to *Wâſet* (G), and the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh* to *Baſrah*. The ſoltân's wives and children, with all the learned men of *Bâghdâd*, and maſters of arts, were conveyed to *Samarkant*. After *Timûr* had ſent ambaſſadors to invite *Mâlek Azzaher* (H) *Barkok*, ſoltân of *Egypt* and *Syria*, to a treaty of amity; he ſet out, *November* 11th, for *Takrît*, a place on the *Tigris*, eſteemed impregnable, to deſtroy the robbers who were harboured there: for, the delivering of the countries from ſuch peſts, was one chief end of his expedition. He got thither, by the way of *Annah* (I), on the 20th. The town was built on a high rock near the river: the paſſages were cloſed up with ſtones laid in morter; and it was ſo well fortified, that it could never be taken by force °.

Hej. 796. A. D. 1393.

° Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 432—443, c. 30—33.

(F) A plain on the (weſt ſide of) *Euphrates*, where *Imâm Huſſayn*, ſon of *Ali*, was ſlain by *Moawîya*, firſt khalifah of the houſe of *Ommîyah*. *La Croix*. *Huſſayn*'s tomb is in the plain, a place of pilgrimage with the *Perſians*.

(G) A city of *Irâk Arabi*, on the *Tigris*, half way between *Bâghdâd* and *Baſrah*; commonly called *Baſſora* and *Balſora*, near the mouth of that river, and the *Perſian* gulf.

(H) This is the *Perſian* pronunciation; *Al Dhaher*, or *Addhaher*, the *Arabian*; the *Dh* being ſounded like the *Engliſh Th* in *the*, *this*, &c.

(I) The capital of *Deſart Arabia*, ſituate on both ſides of the *Euphrates*. *Timûr* arrived there on the ſixteenth.

THE

THE Amîr *Haſſan*, who commanded there, ſent ſeveral times to offer ſubmiſſion; but ſtill feared to come out. Mean while the ſoldiers, having advanced to the foot of the wall, fell to ſapping; the whole army, conſiſting of 72,000 men, being employed in the work. At length part of the walls fell down; but the beſieged repaired this great breach, and fought deſperately. *December* the ſixth, fire being ſet to the wooden props, moſt part of the walls fell on a ſudden, with a great tower. Yet ſtill the robbers, armed with planks, and great bucklers, continued to defend themſelves againſt the ſoldiers; who advanced to the very middle of the place, where there was moſt bloody battle. Hereupon *Timûr* ordered the reſt of the walls to be undermined, which bringing down a conſiderable baſtion, *Haſſan* was terrified, and retired with his ſoldiers to the edge of the mountain. Some of the beſieged, ſeeing this, came out, beſeeching the amîrs to intercede for their lives: but *Timûr* anſwered, Let him come, or not, no quarter ſhall now be given. The ſoldiers, animated by theſe words of the emperor, at length got to the top of the rock; and, ſeizing the Amîr *Haſſan*, and thoſe about him, brought them bound neck and heels to *Timûr*: who ordered the ſoldiers to be ſeparated from the inhabitants, and put to death. He likewiſe ordered part of the walls to be left ſtanding, for poſterity to wonder at his performance; while towers were built with the heads of thoſe robbers, for a terror to others. A. D. 1393. Takrît *attacked, and taken.*

AFTER this, *Timûr* returned, *December* 17, to *Harbi*, a town between *Annah* and *Takrît*, which was the rendezvous of all the troops; and, when all thoſe had joined him who were out on other expeditions, he departed for *Diyârbekr*. At croſſing the *Tigris*, he cauſed a report to be ſpread, as if he was on his return home, that the enemy might be leſs on their guard. He marched to *Tûk*, and then to *Karkûk* (K), where the princes in all thoſe parts came and ſubmitted to him, eſpecially he of *Altûn Kûpruk*. The 20th, he arrived at *Erbel* (or *Arbela*), and from thence marched to *Mûſſel* (or *Muzol*). There he viſited the tombs of the prophets *Jonas* and *Georges*, giving 20,000 dinârs *Kapeji* for raiſing domes over them, with much alms to the poor. Then taking *Yar-ali*, prince of that place, for his guide, departed. He paſſed by *Mardîn*; and, at *Râs al Ayn* (L), ſent to pillage the lands, ſubject to *Huſſayn*, called the *Black Sheep*, and other princes. *Marches to* Koha. A. D. 1394.

(K) Towns of *Meſopotamia*. *La Croix.*— Rather of *Kûrdeſtân*.

(L) That is, *the head of the fountain*. Here are ſeveral ſprings, from whence the river *Al Khabûr* has its riſe.

A. D. 1394. On his approach to *Roha* (M), its prince, named *Ghûzel*, fled with some inhabitants to a high mountain; but they were pursued and taken. *Timûr* entered the city said to be built by *Nimrod*: and, with his court, bathed in the fountain, which (as the *Mohammedans* believe) sprang up in the place of a furnace wherein *Abraham* had been cast, and quenched the fire.

Omar Sheykh *slain.*

THE emperor spent nineteen days at *Roha* in plays and entertainments, while several princes came and submitted; among the rest, the prince of *Hesn Keyfa* (N). But Soltan *Ayfa*, prince of *Mardîn*, refusing to come as he had promised, *Timur* marched back to reduce him; as he did. In his way, the princes of *Arzîna*, *Batmân*, and *Al Jazîreh* (O). On his approach, *Ayfa* came out, and begged pardon; which was granted him. While the army lay before *Mardîn*, news arrived of the death of the Mirza *Omar Sheykh*. This prince, who was the head general under his father when in *Pârs*, had reduced all that province, and then went to besiege *Sîrjiân* in *Kirmân*: but, being sent for to court, left his troops before that city, and hasted to *Shirâz*. In his way through the country of the *Kûrds*, he stopped at *Kormatû*, a little fort inhabited by a few people; and, getting on an eminence to view the place, was shot with an arrow in the *vena cava*, which killed him on the spot, in *February* 1394, when he was forty years old. The soldiers, to revenge his death, destroyed all who were in the place, and razed it to the ground. The corpse was carried to *Shîrâz*; and afterwards to *Kash*, where it was interred. The kingdom of *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*) was given by *Timûr* to the Mirza *Pîr Mehemed*, son of the deceased, although but sixteen years old [P].

Al Jazîreh *ravaged.*

ALTHOUGH Soltân *Ayfa* came out of *Mardîn*, yet his brother and the inhabitants refused to deliver up the place; which being found to be the effect of *Ayfa*'s orders, he was put in fetters: and, there not being grass enough for the cavalry, *Timûr* deferred the siege for this time. In his way to *Aspenj*, such a terrible tempest of lightning and rain fell, that the horses were in water up to their ears; and the army were forced to remove their quarters, leaving all their baggage be-

[P] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 443—457. c. 33—37.

(M) Otherwise called *Orfa*, the antient *Edessa*.

(N) A city on the *Tigris*, in *Mesopotamia*. *La Croix*.—It was a very strong place; the castle built on a rock.

(O) The two first of these cities are in *Kûrdestan*; the last in an island of the *Tigris*, and ascribed to *Diyârbekr*: 'tis called *Jazîrat ebn Omar*.

hind,

hind, for fear of being drowned themſelves. This time *Mâlek Azzo'ddîn*, prince of *Jazîreh*, who had before ſubmitted, refuſing to deliver up an amîr, who had ſtolen certain curioſities which *Timûr* was ſending to his ſons at *Soltânîya*; the emperor ſet out haſtily with his troops, and, next day, coming on the enemy by ſurpriſe, took two or three fortreſſes, with a great booty, In the confuſion, *Mâlek* fell into the hands of a ſoldier; who took from him many valuable things, and, not knowing who he was, let him eſcape. Being thus driven out of *Jazîreh*, and that city, with his country, ravaged, the emperor returned to *Mardîn*; and, inveſting it next day, aſſaulted and took the city, while the beſieged fled into the fortreſs named *Kûh*, ſituated on the ridge of a mountain. The ſoldiers followed to the foot of the wall; and, next day, getting on the mountain, which was level with the top of the wall, the beſieged, finding themſelves diſtreſſed thereby, came out with rich preſents, and offered to pay a yearly tribute; which was the more readily accepted, as news arrived juſt then of the birth of a ſon, on *April* 9, to the heir of the crown, Mîrza *Shâh Rukh*, who was called *Oluk Bey* (P). A. D. 1394. Mardîn *ſubmits.*

TIMUR gave *Mardîn* to Soltân *Saleh*, brother of *Ayſa*; and then ſet forwards, the army marching in ſeveral bodies, by different roads. The emperor took that of *Sawr*, accompanied by Mîrza *Shâh Rukh*; and, on his arrival at the *Tigris*, near that place, ſtaid three days, with deſign to return to *Alatâk* (in *Armenia*): but receiving advice, from the Mîrzas *Mehemed Soltân* and *Mirân Shâh*, that the inhabitants of *Karâche Koja* (Q), commonly called *Hamed*, refuſed to ſubmit, he marched thither in two days and one night; the *Tigris* being ſo ſhallow, that the troops paſſed it on foot. The ſtrength of this city conſiſts in the height of its walls, which are built of free-ſtone; and in their thickneſs, which is ſuch, that two horſes may paſs abreaſt on them. On the top of this wall, there is built another, the height of a man; and on both there is a terrace, on the outſide of which there is another ſtone wall, with battlements. Thus, as there are two ſtories in this great wall; ſo, when it rains, or is either exceeding hot or cold, the ſoldiers may fight in the lower ſtory. Beſides, there are high towers fifteen cubits aſunder; and, in the middle of the town, two fountains of rock water, with many fine gar- Amid, *or* Diyarbekr,

(P) Some write *Olug* and *Ulugh* for *Oluk*; and *Beg*, *Bek*, or *Beygh*, for *Bey*. He reigned after his father, and was a great encourager of learning.

(Q) *Hamed*, or *Amed*, is called alſo *Kara Amid*, or *Karâmid*, and *Diyârbekr*. *La Croix*. Hence *Santon*, in his maps, makes three cities of it.

dens

A. D. 1394. dens. These walls are said to have been built 4300 years; and that the place was never taken by force of arms: indeed the Khalîfah *Kaled*, son of *Walîd*, after besieging it a long time, entered it, with some troops, by a common sewer, and made himself master of it.

besieged and taken. As soon as *Timûr* was encamped without the city, he ordered the assault to be given next day. The soldiers advanced, covered with their bucklers, and discharged a shower of arrows into the place; while the besieged cast down abundance of stones on them. Mean time the miners carried on the sap; and, breaches being made in several places, the walls were scaled in different parts: so that the city was carried in less than three days, in the beginning of *May*. The soldiers, entering the place, pillaged it, and set fire to the houses; while most part of the garrison were killed in the breaches. The officers began to pull down the walls with axes, and other instruments: but, as they found it would be a tedious work to demolish any considerable part, they only beat down the tops. *Timûr*, the ninth of *May*, took the road to *Alatâk*: and, three days after, *Ya'ik Sûfi*, the greatest amîr in the left wing of the army, next the princes of the blood, being accused by an *Uzbek* soldier with fomenting a rebellion, and designing to fly in the night, confessed his crime, and discovered his accomplices. As he had been often pardoned before for the like offences, and yet promoted by the emperor, his judges ordered him and his son to be laid in irons, and all his accomplices to be put to death.

Alenjik *besieged.* After he had passed by *Miyafarkîn*, *Batmân*, *Aslima*, and *Sivâsser*, he arrived, the nineteenth, at *Sahra Mûshi* (R); and, passing some high mountains deep with snow, came to *Betlîs* (S): whose prince, *Haji Sharîf*, the most courteous of all those in *Kûrdestân*, came to salute him, and make a present of fine horses. *Timûr* confirmed him in his possessions, honoured him with a vest, belt, and sword; and left *Ya'ik Sûfi* to be kept prisoner in his castle. Then, ordering the roads to be set down in writing, he sent a detachment to besiege *Alenjîk*; at whose approach *Kara Yûsef*, with his *Turkmâns*, fled. Being come to *Aklât* (T), he gave *Kakhân*, prince of *Adeliaws* (U), the lordship of *Aklât*, with its dependencies, for ever. Then part-

(R) A little town, with a fine meadow, two days journey in length; the same distance from *Miyafarkîn*, and three from *Aklât* (or *Kelât*). *La Croix.*

(S) A city near the lake of *Vân*. *La Croix.*

(T) Capital of *Lower Armenia*, or *Kûrdestân*, near the lake of *Vân*. *La Croix.*

(U) A town on the lake of *Vân*, between *Arjish* and *Aklât*. *La Croix.*

ing

ing from the army, to meet the young princes and empreſſes coming from *Soltâniya*, he paſſed by *Aliſhgherd* (W); and encamped the ſame evening at *Uch Kiliſſa*, that is, the three churches of *Alatâk* (X), where he found them. On the twenty-fourth of *June*, he ſet out for *Aydîn* (or *Bayezîd*), whoſe inhabitants, preſenting him with all their effects, begged quarter; which he granted, after blaming them for their remiſſneſs, and reſtored them all their goods. After this, he returned in one night to *Uch Kiliſſa*; where *Tahârten*, governor of *Arzenjân*, came to pay his reſpects to him, and was honourably received [q]. A. D. 1394.

THE ſecond of *July*, *Timûr*, reſolving to make himſelf maſter of *Avenik* (or *Van*), whoſe prince, *Meſſer*, ſon of *Kara Mehemed* (Y), refuſed to come to court, departed from *Uch Kiliſſa*, and came to *Aliſhgherd* (or *Malazjerd*; from whence, paſſing by *Kîoſatak*, in two days he arrived at *Avenik*. The ſoldiers immediately took the town, and razed the walls: hereupon *Meſſer* retired, with his *Turkmâns*, into the fortreſs, ſituated on a ſteep and craggy mountain, all the paſſages of which were blocked up and fortified; a wall being alſo built on one ſide, on the very edge of the mountain. The amîrs, and braveſt ſoldiers, alighted to attack the gate; while the horſemen, mounted as high as the walls, ſhot arrows on thoſe who appeared on the breaſtwork. On the fifth, *Meſſer* ſent his ſon and lieutenant, with conſiderable preſents, to demand pardon; which *Timûr* granted: but, on their return, he renewed hoſtilities. After *Tahârten* had argued the caſe with him, he ſent his ſon, and a near relation, with more preſents, to aſk pardon: but *Timûr*, perceiving he had no deſign to quit the place, cauſed the meſſengers to be arreſted. Avenik, or Vân, *inveſted.*

HOWEVER, next morning, the emperor ordering *Meſſer*'s ſon, who was but ſix years old, to be brought before him; he was ſo moved with the ſupplications of this young prince, that he ſaid, "Go, my child; I will give your father his "life, on condition that he appears before me." Then he gave the child a veſt, and fixed a collar of gold about his neck; Timûr's *clemency.*

[q] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 457—470. c. 37—43.

(W) Or *Malazjard*, a town of *Kûrdeſtân* (or *Lower Armenia*). *La Croix.*

(X) A town of *Kûrdeſtân* (or *Armenia*), where are the three churches of *Achmiadzin*, the ſeat of the patriarch of *Armenia*, near *Nakſhivân*. *La Croix.*—Rather near *Erivân*, from which it is diſtant three leagues to the ſouth-weſt.

(Y) The *Turkmân*, founder of the dynaſty of the *Kara Kuyonlu*, or *Black Sheep*, whoſe hiſtory is given in the ſixth volume.

A. D. 1394. neck; sending him back to *Messer* with a very obliging letter. When the besieged saw the young prince in this condition, they applauded the emperor; and murmured against *Messer*, who still would not resolve upon going out. However, the battering engines having beaten down several houses, *Messer*'s mother came to beg quarter for her son; alledging his fears as the only cause of his opposition. Altho' *Timûr* promised to spare him, in case he left the place immediately, yet the *Turkmân* continued obstinate. At length a meljûr, or hill made of earth and trees, being raised higher than the walls of the fortress, the place lay quite exposed to the engines. These poured in heaps of huge stones, which ruined the houses apace, and beat down the arches upon the soldiers heads. They were also reduced to such extremity for want of water, that, *July* the thirtieth, they turned out all the inhabitants who did not fight. *Messer*, therefore, in despair, sent his lieutenant once more to beg quarter; which was granted, provided he would repair to the camp: yet still that prince continued stubborn, or irresolute.

Messer *submits.*

MEAN time *Koja Shahin*, and seven other brave soldiers, mounting one of the arches in the night, got to the foot of the walls of the place; and there lighting fires, to give notice, two amîrs ascended the mountain in the same place, and came to a very narrow arch; where the besieged attacked them, tho' in the dark. *Amânshâh Kazâneji*, being dangerously wounded, returned to the camp: but *Argûnshâh*, and the rest, getting on another arch, above 300 cubits wide, arrived at the foot of the walls, which they began to sap. The officers and garrison seeing themselves thus hard pressed, some flung themselves off the mountain; while others exclaimed against *Messer*, flung down their arms, and begged leave to depart. *Messer*, to appease them, sent his mother once more to beg his life. *Timûr*, touched with her affliction, said, that, for her sake, he would spare him, provided he came himself to ask pardon: yet *Messer* did not go out that day; and would have continued to defend himself, if his domestics had not quitted him, and leaped off the walls. Then, tying a handkerchief about his neck, and with a sword in his hand, he came out of the fortress; and, applying himself to the Mirza *Mehemed Soltân*, by his means obtained mercy. He was sent to *Samarkant*; and his treasures distributed among those who had behaved well in the siege. *Timûr* also conferred the principality of *Arzenjân* on *Tahârten*; presenting him, on that occasion, with a crown, and belt of gold enriched with precious stones.

DURING

DURING theſe tranſactions, the army, which beſieged *Aydîn*, gave ſuch conſiderable aſſaults, that the Amîr *Bayezîd* (Z), prince thereof, demanded a truce; promiſing to depart as ſoon as the forces ſhould decamp from before the walls. The general *Zirek Takû* conſenting to the propoſal, *Bayezîd* went out in the night, without his knowlege; and, arriving at *Timûr*'s camp, fell at the emperor's feet: who, pleaſed with his conduct, confirmed him in the principality, with a power to eſtabliſh a governor in the town of *Aydîn*[r]. A. D. 1394. Bayezîd *ſurrenders.*

TIMUR, in purſuance of *Mohammed*'s advice to his followers, to make war on thoſe who profeſs a different religion from their own, ſet out to make war in *Gurjeſtân*, or *Georgia*, againſt *Aksîka*, prince of that country; and, having paſſed by the foreſts of *Alatâk* with a very numerous army, arrived at *Kârs*; where news was brought of the birth of prince *Ibrâhîm Soltân*, ſon of the Mîrza *Shâh Rukh*, on *September* the ninth. Next day *Timûr* decamped from the fine meadow of *Kârs*, for the plain of *Minek Gheul* (A). Shortly after, the amîrs, whom he had ſent into *Georgia*, having gained ſeveral battles, conquered great part of the country, and taken many ſtrong places, returned with the ſpoils, and congratulated the emperor on the birth of his grandſon. Georgia *invaded.*

ON this occaſion, a ſplendid banquet was prepared. The tents took up two leagues of ground. *Timûr*'s was under a canopy ſuſtained by forty pillars, and as ſpacious as a palace. When every thing was ready, his majeſty came, with the crown on his head, and ſceptre in his hand, and ſat on the throne, which was erected in the middle of the tent, adorned with precious ſtones; and a great number of the moſt beautiful ladies of *Aſia* placed on each ſide, with veils of rich brocade, bedecked with jewels. The muſic was ranged in two rows; the voices on the right, and inſtruments on the left. Nine chauſh, as ſtewards, with golden wands in their hands, marched before the diſhes which were ſerved up: they were followed by cup-bearers, having in their hands cryſtal bottles and golden cups, with red wine of *Shîrâz*, white of *Mazânderân*, grey-coloured of *Koſrwân*, and water exceeding clear. Nor did the converſation of charming women, whoſe hair hung in treſſes to the very ground, add a ſmall luſtre to this grand aſſembly; at which were preſent many foreign lords and princes from *India* and *Splendid feaſt.*

[r] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 470—478. c. 43—45.

(Z) Perhaps, from him the city took the name of *Bayezîd*, which it at preſent bears.

(A) A village near the mountain *Jûdî*, in *Georgia*.

A. D. 1394. *Greece.* After this, the Mîrza *Shâh Rukh* set out for *Samarkant*, of which his father conferred on him the government.

Tokatmîsh Khân

TIMUR's zeal for religion prompting him to make the war himself in *Georgia*, he entered the mountains, destroying all before him. The *Kara Kalkânlik* (that is, *The Black Bucklers*) having fortified themselves in castles situate on very steep mountains, he marched into their lands, vanquished and put them all to the sword, seizing their effects. After reposing his army for some time, he marched to *Teflis*, capital of *Georgia*; and from thence to *Sheki* (B), from whence troops were detached to pillage the lands of prince *Bertâz*. A second body entered other mountains, called the *Kûhestân* of *Georgia*, governed by *Sedi Ali*, of *Sheki*, prince of the house of *Erlât*; who fled, and left his houses and effects to be destroyed by the enemy. But, while *Timûr* was harassing the Christians in this manner, news was brought, that the troops of *Tokatmîsh*, khân of *Kipjâk*, had passed by *Dârbend*, and ravaged some parts of *Shîrwân*. Hereupon he immediately departed from *Sheki*, and arrived at the *Ab Kûr* (or river *Kûr*): but, on advice of his march, the enemy shamefully fled. When *Timûr* came to the plain of *Mahmûd abâd*, he encamped in that of *Kalin Gonbed*, near the town of *Fakr abâd* (in *Georgia*). There he sent for the empresses and princes from *Soltânîya*; and the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh* quitted the siege of *Alenjîk* to come to court; being informed, on the road, of the birth of a son, whom the emperor named *Ayjel*[s].

invades Shîrwân.

WHEN winter drew towards an end, *Timûr* departed, *March* 10th, for *Kipjâk*, at the head of a powerful army, to make war on *Tokatmîsh* (or *Toktamîsh*) *Khân*; who, having re-established himself in his kingdom, was daily making irruptions into the emperor's dominions, to repair the loss of his last defeat. *Timûr*, before this, had sent that prince a letter, to know his resolution, and reason for invading his territories; which, with the arguments of the ambassador *Shâmso'ddîn Almâleghi*, so wrought upon him, that he would have concluded a treaty, if his courtiers and generals, whose interest it was to make war, had not persuaded him against it. *Shâmso'ddîn*, at his return, found *Timûr* on the river *Samnûr*, which runs at the foot of mount *Albûrz* (C), reviewing his army: which extended from thence

[s] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 478—487. c. 45—50.

(B) A city between *Teflis* and the river *Cyrus* (now *Kûr*). *La Croix.*

(C) Or *Allûrz Kûh*; by which is to be understood the ridge of mountains called by *Europeans Caucasus*; some call it *Albrûz*, and *Brûz*.

to

to the sea, five leagues distant, and was the greatest that had been since the time of *Jenghîz Khân*. *Timûr*, who was enraged at the rudeness of the answer, and impertinent reasons alledged by the khân, marched in order of battle; and, when the army had passed *Dârbend*, they surprised and cut to pieces the orda of *Kaytâg*, which encamped at the foot of mount *Albûrz*. A. D. 1394.

HERE an ambassador from *Tokatmîsh* was coming to the camp; but, on sight of the army, he returned through fear. At *Terki* (D) word being brought, that the scouts of the enemy were encamped on the *Koy* (E), *Timûr*, with choice men, hasted in the night; and, surprising them in the morning, cut most of them off. Thence he continued his road to the *Savenj* (F), where he encamped; at the same time that the khân, with a formidable army, encamped on the banks of the *Terk* (G), surrounded with waggons: but, on *Timûr*'s approach, he returned back, either through fear, or to gain a more advantageous ground. While *Tokâtmîsh* arrived at the *Kûra* (H), the emperor crossed the *Terk*, and marched towards the country of *Kûlat* (I), in quest of provisions. The scouts having brought advice, that the khân had rallied his troops, and was marching by the lower part of the river, *Timûr* ranged his army in order; and, always preserving the rising ground, wheeled about to face the enemy. Timûr *meets him.*

NEXT morning the two armies began to move. *Timûr* divided his into seven bodies, placing at the head of them those who had the title of *Bahâdr* (or courageous); and the infantry before the cavalry, covered with their bucklers. The Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* commanded the main body, strengthened with the bravest men of the army; while *Timûr* placed himself at the head of twenty-seven chosen companies, who composed the body of reserve. The battle began with showers of arrows, accompanied with the cries *Give and slay, Hold and take.* After this, a great detachment from the enemy's right wing attacked the left wing of *Timûr*'s; who, upon notice thereof, *Famous battle.*

(D) A town of *Dârbend*. *La Croix*.—It is the capital of *Dâgheſtân*, or *Tâgheſtân*, that is, the mountain country, on the shore of the *Caspian* sea, above 100 miles north of *Dârbend*.

(E) A river of *Dârbend*, near *Terki* [rather *Dagheſtân*], which falls into the *Caspian* sea. *La Croix*.

(F) A river between the *Terk* and the *Koy*, which falls into the *Caspian*. *La Croix*.

(G) The same as the *Timenki*, rising on mount *Albûrz*, and falling into the *Caspian*. *La Croix*.

(H) A river in *Kipjâk*, between the *Kayſû* and the *Terk*; it rises in mount *Albûrz*, and falls into the *Caspian*. *La Croix*.

(I) A fortress in *Georgia*, near *Taüs*, on the *Terk*. *La Croix*.

marched

A. D. 1394. marched with his reſerve, and forced them to fly: but, one of the companies purſuing them to their main body, they rallied, and made them retreat, in their turn, upon the other companies, who, by this means, were broken, and began to fly. The *Kipjâks*, willing to make their advantage of this diſorder, advanced upon the others as far as where *Timûr* was poſted, whom they boldy attacked; and, notwithſtanding his vigorous reſiſtance, in which he diſcharged all his arrows, and broke his half-pike to ſhivers, had hemmed him in, if the Amîr *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn* had not diſmounted by him, with fifty others, and kept off the enemy with their arrows.

Timûr in danger.

THE emperor's danger brought more to his aſſiſtance: *Mehemed Azâd*, his brother *Ali-ſhâh*, and *Tuzel Bawrſhi*, took three of the enemy's waggons, and joined them juſt before *Timûr*, to embaraſs the enemy, and try to break the ranks. *Allahdâd* came with his faithful company; and, diſmounting, placed himſelf near the Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn*. *Huſſayn Mâlek Kûchin* and *Zirek Yâkû* arrived with their clubmen. The regiments of guards came alſo, with the horſetail erected; and *Uſtôni*, with his company, poſted himſelf behind the guards. All theſe ſoldiers, having diſmounted, oppoſed the enemy; who made continual attacks on them, and performed actions of the utmoſt vigour. *Kodâdâd Huſſayn*, who conducted the van-guard of *Timûr*'s left wing, advanced between *Konje Aglen*, who commanded the enemy's right, and planted himſelf behind *Aktâo*, who boldly faced the emperor. Mean time the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* marched to the left of his father, with his recruits; who bravely ruſhed on the enemy, and, with their ſimetars and lances, routed their right wing, and conſtrained *Aktâo* to fly[t].

Bravely ſupported.

THE Amîr *Haji Sayfo'ddîn*, who commanded the van-guard of the right wing, found himſelf more preſſed than the others: for he was incloſed by the enemy's left; ſo that, deſpairing of his life, he diſmounted with his tomân. But, altho' the *Kipjâks* continually increaſed, and fell on with their lances and ſwords, yet *Sayfo'ddîn*'s ſoldiers, holding their bucklers before them, did not ceaſe repulſing them with their arrows; till *Jehân Shâh Bahâdr*, coming to their aſſiſtance from another part of the field, fell impetuouſly with his tomân on the enemy. Hereupon an obſtinate fight began, and a horrible ſlaughter was made: but at length the van-guard of the *Kipjâks* left-wing gave way. Mean time the Mîrza *Ruſtem*, ſon of *Omar Sheykh*, tho' ſo very young, ruſhed impetuouſly on the main body, and put them to flight.

[t] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 487—495. c. 50—53.

THINGS

THINGS being in this situation, *Yâghlîbi Bahrin*, a favourite and relation of *Tokatmîsh*, advanced with a toman of brave men, and called out to *Ozmân Bahâdr* to meet him. *Ozmân* advanced at the head of his toman, and attacked him: after they had broken their sabres, they seized on their war-clubs and poignards; then grappled like two enraged lions. The soldiers of their tomâns imitated their chiefs, and fought hand to hand with great fury. At length *Ozmân Bahâdr* overthrew his antagonist; and then fell on his troops with such vigour, that he intirely defeated them. All the other generals performed their duty so well, that, after a long and obstinate battle, they put the enemy into disorder: yet they were not certain of the defeat, till *Toktamîsh Khân* shamefully turned his back, followed by the princes, and generals of his troops. On this, *Timûr*'s soldiers rallied; and, joining together, fell upon the enemy, crying *Victory!* They slew a vast number, and afterwards hung up many of those whom they took alive. A. D. 1394. *Gains the victory.*

TIMUR, finding himself sure of the victory, gave God thanks on his knees, received the congratulations of his officers; and, getting an exact information of all who had served well on this occasion, distributed his treasures liberally. Particularly, on the Amîr *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn*, who had so signally exposed his life to save his prince, he conferred a higher post; presented him with a horse of great price, a vest of gold brocade, a belt set with precious stones, and 100,000 dinârs *Kopeghi*. Besides this, he made a general promotion of officers. Being come to the *Koray* (K), he left the baggage and booty; then marched, at the head of his best troops, in pursuit of *Tokatmîsh*: but, when he arrived at the *Wolga*, the khân having crossed it, he staid at a passage called *Tûratû*. There he crowned *Koyrichak Aglen*, son of *Urûs Khân*, who was an officer of his court, emperor of *Kipjâk*; and sent him, with the squadron of *Uzbeks*, over the *Wolga*, to gather the troops of his nation, and govern his new subjects. Mean time the *Jagatayans* pursued the fugitives as far as *Ukek* (L), slaying and taking captives a great number; while others crossed the *Wolga* on floats: and *Tokatmîsh*, seeing himself closely pressed, fled into the impenetrable forests of *Bûlâr* (M). The army ad- *Pursues* Toktamîsh. *Makes* Koyrichak *khân.*

(K) A river in the *Kûhestân* of *Georgia*, which falls into the *Caspian*, to the north of *Terki*. *La Croix*.

(L) *Owkek*, or *Okak*. The last town dependent on *Saray*, on the *Wolga*, between *Bulgâr* and *Jebray*, fifteen leagues from each. *La Croix*.— Elsewhere he says, near *Bulgâr* and *Samera*.

(M) *Bulâr* is *Bulgâr* (or *Bulgâria*), reaching as far as *Siberia*, along the river *Kamâl* (or *Kama*), to the *Icy* sea. *La Croix*.

A. D. 1394. vanced on the west side of the river, till they came opposite to the place where they had been in the first campaign, which is near the dark ocean, or *Icy* sea; and, in their return, ravaged the country, bringing away an immense booty of gold, silver, precious stones, spotted, and furs, with boys and girls of great beauty.

Kara Yûsef *flies.* WHILE *Timûr* was on this expedition, *Kara Yûsef* assembled a troop of *Turkmâns* about *Alatâk* (or *Uch Kilîssa*), with design to attack *Koy*: but the emperor, after the late battle, having sent troops into *Irân* and *Great Bukhâria*, to prevent disorders, the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, who commanded the former, marched to *Koy*; and from thence, by the defile of *Kara Derra* (N), to *Bend Mâhi* (O), where *Kara Yûsef* lay encamped: but, on his approach, that robber fled, and was pursued as far as *Avenik* (or *Vân*).

Timûr *invades* MEAN time *Timûr*, resolving to conquer the rest of *Asia*, on the side of *Kipjâk*, entered the great desart, which leads into *Europe*, at the great river *Uzi*, or *Boristhenes*. Here, at a town called *Mankirmen*, on that river, he found *Bik-yarok Aglen*, with other *Uzbek Tatars*; most of whom were cut to pieces, and their effects pillaged. *Bâsh Temûr Aglen* and *Aktao* crossed the *Uzi*, and fled into the country of *Hermeday* (P); whose inhabitants, being their enemies, so harassed them, that the toman of *Aktao* fled to *Isra Yaka* in *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, and there settled.

and ravages Russia. *TIMUR* then, changing his route, marched towards *Muscovy*, and *Great Russia*. At the *Tanais* (or *Don*) the army again overtook *Bik Yarok*, and pursued him as far as *Kara Sû* (Q), a town of *Great Russia*, which they pillaged. His wives and children, who fell into their hands, were kindly treated by the emperor. This prince went in person to *Moskow*, which was pillaged; while parties were sent to ravage all the provinces of *Great Muscovy*, and *Urûsjik*, or *Little Russia*; who returned with prodigious droves of cattle, and beautiful captives, besides immense riches of all kinds. *Timûr*, after this, departed towards *Balchimkin* (or the *Palus*

(N) A defile of mountains, at present the bounds between *Persia* and *Turky*: the *French* translator has passed them. *La Croix.*

(O) A little river, where they shut up the fish of the lake of *Vân* by a kind of fluice. *La Croix* had crossed it.

(P) A country between the *Boryslhenes* and *Danube*. *La Croix.*

(Q) Otherwise called *Koresh*; on the frontiers of *Poland*. *La Croix.*

Mæotis);

Mæotis) ; and, being arrived at *Azâk* (R), ordered that the *Mohammedans* ſhould be ſet at liberty, and the other inhabitants put to the ſword. From hence he marched his troops to *Kubân* (S) : but, as the *Cherkas* had deſtroyed all the paſture grounds between thoſe two towns, a great number of horſes died, and they ſuffered much for eight days. From *Kubân* the Mîrzas *Mehemed Soltân* and *Mîrân Shâh* were ſent to conquer *Cherkaſſia* ; which they effected, bringing away infinite ſpoil[u]. A. D. 1394.

AFTER this, *Timûr* returned towards mount *Albûrz*. On the way, ſome ſorry fellows, who are never wanting in the courts of princes, accuſed *Ozmân Abbâs* of crimes which had no foundation : but, as *Timûr* had before ſuſpected *Ozmân*'s fidelity, he ordered that illuſtrious amîr, who, on ſo many occaſions, had given proofs of his courage and conduct, to be put to death. The emperor, having a deſign to deſtroy the infidels, marched towards *Bûrdaberdi*, to attack *Bûraken*, prince of the nation of *As*. He aſcended mount *Albûrz*, ſeveral times attacked the *Georgians*, put a great number of them to the ſword ; and ruined their fortreſſes, which they had deemed inacceſſible. On his return, he made a ſplendid feaſt, for joy of his ſucceſs ; after which, he again left the body of the army, to attack the fortreſſes of *Kûla* and *Taws* in *Georgia*, ſituate on mountains inhabited by the ſame people as thoſe of mount *Albûrz* ; and ſo ſteep, that one is dazzled to look at them. That, on whoſe ridge *Taws* ſtands, is ſo high, that no archer can hit it with his arrow. *Returns to Georgia.*

TIMUR ordered the tomân of *Mekrits*, the moſt dexterous in the world at climbing mountains, to aſcend the rock : but, after going round it, they could not find one ſingle paſſage to the caſtle. The emperor, concerned at this, at length cauſed a great number of ladders to be made, which might be joined together. Being gotten, by theſe helps, to the top of the firſt ridge of the mountain, a troop of the forlorn hope bound themſelves with cords ; and, having faſtened the ends of the cords to the ridge of the mountain, came down even with the place, where the beſieged overwhelmed them with ſtones, and ſlew them in heaps. But, as the whole army were continually mounting the ladders, and deſcending before the places, the beſieged loſt courage ; ſo that they could not hinder the caſtle from being taken by the *Jagatays*, who put to the ſword *Fortreſs of Taws.*

[u] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 495—505. c. 53—56.

(R) The ſame with *Aſof* (as the *Europeans* call it) at the mouth of the *Don*.

(S) Capital of *Cherkaſſia*. *La Croix*.

A. D. 1394. all the men of the nation of *Irkawn* who had retired thither: the governors of the place, and he of *Kûla*, were also put to death.

and Pulâd *taken*; FROM thence the army marched towards the fortress of *Pulâd*, by the way of *Balakhân*; where they were all furnished with honey, the quantity was so great. The governor, named *Pulâd* also, refusing to deliver up *Utarkû*, one of the great amîrs of *Kipjâk*, who was retired thither, *Timûr* ordered a passage three leagues long to be cut through a thick wood, in order to come at the castle, which is situated on a very steep defile of mountains. The enemy began the attack first: but, being quickly defeated, the *Jagatays* entered the place, and put to the sword all who were capable of bearing arms. However, three companies of *Georgians*, and *Utarkû*, fled: the companies were pursued to the top of a mountain; and, after their defeat, were all cast into the fire: while *Timûr* followed *Utarkû* to the middle of mount *Albûrz*, in a place called *Abâsa*; where he was at length seized, after an obstinate defence, and loaded with chains

with other places. THE army, having pillaged all the inhabitants of this great and famous mountain, marched against the country of *Semsem*: whose lord, *Mehemed*, son of *Gayûr Khân*, came to offer it, with his subjects; and was enrolled among the officers of *Timûr*'s court. They then ascended the mountain, whither some of the inhabitants had fled; who being taken, the emperor ordered them to be bound, and precipitated from the rocks. There were several places in *Georgia*, out of which neither horse nor foot could get, without gently sliding down the steep hills: yet no difficulties diverted *Timûr*'s zeal, who at length cleared this country of the infidels, destroying their images and churches, as well as their houses. Thence he marched, by mount *Awhâr*, to *Bishkunt* (T); whose inhabitants he rewarded with largesses and lands, because they had long before offered him their service. He then proceeded, and ravaged the countries of the *Kossâks* of *Jutâr* (in *Georgia*), putting all these robbers to the sword. From thence he went to *Bogâz Kom*, a defile of mountains, where the inhabitants of *Mamkatâ* and *Kazi Komûk* came to make their submissions. There now remained unconquered in *Georgia* only the isles; whose inhabitants, called *Balekchian*, that is, *fishermen*, confided in their fluid rampier: but, as it was winter, and the waters were frozen two cubits in thickness, the soldiers passed over; and, having pillaged their houses, brought them away prisoners to the camp.

Kossak *robbers slain.*

(T) A town of *Georgia*.

AT

A. D. 1394.

Haji Terkhân *razed.*

At this time *Timûr* receiving advice from his lieutenant in *Haji Terkhân* (or *Aſtrakhân*), of ſome treaſonable practices in *Mahmûdi*, the kelonter (or governor) began his march thither, altho' the winter was extremely ſevere. The walls of this city are cloſe to the *Wolga*, which runs round them by means of the ditches, and ſo ſerves for a rampier: but, as the river is frozen in winter, they uſually build a wall of ice, as ſtrong as one of brick, on which they fling water in the night, that the whole may congeal, and become one piece; wherein they make a gate. *Timûr*, being come near *Haji Terkhân*, approached the city with only a few men: and, as *Mahmûdi* was obliged to go out to meet the emperor, he was arreſted, and ſent towards *Saray*, under the conduct of the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*; who, in his way, having paſſed the *Wolga*, which was frozen, purſuant to the orders given him, thruſt his priſoner under the ice. When he came to *Saray*, capital of *Kipjâk* (U), he made the inhabitants go forth, and then reduced it to aſhes; to revenge the burning of *Zenjîr Saray*, the palace of Soltân *Khazân Khân* (in 1387), when it was without a governor, and there was no king in *Great Bukhâria*. After this, *Timûr* returned to the winter quarters at *Bugâz Kom*; and, as his army had been extremely weakened by the ſevere weather, which had killed moſt of the horſes, and rendered proviſions exceſſively ſcarce (W), he ordered the ſpoils of *Saray* and *Haji Terkhân* to be divided among the ſoldiers [w].

Georgia and farther *ravaged.* Hej. 798. A. D. 1396.

All the countries of *Kipjâk* and *Keſer* (X), with the weſt and north parts of the *Caſpian* ſea, were now reduced under *Timûr*'s dominion: the towns and provinces of thoſe climates had likewiſe all been plundered, as *Ukek*, *Majâr* (or *Hungary*), *Little Ruſſia*, *Cherkaſſia*, *Bâſhgorod* (Y), *Mekes* or *Moſkow*, *Azâk*, *Kûbân*, and *Alân* (Z). All the princes of thoſe countries had, moreover, given aſſurances of their obedience; and the enemy ſcattered. At the beginning, therefore, of the year

[w] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 505—514. c. 56—60.

(U) Where reſided the *Tartar* kings of *Daſht Barka*, which is the *Arab* name of *Kapſhâk* [rather *Kapchâk*, *Kapjâk*, or *Kipjâk*], ſituated on the *Wolga*. *La Croix.*

(W) A pound of millet ſold for ſeventy dinârs *Kopeghi*; the head of an ox for 100; and that of a ſheep for 250.

(X) The province between *Khoraſſân* and the *Caſpian* ſea. *La Croix.*

(Y) A town of *Kipjâk*. *La Croix.*

(Z) A town and country between *Georgia* and the *Black Sea*. *La Croix.*

A. D. 1396. 798, *Timûr* began his march back to *Azerbejân*. When he came to *Terki*, he went to beſiege *Uſhenj* (A): on advice of which, *Shûkel*, tho' a *Mohammedan*, and before at war with the inhabitants, came, from *Kâzi Komûk* and *Awſher*, to their aſſiſtance with 3000 men: but, in their approach, *Timûr* ſurpriſed them, when their horſes were feeding; and, with 500 choſen horſe, defeated them. Moſt of them were ſlain; and *Shûkel*, flying on foot, was killed with an arrow by *Mobaſher Bahâdr*, who cut off his head. As ſoon as *Timûr* returned to the camp, his ſoldiers took *Uſhenj*, and put the garriſon to the ſword: but he not only pardoned governors, kâzis, and other great men of the country, but confirmed them in their ſovereignties, and made them great preſents; exhorting them, at the ſame time, to make war on the Chriſtians, according to their antient cuſtom.

Timûr *returns to* Irân. FROM thence *Timûr* marched to *Norghes* (*); which he took at the firſt aſſault, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword: he likewiſe took and razed the towns of *Mika*, *Balû*, and *Derkalû*, at the foot of mount *Albûrz*. He left *Georgia*, loaden with ſpoils and beautiful captives. The inhabitants of *Zenegherân*, the moſt ſkilful workmen in coats of mail, came to meet the emperor, with preſents of curious armour; and thoſe of the mountain *Kaytâg* ſubmitted alſo. Then he marched to *Dârbend Bakû*, that is, *the Caſpian gates* (B), and cauſed the walls of the fortreſs to be built. Here Sheykh *Ibrâhîm*, prince of *Shîrwân*, who had followed the court in this expedition, ſetting out before, prepared a great banquet at *Shabrân* (C). At *Shamâki* he entertained the court a ſecond time. Then *Timûr*, having confirmed the ſheykh in his principality, croſſed the *Kûr*, and encamped at *Aktam*. There he ordered the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh* to govern the kingdom, which he had before given to him, by himſelf, and to beſiege *Alenjîk*. He fixed the countries of *Karabâgh* and *Nakſhivân*, as far as *Avenik* (or *Vân*), for lodging the ordas of the troops of his right wing; and the ordas of his left wing were quartered in the lands between *Soltânîya* and *Hamadân*.

Feaſts his court.

(A) A country (and town) of *Georgia*, N. E. of *Teflis*. *La Croix*.

(*) A town of *Georgia*, in *Mingrelia*. *La Croix*.

(B) This ſeems to be the explanation of *La Croix*, who ſometimes inſerts names and explanations of his own in the text. The *Arabs* call *Dârbend*, *Bâb al Abwâb*, that is, *the gate of gates*. *Dârbend Baku* ſeems to be made by confounding two different towns of *Shîrwân* together.

(C) A town of *Shîrwân*, between *Dârbend* and *Shamâkhî*; which laſt is the capital.

SIRJAN, or *Seyrjân*, in *Kermân*, which had suffered a siege of three years, was so pressed by *Shâh Shâhân*, and the troops of *Sistân* employed therein, that all the inhabitants, as well as garrison, were slain in the assaults, excepting *Guderz* the governor, and six others; who, being at length obliged to surrender the place, was put to death for his obstinacy. After this, while *Temûk Kûchin*, governor of *Yazd*, was gone to the imperial camp, the Soltân *Mehemed*, son of *Abûsa'id Tebesi*, with some troops, formerly in the service of the princes of *Muzaffer*, slew *Temûk*'s lieutenant, with several of the great officers of that city; and, seizing the public treasure, with several loads of stuff, designed for the empress, assembled an infinite number of profligate fellows, whom he cloathed, and gave money to. On advice of this sedition, *Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Omar Sheykh*, marched from *Shîrâz* with the army of *Pârs*: and, being joined by those of the neighbouring provinces, went and besieged *Yazd*. *Timûr* also sent thither the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, son of *Jehân Ghîr*, with considerable troops; who gave two assaults each day, yet could not reduce the place by force: but, after a long siege, in which 30,000 died of famine, the enemy dug their way out under the ditch. However, being pursued, their leader *Mehemed* was killed near *Mehrijerd* (*); while some of his followers were slain, and the rest burnt alive. *Timûr*, pitying the poor inhabitants, forgave the arrears of taxes; and put their city, which had been ruined by the rebels, in a flourishing condition again [x].

A. D. 1396. Sirjân *taken.* *Rebels suppressed.*

CHAP. IV.

Timûr *invades and conquers* Hindustân.

TIMUR, being arrived at *Soltânîya*, released Soltân *Aysa*, prince of *Mardîn*, and restored him to his territories. He then marched to *Hamadân*, and then sent troops to *Nahawend* (in *Persian Irâk*), against *Behlûl*, who had slain the generous Amîr *Mezîd Berlâs*, governor of that city, and revolted. Those forces, having, with abundance of fatigue, taken the place, cut in pieces all the rebels who defended it, and burnt their ringleader alive; the amîrs, who commanded at the siege, were afterwards ordered to exterminate the robbers of *Loreslân*; and then march to the *Persian* gulf, and bring under his obedience all the maritime places, as far as Timûr *returns.*

[x] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 514—524 c. 60—64.

(*) A city of *Khoarassân*, otherwise called *Mehrejân* and *Esferayn*. *La Croix.*

A. D. 1396. the borders of *Harmûz*, or *Ormûz*; which they at length effected. *Timûr*, after hunting in the plain of *Hamadân*, disbanded his army; and, *July* the 30th, set out for *Samarkant*, marching in one day as far as others would in three or four. Having passed through *Verami* (**) and *Beştam* (†), he entered *Khoraſſân*, of which he made the Amîr *Allahdâd* inſpector-general. Then croſſing the *Jihûn* in boats, at *Amûya*, he went to his palace of *Ak-ſaray*, in *Kaſh*; where, after receiving the compliments of all the great lords of divers provinces, who came to congratulate his return, he made a ſolemn feaſt; and then went to *Samarkant*, where he was joyfully received, and made another feaſt. After this, he gave the ſharîfs, and men of letters, part of the ſpoil he had brought home; puniſhed bad governors, againſt whom complaints were made, putting ſome to death; and exempted all the ſubjects of his empire from taxes for three years.

Fine palace built. Hej. 799. A. D. 1397. IN ſpring 799, *Timûr* ordered the palace of *Bâghi-ſhemâl* to be built, in a garden to the north (A) of *Samarkant*, by the moſt ſkilful architects of *Pârs* and *Bâghdâd*. It had a pavilion at each of the four corners; and the walls were painted in freſco, with ſuch art, as ſurpaſſed the works of *Artenk Mâni* (B), ſeveral of whoſe pieces *Timûr* was poſſeſſed of. The court was paved with marble; and the bottom of the walls, both within and without, were covered with porcelain. When the whole was finiſhed, *Timûr* ordered a royal feaſt, with ſumptuous banquets, plays, and diverſions; at which he inveſted his fourth ſon, the Mirza *Shâh Rûkh Bahâdr*, ſovereign and abſolute prince of the kingdoms of *Khoraſſân*, *Siſtân*, and *Mazânderân*, as far as *Firûzkûh*, and the city of *Ray*: deeming *Khoraſſân*, by its ſituation, fitteſt for the ſeat of his kingdom, as lying between the two empires of *Irân* and *Tûrân* (of which he was maſter). Then, having appointed amîrs and generals to command under him, he tenderly embraced, and, having kiſſed his eyes and forehead, diſmiſſed him. The new king croſſed the *Jihûn* in *June*; and, arriving at *Herât*, choſe for his reſidence the palace of *Bâgh-zaghân*, that is, *the Garden*

Shâh Rûkh *made king.*

(**) A town of *Kûheſtân* (in *Irâk*), in the territory of *Reja*. *La Croix*.—By *Reja* (or *Reya*) he ſeems to mean *Rey*, or *Ray*. It is mentioned in the journal of the *Perſian* merchant taken from *Ramuſio* by *Hakluyt*, Vol. I. p. 337. and placed ſix days journey from *Kaſtin*, in the road to *Herât*, fifteen days diſtant.

(†) Or *Baſaâm*, a town of *Komûs*, ſouth of *Mazânderân*.

(A) *Bâghi-ſhemâl* ſignifies *the Garden of the North*.

(B) The moſt eminent painter of *China* and *Perſia*. *La Croix*.

of

of Crows; where, the 25th of *September*, he had a ſon born, whom the emperor, his father, named *Bayſankar*[a]. A. D. 1397.

MEAN time the Mîrzâ *Mehemed Soltân*, marching by *Darabjerd* (C) and *Tarom* (D), went to *Harmûz* (or *Ormûz*), where he was met by troops which had taken different routes. At the firſt onſet, they reduced the ſeven fortreſſes, which are the bulwarks of that kingdom; whoſe ſovereign, *Mehemed Shâh* (E), was obliged to retire to *Jerom*, where he was conſtrained to make peace, ſwearing to pay an annual tribute of 600,000 dinârs. When the Mîrza was on his return to *Shîrâz*, a perſon named *Jumâlo'ddîn*, a native of the mountain of *Firûzkûh*, who rode at the ſide of his horſe, ſtruck him with a knife, but only wounded him ſlightly. The villain, thinking to eſcape, got up to the ridge of the mountain; but, ſtumbling as he ran, fell into a precipice, and was killed. This prince, having finiſhed the campaign, returned to the court at *Samarkant*: where *Timûr*, at this time, made ſeveral rich preſents to *Shâma Jehân*, ſon of *Kezer Koja Aglen* (king of *Jetah*); and ſent him to his father, accompanied by *Kayâzo'ddîn Terkhân*, to demand his ſiſter, *Tukel Khânûm*, in marriage. Harmûz *conquered.*

AT the ſame time he built a magnificent palace in the midſt of the garden, called *Bâghi Dilenſha* (F), juſt then finiſhed, in the plain of *Khâni Gheul*, without *Samarkant*, and gave it the name of his new miſtreſs (G). This palace was ſquare; each ſide 1500 cubits long; and, in the middle of each, a very high gate. The edifice was three ſtories high, and the roofs exceeding lofty. The cielings were adorned with flowers in *Moſaik* work, and the walls covered with porcelain of *Kaſhân*. It was adorned with all the beauties that could be deviſed; build exceeding ſtrong; and ſurrounded with a colonade of marble, which gave it a majeſtic aſpect. The garden was moſt elegantly laid out in parterres, wilderneſſes, and allées, bordered with ſycamores, and delicious fruit-trees. At each of the four corners ſtood a very lofty pavilion, covered *Another ſplendid palace.*

[a] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 524—534. c. 64—68.

(C) A city of *Fârs*, or *Pârs*, where they find ſalt of all colours: in the midſt of the town is a hill of free-ſtone. *La Croix.*

(D) A city of *Fârs*, near *Seyrjân* (or *Sirjân*). *La Croix.*

(E) This prince is not mentioned among the kings of *Harmûz*, or *Ormûz*, whoſe hiſtory, from *Texeira*, is given, Vol. VI. p. 65. *Jerom*, or *Jerûn*, is the iſland of *Ormûz*; but the fortreſſes were on the continent of *Perſia*.

(F) That is, *the garden which rejoices the heart.*

(G) It was the cuſtom to dedicate palaces to ladies.

with

A. D. 1397. with porcelain tinged with very delicate shadowings, and ranged with admirable skill.

Timûr marries. Hej. 800. A. D. 1398. AFTER this, the emperor departed for *Tâshkunt*, visiting, in his way, the tomb of Sheykh *Ahmed*; and, when winter was over, hearing that the princess was on the road, all the ladies and amîrs of the court were sent on horseback, sixteen days journey, to meet her. Having met her, they sprinkled gold and precious stones on her head; did her all the honour due to a great queen; and, making magnificent feasts at every orda they arrived at, brought her at length to *Timûr*. Then he gave orders for a grand feast; and, commanding the chief mufti, the kâzi's, and doctors of the law, to come before him, they married him according to the *Mohammedan* rites.

Embassy from China. ABOUT this time ambassadors arrived from *Tamgûz Khân*, emperor of *Katay* (H), with very curious presents, and were soon dismissed. *Timûr* then appointed the Mirza *Mehemed Soltân*, governor of the frontiers of *Moguleſtân*, with orders to build a fortress there, at the town of *Ashirâ*, and 40,000 horse under his command. After this, in the beginning of spring, he left *Chinas*, and came to *Samarkant*: from thence he went to *Kash*. On the road, five leagues from the first city, there is a mountain, out of which springs a river; and, this being an agreeable place, the emperor ordered a great garden to be made there; and, on the top of a rock, in the middle of it, a pleasure-house to be built, to which he gave the name of *Tâkt Karâche*, that is, *the Black Throne* [b].

He invades Hindûstân. AFTER the death of *Firûz Shâh* (I), emperor of *India*, *Mellû Khân* and *Sarenk*, two brothers, who had been his generals, placed his grandson Soltân *Mahmûd* on the throne; but, at the same time, usurping the sovereign power themselves, *Mellû* resided at *Deli* (K), near *Mahmûd*, and *Sarenk* at *Mûltân* (L). On this occasion, *Timûr*, being persuaded by

[b] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 534—42. c. 64—70.

(H) Or *Kitay*; by which is to be understood *China* in general: although *Kitay* properly included only the provinces to the north of the *Whang-ho*. The emperor designed by *Tamgûz* was *Hong-vû*, founder of the family of the *Ming*, *Ta-ming*, or *Tay-ming*, who died the year after.

(I) He was probably a descendant of the family of *Gauri*, or *Gowr*, who reigned in *Gâzna* of *Khorassân*, and in *Hindûstân*, and succeeded that of the *Gâzni* in the year 1155.

(K) Called also *Delli*, or, more properly, *Dehli*. It was then, as it is now, the capital of *Hindûstân*, or the *Mogols* empire; and consists of three towns, *Sari*, *Jehân-pena*, and *Old Deli*.

(L) A city situated on the river *Ravi*.

Timûr

Timûr Koja, ſon of *Akbûga*, to invade *India*, ordered the Mirza *Pîr Mehemed*, ſon of *Jehân Ghîr*, who had been eſtabliſhed in the provinces of *Irân* bordering thereon, to march into that country with his forces, and make conqueſts there. They began with plundering the *Ugâns* (or *Augwâns*) who inhabited the mountain of *Soleymân Kûh*. Then, paſſing the *Indus*, inveſted *Uchâh* (*), and alſo laid ſiege to *Mûltân*; which laſt place they attacked without intermiſſion, with two aſſaults every day. *Timûr* received this news with joy; and, as he reſolved to carry his arms as far as *China*, in order to root out infidels, he determined, to merit the glory of the gâzi (M), to march into *India* in perſon: for, altho' *Mohammediſm* was profeſſed in *Dehli*, and many other cities of that empire, yet the greater part of the provinces was inhabited by idolaters. With this view, therefore, in *March* he ſet forward with his army, compoſed of many nations, but moſtly *Tatars*; and, having paſſed the *Jihûn* at *Termed*, took the road of *Âznik* and *Semenkân*; then croſſed the mountains of *Bakalân*, and encamped at *Anderâb*. A. D. 1396.

THE inhabitants of this place having complained that the idolaters of mount *Ketûer*, and the *Siapûſhes* (N), exacted exceſſive ſums of the *Mohammedans*, under the denomination of tribute; and that, on failure of payment, they ſlew the men, and made ſlaves of the women and children, *Timûr* marched againſt them. Being arrived at *Perjân* (O), he ſent the Mîrza *Rûſtem* to the left, with 10,000 men, againſt the *Siapûſhes*; and, following his road, came to *Kaûk* (P), where he found a demoliſhed citadel, which he cauſed to be rebuilt. The amîrs began to aſcend the mountain *Ketûer*, with great fatigue; and, as the infidels dwelt in narrow paſſages and precipices, and the roads to them, were covered with ſnow, when they got to the top, ſome of them, as well as the ſoldiers, deſcended by ropes, while others ſlid down the ſnow. They made a ſort of raft for *Timûr*, and let it down by ropes 150 cubits long, faſtened to rings; and, when he got ſo far, they dug a place in the ſnow for him to ſtand on. They let him down five times in this manner, before he reached the foot of the *Attacks* Ketûer, *with great difficulty.*

(*) A city to the north of *Mûltân*. *La Croix.*

(M) That is, a religious war, like the cruſade of *Romaniſts*; or, it ſignifies one who conquers in ſuch wars.

(N) *Ketûer*, or *Ketower*, is a mountain in the kingdom of *Badâgſhân*, in the eaſt part of *Great Bukhâria*. The *Siapûſhes* are an idolatrous nation, cloathed in black, inhabiting the mountains ſouth of *Badâgshân*. *La Croix.*

(O) A town of *Badâgshân*, two days journey from *Anderâb*, near the *Siapûſhes*. *La Croix.*

(P) Or *Kawk*; a town at the foot of mountain *Ketûer*. *La Croix.*

mountain.

A. D. 1397. mountain. Some of his horſes were let down by ſwathes; but only two got ſafe; the reſt, for want of care, fell headlong, and periſhed. Then he took a ſtaff in his hand, and walked a good way; after which, mounting his horſe, the army followed on foot [c].

and the Siapûſhes.

THE infidels of this country, who go all naked, are ſtrong men, and large as giants. Their kings are named *Oda* and *Odaſhûh*: they have a peculiar language, which is neither *Perſian*, *Turkiſh*, nor *Indian*; ſo that, but for their neighbours, who ſerve for interpreters, they could neither underſtand, nor be underſtood. They had a citadel, at whoſe foot a great river paſſes, with a bridge over it; and beyond the river was a high mountain: but, on *Timûr*'s approach, they fled, with their effects, to the top of this mountain, imagining it to be inacceſſible: but the *Jagatays* ſoon got up, with the loſs of fourteen, who fell from the top headlong; and attacked the enemy on all ſides. The fight laſted three nights with unheard of obſtinacy: but at length the infidels, after the loſs of great numbers of men, begged quarter. It was granted, on condition that they ſubmitted, and turned *Mohammedans*; which they did on the fourth day: but, at night, having put to the ſword an intire regiment, except a very few, the whole army got upon the mountain; and, following *Mohammed*'s precept to ſpare the women, cut to pieces all the old and young men; then raiſed towers of their heads, and left a marble engraved with the hiſtory of this action.

Deſtroys them.

MEAN time the *Siapûſhes*, on the approach of the Mirzâ *Ruſtem* and *Burhân Aglen*, left their fortreſſes, and retired to the mountains; where they lay in ambuſcade, in a very narrow paſſage. Theſe, when the *Jagatays* paſſed by, iſſued forth; and, falling ſuddenly on them, *Burhân Aglen*, thro' great cowardice, threw off his coat of mail, and fled without fighting; which cauſed the defeat of his troops, and ſlaughter of many men. It happened that, at this inſtant, *Mehemed Azâd*, ſent as a reinforcement by *Timûr*, met the *Siapûſhes* on their return; and, after a ſharp fight, intirely defeated them. He then went to join *Burhân Aglen* with the horſe which had fled; but could not prevail on him to remain there all night: for he got to the top of the mountain, whither he was followed by his troops. *Burhân* was the only prince of the family of *Kayât* (Q), who, ſince *Jenghîz Khân*, had committed the like infamous action. This general had indeed done the ſame in the war

[c] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, l. iv. c. 1—3. p. 1—10.

(Q) *Jenghîz Khân* was himſelf of this ſtock.

of

of the *Uzbeks*: but *Timûr* had not only pardoned, but continued to honour him; and had sent him on this expedition to retrieve his credit. A. D. 1397.

When these two generals had rejoined the imperial army at *Kaïik*, *Timûr* would not admit *Burhân Aglen* into his presence. He treated him with scorn, as he met him by chance; and, to shew his infamy, said: "The koràn assures us, that twenty "zealous *Mussulmâns* are able to conquer 200 infidels; and "yet *Burhân*, at the head of 10,000 men, fled from a hand-"ful of unbelievers." He then declared him criminal; and, as a mark of disgrace, banished him the court. On the other hand, he gave rich presents, and the command of a regiment, to *Mehemed Azâd*; who, with only 400 men, had, on foot, stood his ground against the vanquishers of *Burhân*, flushed with victory, and slain a great number of them. After this, the Mîrza *Shâh Rukh* departed from *Kaïk* for *Herât*; and *Timûr* marched to *Tulle* (R): then crossed the mountain *Hendû Kesh*; passed by *Penjehîr* (S), and encamped in the country of *Barân*, five leagues from *Kâbul*: where he caused a great canal, called *Mahighîr*, to be made, five leagues in length, on which afterwards were built many large villages [d]. *Punishes cowardice.*

Mean time there arrived in the camp ambassadors from several princes, particularly *Kezer Koja Aglen*, king of *Jetah*, to assure *Timûr* of their obedience. *Tayzi Aglen* (*), who, for some difference between him and the khân, at *Olug-yûrt* (T), fled from the kingdom of *Kalmâk* (U), came also hither for protection, and was received with great honour. Nor was the Amîr Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn* less welcome; who brought with him an immense treasure, the revenues of *Persia*, and presents of an inestimable value. At this time *Mâlek Mehemed*, brother *Embassies from princes.*

[d] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 10—19. c. 3—5.

(R) A little town of *Badâgshân*. *La Croix*.

(S) Commonly called *Penjîr* (or *Benghîr*), at the foot of the mountains of *Kashmîr*, to the west. *Abû'lfeda* says, there are two silver mines here. *La Croix*.

(*) Called *Elchi Timûr Khân*, p. 82. This happened twenty years after the *Mungl Khân*, being driven out of *China*, resettled at *Karakorom*.

(T) That is, the *Great Orda*; it stands near *Karakorom*, capital of *Kalmâk*, and is the residence of the kings of *Kalmâk*, or rather of the *Mogul* khâns. *La Croix*.

(U) A kingdom, formerly called *Karakitay*, in *Moguleston*, north of the kingdom of *Gurge*, or *Lyau-tong*. *La Croix*.—This is a very confused account: yet seems to intimate that the *Moguls*, or *Mungls*, in the east of *Tartary*, went then by the nickname of *Kalmâks*, or *Kalmûks*; given them, doubtless, by the *Mohammedan Tatars* or *Mungls*.

to

A. D. 1397. to *Leshker Shâh*, an *Ugân* (or *Augwân*), complained to *Timûr*: that *Mûssa*, prince of the *Kerkes*, had killed his brother, who was an officer of the emperor, had ruined *Irjâb* (W), pillaged his tenants, and robbed on the great roads. *Timûr* ordered *Mâlek* to conceal himself, while he sent for *Mûssa* to court; who was received with marks of honour by his majesty, and ordered to rebuild *Irjâb*. *Mûssa* went back to obey the order; and, when the work was finished, the emperor marched thither.

An oppressor punished. As he designed to put to death *Mûssa* and his accomplices, he commanded the guards not to suffer any of them to re-enter the town, after once they went out. Nor was this order given without good reason: for, *September* 16th, *Timûr* having taken horse, to view the place, accompanied by many princes and generals on foot, he was perceived by seven of *Mûssa*'s labourers, from an upper window of a house behind one of the gates; who let fly at him, with design to kill him: but the whiz of the arrow only startled his horse. *Timûr*, upon this, went into the city at another gate; and immediately caused *Mûssa* and his partisans to be seized: 200 of whom, with their chief, he delivered to *Mâlek Mehemed*; who, assisted by three of his servants, cut off their heads, to revenge his brother's death, and made a tower of them. His subjects were plundered; and the women, children, and goods, of those tyrants, given to indemnify the people of *Irjâb*; which principality was bestowed on *Mâlek*.

Crosses the Indus. *SEPTEMBER* 17th, *Timûr* marched toward *Shenuzân*, where he encamped, after passing several forests and mountains. The 20th, he arrived at the fortress of *Nagaz*, which had been newly rebuilt by his order. Here being informed, that the nation of *Pervians*, a kind of *Ugâns* (or *Augwâns*), infested the roads, he entered the mountains; and, in three days, came up with and cut them to pieces, burnt their dwellings, and carried off their children and effects. Mean time the Amîr *Soleymân Shâh* treated the *Kelatians*, another nation of the *Ugâns*, very strong and numerous, in the same manner: but the *Ubel*, a third branch of the same people, came; and, submitting, were loaded with favours. The first day of the year Hej. 801. A. D. 801 (*September* 30), *Timûr* departed for *Banû*; then marching from thence, *October* 7th arrived at the *Indus*, in the very place where Soltân *Jalâlo'ddîn*, king of *Karazm*, swam over that river, in sight of *Jenghîz Khân*. The emperor crossed it on a bridge of boats. At this place he dismissed the ambassadors of foreign princes: among the rest, was one from the sharifs of *Mekka* and *Medîna*, who courted a visit from

(W) A city four days journey distant, towards *India*. *La Croix*.

them,

them, and desired his protection (X). Likewise the ambassador of *Eskânder Shâh*, prince of *Kashmîr* (Y), who offered obedience; and was ordered to meet the emperor at *Dipalpûr*, a town of *India*[c]. A. D. 1398.

TIMUR, having passed the *Indus* with his army, encamped at the entrance of the great desart of *Jerû*, which is called *Chol Jalâli*, from *Jalâlo'ddîn*'s taking shelter in it. Here the *Râjas* of the mountain *Kûh Jûd* (south-east of *Kashmîr*) came to submit themselves; and, as they had been kind to his troops some months before, they were very well received. When he arrived at the river *Jamâd* (Z), *October* 13th, he ordered Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn* to attack an island therein, fortified with a ditch and walls, belonging to prince *Shahâbo'ddîn Mobârek*; who, after submitting to the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr*, in his way to *Mûltân*, had revolted. The amîr, with his tomân, entering the river, a most furious battle was fought. Then *Shahâbo'ddîn* came with 10,000 men to attack the *Jagatays* in the rear, during the night; but, after several vigorous onsets, were defeated by Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn*. On this, prince *Mobârek* fled, with his domestics, in 200 flat-bottomed boats, down the *Jamâd*, to *Ucha*. Passing on from thence towards *Mûltân*, the passage was obstructed by *Soleymân Shâh*, at the head of the scouts of *Pîr Mehemed* and the Mîrza *Shâh Rûkh*; who, seizing the boats, cut them to pieces, while the unfortunate prince, casting his wife and children into the river, half-dead, gained the bank; and fled, with many of his subjects, into the woods; where, being pursued, great numbers were slain, and their goods pillaged. *Defeats* Shahâbo'ddîn,

AFTER this success, the army marched five or six days along the *Jamâd*, and encamped at a fortress where that river and the *Jenâve* (A) join, with waves resembling the troubled ocean: however, *Timûr* ordered a bridge to be built over it; which is the first to be met with in history, made across this river: for *Turmeshîrîn Khân* (B), who formerly passed it, was *and other princes.*

[c] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 19—28. c. 5—9.

(X) They offered to declare *Timûr* khalifah, altho' *Bayezîd* was invested with that high dignity. *La Croix.*

(Y) A province of *India*, whose capital is *Nagar*. *La Croix.*

(Z) A river near the *Indus*; it is the continuation of the *Dendana*, which comes from *Kashmîr*. *La Croix.*

(A) *Jenaw*, or *Chenaw*, which falls into the *Ravi*, above *Mûltân*.

(B) Descended from *Jenghîz Khân*: he conquered *India* in 1240. *La Croix.*— This must be some mistake. *Turmeshirin Khân*, khân of *Jagatay*, who seems to be the prince here meant, died in 1336.

obliged

A. D. 1398. obliged to swim over. The emperor, having crossed the united stream, went to encamp over-against the town of *Tûlonba*, thirty-five gûrûh (C), or miles, from *Mûltân*: then passing the river of that town, taxed it at two millions of crowns, part of which was paid; but, the inhabitants making a difficulty of paying the rest, the soldiers, in the night, sacked the place, burnt the houses, and made slaves of the people, the sharifs and doctors only excepted. *November* the 5th he left *Tûlonba*; and, next day, encamped by a deep lake, situate on the side of the river *Biah* (D), within sight of *Shanavaz*, a great and populous city. He then marched against *Nusret*, brother of Sheykh *Kukeri*, who had surrounded the lake with a wall, and lay behind it with 2000 men: but they were soon defeated, and cut to pieces.

Mûltân *taken.* AT *Shanavaz* the soldiers supplied themselves with corn: then setting fire to the granaries, *November* 10 went down the *Biah*, and crossed it over-against the town of *Jenjân*. Next day, the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed* came from *Mûltân*, forty miles distant, to the imperial camp. That city having been reduced to eat dead bodies, after a six months siege, *Sarenk* the governor was obliged to fly; so that the prince quickly took it: but, having lost most of his horses by a mortality caused by an inundation, the *Râjas* of the country revolted, and advanced in the night to the very walls of *Mûltân*; till, on advice of *Timûr*'s approach, they withdrew. The army left *Jenjân* the 15th, for *Shuâl*; the 18th came to *Afwân* (E), and at length to *Jehawl* (F). The 21st he arrived at *Ajûdân*; and next day, crossing the *Dena*, encamped on the hill of *Kaleshuteli*, ten miles from *Ajûdân*, and fifty from *Batnîr*; at which place he arrived the 23d, after crossing the great desart.

Batnîr *fortress.* *Batnîr* is a city, with a fortress, the strongest and most noted in all *India*, situate in a desart out of the common road. The inhabitants have no water, excepting from a great lake near the gate of the town, which is never filled but in times of inundations. Hither the inhabitants of *Dipalpûr*, *Ajûdân*, and other places, fled for refuge in such numbers, that, the place not being large enough to contain all their cattle and effects, great part of both were left without the town[f].

[f] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 28—40. c. 9—14.

(C) Gûrûh, as the *Indians* call the measure of three miles, makes a farseng, parseng, or *Persian* league. *Sharifo'd.* Hist. Tim. Bek. l. iv. c. 14. p. 40.

(D) Or *Biyah*, near *Lahor*; it falls into the *Ravi*. *La Croix*.

(E) Towns south of the *Biah*. *La Croix*.

(F) A town between *Lahor* and *Dipalpûr*, south of the *Biah*. *La Croix*.

THESE

THESE the soldiers, on their arrival, seized, and immediately marched up to *Batnîr*; where *Rawdûljîn* the governor reigned as sovereign, and resolved to resist, having had a great many soldiers and domestics about him. The out-parts and suburbs were taken, at the first attack, with great slaughter of the *Indians*: they took also the counterscarp, and then assaulted the town. *Rawdûljîn* posted himself at the gate, with the bravest of his soldiers: but, being vigorously attacked several times by the *Jagatays*, when they were on the point of gaining the place, he demanded quarter, promising to repair next day to the camp. However, not keeping his word, they began to sap the walls with such resolution, that the *Indian* prince submitted, and was honourably received. Five hundred of the inhabitants of *Dipalpûr* were put to the sword, for having treacherously slain *Messafer Kâbuli*, and 1000 horsemen: part likewise of the people of *Ajûdân*, who had abandoned *Timûr*, were slain; and the rest made prisoners, after being plundered. These executions so frighted *Kemâlo'ddîn*, brother of *Rawdûljîn*, that he shut the gate of the town: but soon opened it again, on the approach of the *Jagatays*.

A. D. 1398.

Batnîr surrenders.

HOWEVER, as among the rajas, and other chiefs, disputes arose, about the tax for saving the people's lives, which could not be terminated without commotions, *Timûr*, in a passion, ordered that this rabble should be put to the sword, and the houses of the infidels razed. The soldiers having scaled the walls, and entered the place sword in hand, the ghebrs and idolaters set fire to their own houses, casting their wives, children, and goods, into the flames; and the *Mohammedans* cut the throats of theirs. This done, the men, uniting, who were exceeding strong and courageous, fought in a most cruel and obstinate manner, slaying many of the *Jagatays*. The Amîr Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn* also, rushing into the midst of the enemy, was with difficulty rescued out of their hands. At length, victory declaring for the besiegers, they slew 10,000 *Indians*, burnt their houses, and ruined the walls of the town[g].

Great slaughter there.

AFTER the ruin of *Batnîr*, *Timûr* departed *November* 30 for *Dehli*, capital of *India*. Having passed by the castle of *Firûz*, with the towns of *Sereşti*, *Fâtabâd*, *Rejebowr*, and *Abrûni*; on the 5th of *December* he came to the village of *Tûhene*, in a country inhabited by *Getes*, who robbed and murdered on the highway. At his approach, they fled; but, being pursued, 2000 of them were cut off. Next day, having passed the castle of *Mûnek*, he entered the desarts and woods where the *Getes* had retired, and slew 2000 more.

Comes to Jehân Nûmay.

[g] Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 40—44.

A. D. 1398. Then, passing by the town of *Semâne*, he came to the river *Kehker*, which he crossed, over the bridge of *Fûlkubl*; where he was joined by the soldiers of the left wing, commanded by Soltan *Mahmûd Khân*, who had taken another road. From thence he marched to *Kuteyl*, seventeen miles from *Semane*; then to *Assendi*, seventeen farther; and, five more, to *Toklukpûr*: the inhabitants of which city, called *Sûlûn*, held two principles; one the author of good, the other of evil. They fled on the approach of the army; who burnt their houses, and then marched twelve miles to *Panipar*. At length, *December* 24, they arrived at *Jehân Numay* (G), a palace built by Soltan *Firûz Shâh*, on the top of a mountain, two leagues from *Dehli*, at the foot of which runs the great river *Jawn* (H).

Most cruel butchery. *TIMUR* went then to the town of *Lûni*, situated between the two rivers of *Jawn* and *Hilen*; which latter *Firûz Shâh* cut from the river of *Kalini*, which unites with the *Jawn* near the city of *Firûzabâd*. *Lûni* was taken in one day; and all the ghebr inhabitants put to the sword, but the *Mohammedans* were spared. Next morning the emperor went to *Jehân Numay*, to see that palace, and from thence pitch on a place for battle: after which, he encamped to the east of *Lûni*; where the *Shâh Zâde*, or emperor's children, and the amîrs who had been making incursions, joined him. Here he harangued them upon the art of fighting battles; of breaking the enemy's ranks; and rallying one's own troops after a defeat. The army, since they passed the *Indus*, having made a vast number of *Indians* captives, mostly ghebrs and idolaters, it was feared, that, in any obstinate battle, they would join with the people of *Dehli*; *Timûr*, therefore, ordered, that they, who had any *Indian* slaves, should put them to death: in consequence of which, in less than one hour, more than 100,000 were put to death [h].

His forces approach *TIMUR* set out for *Dehli*, *December* 30th: and, when the astrologers disputed about the aspects of the planets, he told them, that fortune did not depend on the stars, but on the Creator of them; and that, when he had once formed his designs with proper care, he would not delay the execution of them one moment, to wait for a lucky time. Yet he consulted the korân, and met with a favourable answer (I); which en-

[h] Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 44—54. c. 15—19.

(G) That is, *the mirror of the world*, because of its fine prospect.

(H) Or *Juenga*.

(I) If *Timûr* was free from one superstition, like many others, he was guilty of another; nay, could flatter himself with having the favour of God, just after destroying, in cold blood, 100,000 of his creatures at once.

sured

sured him of victory, and encouraged the whole army. *January* the first (1399) he crossed the *Jawn*, and encamped on the other side. The 3d he drew up his army in order of battle; giving the command of the right wing to the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr:* the left wing was led by the Mîrzas *Soltân Hussayn* and *Kalîl Soltân*: the rear was put under the conduct of the Mîrza *Rûstem:* and the main body was commanded by *Timûr* himself. A. D. 1399.

the Indian army.

THE enemy marched likewise in order of battle. Their right wing was brought up by *Taji Khân*, *Mîr Ali Koja*, and other *Indian* princes: the left had for its leaders *Mâlek Moynoddîn*, and others: and the main body was commanded by Soltân *Mahmûd Khân*, emperor of *India;* who had *Mellû Khân* for his lieutenant-general. This army consisted of 10,000 horse, well equipped; and 40,000 foot, armed to advantage. Besides several elephants of war, armed with cuirasses, having between their long teeth great poisoned daggers; and on their backs wooden towers, in form of bastions, filled with crossbowmen and archers; on the side of the elephants marched those who flung fire and melted pitch, with rockets armed at the end with iron, which give several blows one after another, where-ever they fall.

Fear the elephants.

THE *Jagatays* were not much disturbed about the *Indian* army: but they had conceived strange notions of the elephants, which they had never seen before. They imagined that the arrow and sword could not pierce their bodies: that they were so strong as to overthrow trees, by only shaking the earth, as they passed along: that they could shove down the firmest buildings: and that, in battle, they would toss both man and horse to a vast height in the air. This dispirited many in the camp; so that, when the posts were fixed for the officers and lords of the court, *Timûr*, who always shewed respect to men of learning, asked those near his person, what posts they would chuse. Several of these doctors, frighted at what they had read and heard of elephants, answered immediately, "If it "please your majesty, we chuse to be near the ladies."

The battle begins.

TIMUR, to guard against this panic, ordered a rampart of bucklers to be made before the ranks, with a ditch before that: he likewise caused buffaloes to be tied neck and heels, then placed close together; with bushes between and on their heads. There were, besides, stakes prepared, with three-pronged forks at the ends: so that, when the elephants advanced, they were to be planted in their way; and the brambles to be set on fire, to put those animals in disorder. When the two armies were in view, *Timûr* got upon an eminence, near the hill of *Pûshtey Behâli*, from thence to observe their motions; and,

A. D. 1399. as soon as the fight began, he fell on the ground, often bowing, to beg for victory. While he was at prayers, there happened, says our author, a strange accident: for the amîrs of the rear imagined, that, if the emperor should send recruits from the main body, either to the right wing or the rear, it would be a certain token of victory. Now this the emperor actually did: which so encouraged the *Jagatays*, that the *Indians* were constrained to give ground, and the elephants suffered themselves to be driven like oxen.

The Indians *defeated.* So hot a battle never was seen, nor so frightful a noise of warlike instruments heard, before. At length, *Timûr*'s vanguard, perceiving that of the enemy to advance, retired behind the right wing, to lie in ambush till they had passed by, and then fell on them with fury, killing in an instant four or five hundred men. The Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, at the head of the van-guard of the right wing, assisted by the Amîr *Soleymân Shâh*, attacked the left of the *Indians* with so much conduct, that he drove them beyond the bason of *Haviskas* (K); then, falling on the elephants, forced them to enter the ranks of the same wing, and cause a farther disorder. Mean time the left wing of the *Jagatays* repulsed the right of the enemy, with great slaughter, as far as the city-gate. Then the main body of the latter, sustained by the elephants, advanced in good order against the rear of the former, and began a most bloody battle; in which Sheykh *Mûro'ddîn*, and the other amîrs, behaved with great valour, overthrowing the castles on the backs of the elephants, and cutting off the trunks of those animals, with great slaughter of the *Indians*, so that at length they turned their backs; and Soltân *Mahmûd*, with his head general *Mellû* (or *Mellow*) *Khân*, fled into the city.

The city invested; THEN *Timûr*, spurring his horse towards the gate of *Dehli*, carefully examined the fortifications. On his return, the Mîrza *Kalîl Soltân*, who commanded the left wing, though but fifteen years of age, brought him one of the elephants bound with ropes, whose guards he had overthrown, after mauling the animal with his sword. *Timûr*, on this sight, burst into tears of joy. Was it not surprising, says our author, that this great prince should at this time have so tender a heart, who, on some occasions, could exercise extraordinary severities? Mean time Soltân *Mahmûd* and his general, not thinking themselves safe in *Dehli*, left it at midnight, and retired into the de-

(K) It is round, and above an arrow-shot in diameter. As, in any inundation, it is filled with water, it furnishes *Dehli* with water for a whole year: on its bank is the tomb of Soltân *Firûz Shâh*, who made it. *Sharifo'ddîn.*

farts.

farts. Several amîrs being ſent in purſuit of them, they brought back the prince *Sayf Khân*, ſurnamed *Mâlek Sharîf-o'ddîn*, and the prince *Kodadâd*, ſon of *Mellû Khân*. The amîr *Alahdâd* ſeized the gates by which the princes fled, and guarded the others, that no one might eſcape. A. D. 1399.

JANUARY the fourth, *Timûr* erected his ſtandard on the walls of *Dehli*; and, going to the city-gate, ſat on the *avjah*, or throne, whereon the *Indian* emperors ſit in their royal robes, on the great feaſt-day. This gate is in the quarter of *Jehân Penâh*, over-againſt the baſon of *Havizkas*, where the army was then encamped. There *Fadhallah Bâkſhi*, *Mellû Khân*'s lieutenant, at the head of the whole divân of *Deli*, the ſharifs, kadi's, and principal inhabitants, came to make their ſubmiſſion, and begged for mercy. The elephants and rhinoceros's themſelves came and fell down before the emperor in an humble poſture; and made a great cry, as if they demanded quarter. Theſe war-elephants, 120 in number, were, at his return, ſent to *Samarkant*, and to the provinces where his ſons reſided. Two were carried chained to *Tauris*, one to *Shîrâz*, five to *Herât*, one to Sheykh *Ibrâhîm*, prince of *Shîrwân*, and one to the lord *Tahârten* at *Arzenjân*. After this, at the requeſt of the court-lords, *Timûr* made a great feaſt; at which he diſtributed preſents to the princes, and great officers. *and ſurrendered.*

DEHLI at this time conſiſted of three cities (L), *Seyri*, *Old Dehli*, and *Jehân Penâh*. *Seyri* was ſurrounded with a wall, in form of a circle. *Old Dehli* was the ſame, but much larger, lying ſouth-weſt of the other: theſe two parts were joined on each ſide by a wall; and the third, lying between them, was called *Jehân Penâh*, which was larger than *Old Dehli*: this laſt had ten gates: *Seyri* had ſeven; three of which looked towards *Jehân Penâh*, which had thirteen gates, ſix to the north-weſt, and ſeven to the ſouth-eaſt. Every thing ſeemed to be in a quiet poſture, when, *January* 12, the ſoldiers of *Timûr*, being aſſembled at the gate of *Dehli*, inſulted the inhabitants of the ſuburbs. The great amîrs were ordered to put a ſtop to theſe diſorders: but their endeavours were not effectual. The ſoltânas having a curioſity to ſee the rarities of *Dehli*, and particularly the famous palace, adorned with 1000 pillars, built by *Mâlek Juna*, that antient king of *India*, they went in Dehli *deſcribed.*

[1] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 54—62. c. 19—20.

(L) This is as it was in the author's time: the preſent *Dehli* is a new city, built in a different place by *Jalâla'ddin Akbar*, father of *Humâyun*, and called, from him, *Akbarabâd*. *La Croix.*

A. D. 1399. with all the court; and the gate being left open, on that occasion, for every body, above 15,000 soldiers got in unperceived. But there was a far greater number of troops in a large place between *Dehli*, *Seyri*, and *Jehân Penâh*, who committed great disorders in the two last places. This made the ghebrs, in despair, to fall on them; and several of them, setting fire to their houses, burnt their wives and children. The *Jagatays*, seeing this confusion among the ghebrs, did nothing but pillage and burn their houses; while the disorder was increased, by more troops let in, to seize the inhabitants of the neighbouring places, who had fled thither for shelter.

The city destroyed. THE amîrs, to put a stop to this mischief, caused the gates to be shut, to prevent more troops from entering: but the soldiers within opened them again, and rose in arms against their officers. So that the whole army being entered by the 13th, in the morning, this great and proud city was destroyed. Some soldiers carried out 150 slaves, men, women, and children: nay some of their boys had twenty slaves a piece to their share. The other spoils, in precious stones, jewels, plate, and manufactures, were innumerable: for the *Indian* women and girls were adorned with precious stones, and had bracelets and rings on their hands, feet, and even toes; so that the soldiers were loaded with them. The 15th, in *Old Dehli* the *Indians* retired into the great mosk, to defend themselves: but the Amîr *Shâh Mâlek*, and *Âli Soltân*, entering it with 500 men, sent to the abyss of hell, says our good *Musulman* author, the souls of those infidels, of whose heads they erected towers. Never was such a terrible slaughter and devastation heard of. Several days were employed to make the inhabitants quit the city, which was plundered; and as they went, the amîrs took a number of them for their service. The artizans were also distributed among the princes and commanders: but the masons were all reserved for the emperor, in order to build him a spacious stone mosk at *Samarkant* [k].

Mirtha *besieged.* *JANUARY* 18th, *Timûr* decamped from *Dehli*, and marched down to *Firûzabâd*, three miles distant from the *Jawn*. He stayed there to say a prayer in a stone mosk, and then went on to the other side of *Jehân Numay*, near *Wazirabâd*, where he was presented with two white parrots, from *Bahâdr Nehâr*, prince of *Kútele*, who had submitted to his envoys. These birds lived ever since the reign of *Togluk Shâh*, and had been kept many years in the antechambers of the *Indian* emperors. From thence the army passing through *Mudâla*, beyond the *Jawn*, *Ketz*, and *Bâghbûr*, a delightful garden, came to *Asâr*,

[k] Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 62—67.

situate

ſituate between the rivers. Theſe places are ſix miles aſunder. *Timûr*, reſolving to take the city of *Mîrtha*, one of the moſt noted places of the empire, twenty miles from *Aſûr*, marched thither, at the head of 10,000 men, in two days and one night. As the ghebrs refuſed to ſubmit, he ordered the walls to be undermined; and the workmen having, by the time it was night, advanced ten or fifteen cubits breadth towards each baſtion and courtine, the beſieged were ſo greatly ſurpriſed, that they deſiſted to defend themſelves. A. D. 1399.

NEXT day, being the 26th, the Amîr *Allahdâd*, with his regiment of the *Kûchins*, named *the faithful*, having attacked the gate, *Saray*, a young lad, one of his domeſtics, caſt a net upon the battlement, and boldly mounted the walls. He was followed by *Rûſtem Berlâs*, and a great many others, who ruſhed into the town. They bound *Elias Ugâni*, and the ſon of *Mulâna Ahmed Tohâneſâri*, governors of the place, whom they ſeized; but the ghebr *Seſi*, one of its princes, was ſlain in the aſſault. They flay'd alive all the ghebrs, and made ſlaves of their wives and children. Every thing was burned, and the walls razed. All this was quickly done, although *Turmeſhîrîn Khân*, a great emperor in *Aſia*, could not make himſelf maſter of this town. On this occaſion, *Timûr* gave a ſingular inſtance of his modeſty: for when, in a kind letter, which he had ordered to be written to the inhabitants, he found theſe words, *Why do you compare us to* Turmeſhîrîn Khân? he reprimanded his ſecretary; ſaying, Turmeſhîrîn *was a greater lord than I, of ſtricter virtue, and better conduct:* and would not ſuffer the letter to be concluded. *Taken by a boy.*

THE ſame day, he marched ſix miles to *Manſûra*; and the 27th, eight farther to *Pirûznûr*, on the *Ganges* (M). He encamped five miles lower, not able to find a ſafe paſſage; though *Pîr Mehemed*, ſeveral amîrs, and part of the army, ſwam over the river, yet not without great danger. From thence he went twenty miles farther to *Tokluk Pûr*, on the *Ganges*, having, by the way, ſent 50,000 horſe againſt the ghebrs, who were gathered on its banks. Here he was ſeized with a very troubleſome ſwelling in his arm; but it did not long continue. Mean time, a vaſt number of ghebrs, in forty-eight great flat-bottomed boats, having advanced towards the camp, he ſet out to meet them, with 1000 of his officers; ſeveral of whom ſpurred their horſes into the water, and advancing, in ſpite of their arrows, entered their boats, and cut them in pieces. With theſe boats they attacked ten others, *The ghebrs flaughtered*

(M) Which is called, in *Perſian*, *Darîya Konk*, or *the ſea of* Konk.

A. D. 1399. faſtened together for better defence; but the *Jagatays* boarded them, and cut thoſe who manned them in pieces.

by water and land. On the 29th, *Timûr* left *Tokluk Pûr*, and, a little after, croſſed the *Ganges*, at an eaſy paſſage. He then advanced againſt *Mobârek Khân*, who, not far off, expected the *Jagatays*, with 10,000 horſe. As the *Indians* were far more numerous, the two wings of the army being at a great diſtance, *Timûr* was in no ſmall perplexity; but, juſt at that inſtant, 500 horſe, who had croſſed the river to make inroads, arrived, as if ſent by heaven, ſays our author, to ſuccour the emperor; who, after returning God thanks, ſent the Amîrs *Shâh Mâlek* and *Allâhdâd*, with 1000 horſe, to attack the enemy. Theſe thinking them to be only the van-guard of a great army juſt behind them, ſuddenly grew afraid, and fled into the woods; where they were purſued, and a great number put to the ſword. The booty taken, with their wives and children, was conſiderable. At the ſame time, *Timûr* having received advice, that a great number of ghebrs were aſſembled in the defile of *Kupele*, to the eaſt of the *Ganges*, he departed, with 500 horſe. On his arrival at the mountains, he met a body of them, whom his amirs ſoon routed: but, being left with only 100 of his guards, a ghebr, named *Mâlek Sheyka*, fell briſkly upon him, with the ſame number of men. However, *Timûr* ſhot him in the belly with an arrow, and then unhorſed him, by a cut of his ſword on the head, of which he preſently died [1].

Defile of Kupele. Some time after, advice was brought, that a great many ghebrs were gathered in the defile of *Kupele*, two miles diſtant: and, though *Timûr* was in want of ſleep, he marched thither, with ſome officers of his van-guard, through almoſt impaſſable woods; and, being joined by his ſon *Pîr Mehemed*, they made a great ſlaughter of the enemy, from whom they took a conſiderable booty. Thus *Timûr* was in three battles the ſame day; which never happened to any prince before him. The defile of *Kûpele* is ſituated at the foot of a mountain near the

Head of Ganges. *Ganges*; and fifteen miles above it is a ſtone, carved in form of a cow, from whence this great river ſprings (N). For this reaſon, the *Indians* adore that ſtone; and all the inhabitants within one day's journey turn towards it when they pray. As there yet remained a prodigious number of ghebrs in the moun-

[1] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 67—76, c. 21—24.

(N) This relation is contrary to late accounts, which place the head of the *Ganga*, or *Ganges*, a great way diſtant in *Tibet*: and it is obſervable, that our author does not ſay that either *Timûr*, or any of his troops, were at the place to view it: ſo that what he delivers muſt be only from uncertain report.

tains

tains of *Kûpele*, who poſſeſſed a great quantity of riches, cattle, and other effects, *January* 30, *Timûr* marched towards the defile, where the infidels were gathered: but, on his approach, they loſt courage, and diſperſed themſelves through the mountains; whither being purſued, many of them were ſlain, and their goods carried away. A. D. 1399.

AFTER this, *Timûr* returned, and, croſſing the *Ganges*, encamped five miles lower on that river. Then, being ſatisfied with having marched to the eaſtern borders of the empire of *India* in one campaign, and acquired the merit of the gazi, he reſolved to return to his own dominions. With this view, the 31ſt of *January*, he left the *Ganges*. Next day, advice being brought, that a great number of *Indians* were aſſembled in *Swâlek*, one of the moſt conſiderable mountains of *India*, ſtretching over two thirds of that vaſt empire, *February* 4th, he departed for that mountain; where a raja, named *Behrûz*, had poſted himſelf, with a great number of ghebrs, in a narrow paſſage: but the *Jagatays* falling ſuddenly upon them, they made but a weak defence: ſo that thoſe who eſcaped the ſword were taken priſoners, with their effects; which ſo loaded the army with ſpoil, that they could not march above four miles a day. The 5th, they came to *Behre*, near *Bekeri*, commonly called *Meliapûr*. *Mountain* Swalek

THE 8th, they croſſed the *Jawn*, and encamped in another part of the mountain of *Swâlek*; where an infinite number of *Indians* being aſſembled, under one Raja *Ratan*, *Timûr* marched all night, and next morning came up with them, between the mountains *Swâlek* and *Kûke*: but they fled, on his approach, into the woods, where a great many were ſlain. He continued his progreſs in the mountains for ſeveral days, ſlaying the *Indians*, and ſeizing their effects. In ſhort, there were twenty battles fought in thirty days; during which time, ſeven of the moſt important places in all *India* for ſtrength were conquered. They were one or two leagues aſunder; and the inhabitants were always at variance among themſelves. One of them, by perſuaſion of the *Mohammedans* who lived there, ſubmitted to *Timûr*: but when the tax for ſaving their lives was impoſed on them, they made uſe of tricks, to avoid paying it. To enable them to do it with leſs reluctance, an amîr propoſed buying their old bows, which they ſold at a good price. Then it was ordered, that forty ghebrs ſhould be liſted in the ſervice: but they would not conſent; and ſlew ſeveral *Muſulmans*. Upon this, the *Jagatays*, treating them as enemies, beſieged the place in form; which they took, and put 2000 ghebrs to the ſword [m]. *cleared of ghebrs.*

[m] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 76–86, c. 24—28.

THE

A. D. 1399. THE gâzis on the mountains of *Swâlek* being finished, *Timûr* departed from *Manfar*, the 12th of *March*, and encamped six miles from thence, at *Bayla*; a town of the province of *Châmû*, whose inhabitants were valiant men, and their forests of difficult access: yet, on the army's approach, they abandoned the town, to be entered and pillaged by the soldiers. Mean time, Shâh *Eskânder*, prince of *Kâshmîr*, being arrived at *Jebbân*, in his way to the camp, and there informed, that the amîrs of the diwân had taxed him at 30,000 horses, and 100,000 darests of gold, each weighing two medikals and one-half, he returned, to collect the same. *Timûr*, on advice of this, disapproved of the order, which had laid on *Eskânder* a tax more than his little kingdom was worth; and sent to him to return in ten days to the bank of the *Indus*. The 15th, they encamped over-against *Châmû*, capital of the province of that name, Next day, *Timûr* entered the defile, from whence springs the river of *Châmû*, which the army had crossed several times. It is situated at the foot of a mountain, on the left side of the city *Châmû*, having on its right the town of *Menû*. It was inhabited by strong and tall *Indians*, who had intrenched themselves in almost inaccessible woods, upon a craggy mountain, with their king at their head, resolved to defend their lives.

Reduces Chamû.

Its king taken. *TIMUR* judged it better to insnare them by artifice, than attack them in so dangerous a place. He therefore ordered his troops to leave them, and go pillage *Menû*: they likewise entered *Châmû*, and brought away abundance of spoil. Then posting some regiments in the woods, departed with the cavalry. The 17th, he crossed the river *Châmû*, and encamped four miles thence, on the side of the *Jenâve* (or *Jenaw*), in a plain four leagues long, full of pasturage. As soon as the army had quitted the defiles, the *Indians* came out of their mountain, to re-enter their houses; but were soon attacked by the ambuscade, who cut them in pieces, without giving any quarter, excepting the king, and fifty officers of consideration. On this success, *Timûr* blessed the Almighty, who had delivered the enemies of the faithful into their hands. Great care was taken of the king of *Châmû*, who had been wounded in the fight, in order to get more easily, the money due for saving the lives of him and his people. This, joined to the discourses of those about him, concerning the *Mohammedan* religion, prevailed on him, when cured, to embrace that faith, and eat the flesh of oxen. Upon this, *Timûr* made a treaty with, and received him under his protection.

Lahor pillaged. MEAN time, news arrived, that the forces sent to *Lahor* (or *Lahûr*) had made themselves masters of that city, had actually received

reived the ranſom tax, and made *Shikay Kuker*, prince thereof, priſoner. This prince, at the beginning of the war, accompanied *Timûr* every-where, and was in great favour: but, at length, leave being granted him to return to *Lahor*, he ſhewed a diſregard for the *Jagatays*; which drew on him *Timûr*'s reſentment, who ordered his country to be pillaged, and his perſon ſeized. *March* 20th, the emperor croſſed the *Jenaw*, and encamped five miles thence. Next day, the army croſſed the river. The 22d, they paſſed the *Dandâna*. And the day following, *Timûr* ordered, that all the amîrs of both wings, the colonels of regiments, and the captains of companies, ſhould return home, by the different routes marked out for them. He then made preſents to them, according to their rank and merit. He did the like to the lords of *India*, amîrs, and ſharîfs, who had accompanied him, and permitted them to return; aſſigning the government of the city and province of *Multân* to *Keder Khân*, who, impriſoned by *Sârenk*, in the citadel, eſcaped, and fled firſt to *Abûdan*, a *Mohammedan*, king of *Biâna*, dependent on *Dehli*; and then to *Timûr*, on his arrival in the country [n].

A. D. 1399.

The army diſbanded.

THE 24th, the army encamped at *Jebbân*, a delightful reſidence, on the borders of *Kaſhmîr*. This country is a principality, near *Hâk*, of an oval form, and ſurrounded on all ſides by high mountains. To the ſouth, it has the country of *Dehli*; to the north, *Badâkſhân* and *Khoraſſân*; to the weſt, the *Ugân* tribes; and to the eaſt, *Tobbot*, or *Tibet*. According to the natives themſelves, there are in this province 10,000 flouriſhing villages: but 'tis the common opinion, that, both in the mountains and plains, there are not fewer than 100,000. The flat country between the mountains is twenty leagues in breadth. The women are beautiful, to a proverb among the *Perſians*: The air and water very wholeſome. They have vaſt quantities of good fruits: but the winter is hurtful, becauſe of the abundance of ſnow. The ſummer fruits, as dates, oranges, and citrons, never come to maturity; but are brought from warmer countries. The prince reſides at *Nagaz* (O), which is the centre, and capital of the whole. Through the middle of the city runs a river, as large as the *Tigris* at *Bâghdâd*, and is exceeding rapid, though formed from a ſingle fountain in the ſame country, called the fountain of *Vîr*. The inhabitants have croſſed it by more than thirty bridges of boats, beſides

Kâſhmîr *deſcribed.*

[n] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 86—94, c. 28—30.

(O) Doubtleſs the ſame now called *Kâſhmîr* and *Srinagar*. *Nagaz* is perhaps a miſtake for *Nagar*, the *Arabic r* and *z* differing only by a point over the latter.

chains

A. D. 1399. chains at the chief paſſages; ſeven of which bridges are in *Nagaz*.

River and mountains. When this river has paſſed out of *Kaſhmîr*, it takes different names, from the countries it waſhes, as *Dindana* and *Jamad*. Above *Multân*, it joins the *Jenave* (or *Jenaw*); and, having paſſed that city, falls into the *Râvi*, which runs by the other *Multân*. At length the river *Biah* joins them; and, near the town of *Ucha*, they all ruſh into the *Ab-ſend*, or *Indus*, which is loſt in the ſea of *Omman* (or *Arabia*), at the end of the country of *Tatta*. The mountains which ſurround *Kaſhmîr*, ſerve as a fortification againſt enemies; and over them are three roads into it: that from *Khoraſſân* is ſo very difficult, that the inhabitants are obliged to carry the merchandizes, and other burdens, on their backs, with beaſts of carriage: the road of *India* is equally difficult: that of *Tobbot* (*Tobt*, or *Tibbet*) is eaſieſt, but, for ſeveral days, travellers meet with venomous herbs, which poiſon their horſes. Thus God has given the country natural defences; ſo that the inhabitants have no occaſion for arms or armies.

Timûr *returns* *MARCH* 25th, *Timûr*, leaving *Jebhân*, marched to the *Dandâna*, four miles diſtant, and croſſed it over a bridge, which he cauſed to be made. Next day, he departed for *Samarkant*, before the army; and having marched twenty miles along that river, encamped at *Sanbaſte*, a town in the mountain of *Indis*. The 27th, he came to the caſtle of *Beruj*; then entering the deſart of *Jalâli* (or *Jerû*), got out of it, and came to a cavern, three miles from *Beruj*, where he encamped. Next day, at ten in the morning, he arrived at the *Indus*, which he croſſed, over a bridge of boats. The 29th, he ſtopped at *Banû*. *April* 2d, he ſet out; and next day came to *Nagaz*, a caſtle built by the Amîr *Soleymân Shâh*, to curb the *Ugans*. *April* 6th, he arrived at *Kâbul*; the 7th, at *Garbân*. The 8th, having croſſed the mountain and defile of *Shebertû*, being ſtruck, ſays our author, by ſome evil eye, or malign influence, he fell ſick, and had on his feet and hands painful ulcers: ſo that he was forced to be carried in a litter. Thus he paſſed a very narrow defile of the mountain *Siapûch*; in which ſpace, they croſſed the river of the defile forty-eight times: twenty-ſix from the beginning of the defile to the mountain, and twenty-two from the mountain to the end of the defile. The 12th, *Timûr* recovered. The 13th, he reached *Bakalân*; from whence paſſing through *Semenkân* and *Kulm*, he arrived at the *Jihûn* on the 14th, and croſſed over to *Termed*. From this place, by the way of *Kolâga*, or *the iron gate*, he came to *Kaſh*; and, having made ſome days ſtay in this city, departed for *Samarkant* the 9th of *May*, and arrived there on the 16th.

to Samarkant.

Soon

Soon after, he distributed the curiosities and riches which he had brought from *India*, among the princes of the blood, the sharifs, and principal men of the kingdom. To crown this *Indian* expedition, *Timûr* erected a magnificent mosk in his capital, large enough to contain all the faithful in that great city °. A. D. 1399.

TIMUR had not been returned above four months, when he found himself obliged to undertake a new expedition into *Irân* (or *Persia* at large), to put a stop to the disorders which had crept in there, during his absence in *India*; chiefly owing to the misconduct of the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh*, viceroy of *Azerbejân*, whose understanding had been impaired by an accident. This prince, while hunting near *Tauris*, in autumn 801, saw a roebuck, which he was desirous to take with his hands: but, in stooping, he fell off his horse, though one of the best horsemen in all *Asia*; and the violence of the fall cast him into a swoon, in which he lay a long time. He continued in fits for three days; and his physician being an ignorant fellow, or rather a knave, the mîrza was seized with a vertigo, which impaired his senses: so that, on a bare suspicion, he slew a man, squandered away the public treasures, and destroyed the most noted buildings. He marched with his troops to besiege *Bâghdâd*, at an improper season of the year: but, two days after he had invested it, was obliged to raise the siege, on account of the revolt of *Tauris*; where, on his arrival, he put to the sword all who were accused of being in the conspiracy. *Affairs of Irân*

After this, taking it in his head, that the Sharîf *Ali*, prince of *Sheki*, intended to revolt, he, without farther examination, set forward with an army, to ravage his country. The Christian *Georgians*, before this, had revolted, when they understood how little the mîrza applied himself to public affairs; and to revenge this invasion, in conjunction with the Sharif *Ali*, went with a great army, to relieve Soltân *Tâher*, son of *Ahmed*, soltân of *Bâghdâd*, who had been besieged a long time in *Alenjik*, by Soltân *Sanjer*, son of *Haji Sayfo'ddin*. they entered *Azerbejân*, and plundered the country. On which advice, *Sanjer* raised the siege; and, being returned to *Tauris*, *Mîrân Shâh* sent his son the Mîrza *Abubekr* to repulse the *Georgians*. These latter having sent away *Tâher*, and placed *Haji Sâleh*, with three oznawrs, or chief lords, of *Georgia*, in *Alenjik*, in their return met the army of *Tauris*; which, being far less numerous, would have avoided fighting: but, as they were obliged to engage, the *Georgians* broke through both their wings, at the first onset; and the Sharif *Ali* perceiving *in great disorder*;

° Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 94—105, c. 30—36.

Abûbekr,

A. D. 1399. *Abûbekr*, rushed on him with his sword: but this young prince, though but eighteen years old, shot him dead with an arrow, which stuck in his neck: however, the *Georgians* defeated his troops P.

to what owing.

THE Mîrza *Mîrân Shâh*'s lunacy appeared still more in his debauches; for he spent almost all his time in drinking and gaming. One day he reproached his wife, the Princess *Khân Zâdeh*, with a fact which wounded her honour. She endeavoured to discover the grounds of it; in which inquiry, several persons of both sexes were sacrificed. The aversion between the mîrza and her still increasing, she retired to *Samarkant*; where arriving, just at the time when *Timûr* was returned thither from *India*, she assured him, that, if he did not march forthwith into *Irân*, her husband, who, through his distemper, already slighted his mandates, would certainly revolt. The emperor, who had been before informed of the misconduct of his son, resolved to follow this advice; and immediately issued orders to assemble the troops, for a campaign of seven years. The Mîrza *Shâh Rûkh*, on first notice, got ready the troops of *Khoraſſân*; and sent his Wazîr *Soleymân Shâh* towards *Tauris*, with his van-guard, following with the rest of his army. *Timûr* set out from *Samarkant October* 11th, 1399; and, crossing the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*) at *Termed*, came to *Bâlk*. From thence, after several days march, he arrived at *Sarek Kâmiſh Jâm*; where he visited the tomb of the celebrated Mufti *Ahmed Jâm*. From thence he sent the Mîrza *Rustem* to his eldest brother *Pîr Mehemed*, at *Shîrâz*, with orders for them to march to *Bâghdâd*. Then continuing his road by *Nishâbûr* and *Beſtâm*, *Ray* and *Khowar*, to *Ayvanik*, he was there joined by the Mîrza *Shâh Rûkh*, who had marched by *Shaſuman*, *Aſtarabâd*, and *Sâri*.

The authors punished.

MEAN time, the Amîr *Soleymân Shâh*, being arrived at *Ray*, in his way from *Herât* to *Tauris*, heard of *Mirân Shâh*'s lunacy; and not thinking it safe to go thither, resolved to march to *Hamadân*. But, at the invitation of the Mîrza *Abûbekr*, the amîr went thither; and even persuaded *Mirân Shâh* to set out, two days after, to meet the emperor; which he did, at *Shâhriar*; but was not received with any tokens of kindness. Then *Timûr* sent commissaries to *Tauris*, to inquire into that prince's deportment; and it appearing, that his excesses were chiefly owing to the instigation of certain profligate musicians, and others, the emperor ordered that they should all be hanged, without exception, for a warning to others. Among the men of parts, who suffered on this occasion, was the incomparable

P Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. l. v. c. 1, p. 108—112.

Mûlâna

Mûlâna Mehemed Kûheſtâni, ſo famous for all ſciences, and ſo celebrated a poet, whoſe converſation and agreeable wit had rendered him the wonder of his age. A. D. 1399.

TIMUR, leaving *Shâhriar*, proceeded by *Soltânîya* and *Karaderra* to *Ardebîl*; and, having hunted in the plains of *Mûkân* and *Aktâm* (towns of *Azerbejân*), croſſed the river *Arâna*, to *Karabâgh Arrân*. Here Sharîf *Sidi Ahmed*, ſon of Sharîf *Ali*, king of *Sheki*, by the mediation of Sheykh *Ibrâhîm*, king of *Shîrwân*, was pardoned, and confirmed in his principality, by *Timûr*; merely on account of *Ibrâhîm*, whom he loved, for his ſincerity, and diſtinguiſhed among his greateſt officers. The ſheykh, to welcome his majeſty's arrival in his country, made a ſumptuous banquet for the court, and afterwards offered his preſents, which were very conſiderable. Mean time, the court received advice of the death of ſeveral great princes; as *Timûr Kotluk Aglen*, who having been raiſed by the emperor to the throne of *Kipjâk*, after the defeat of *Toktamîſh Khân*, had afterwards made war on his benefactor; likewiſe of *Barkok*, king of *Egypt* and *Syria*; *Tamgûz Khân*, emperor of *China*; and *Kezra Koja Aglen*, king of *Jetâh*, upon whoſe deceaſe diſſentions aroſe among his four ſons, *Shama Jehân*, *Mehemed Aglen*, *Shîr Ali*, and Shâh *Jehân* [q]. Timûr arrives.

NEWS arrived alſo of the Mîrza *Eſkânder*'s ſucceſſes in *Moguleſtân*. This prince, though but fifteen years old, taking advantage of the diſſentions which aroſe among the *Getes* after the death of *Kezra Koja Aglen*, left *Andekhân*, at the head of his troops, and entered into the lands of the *Moguls* (or *Mungls*). Being come to *Kâſhgar*, they pillaged the city of *Yârkent* (P) (or *Yârkian*), and then proceeding forward, plundered *Sârek Kâniſh*, *Kelapine*, *Ali Ghèul*, *Yâr Kurgân*, *Chartâk*, and *Keyûk Bâgh* (Q). They at length arrived at the province of *Awj*, moſt of whoſe tribes ſubmitted: the reſt they carried priſoners towards the citadel of *Akſû*, conſiſting of three caſtles, which have a communication with each other; and is eſteemed ſo ſtrong, that the inhabitants of all the neighbouring provinces conſider it as a ſafe retreat in time of war. But the mîrza having cauſed aſſaults to be given, one after another, for near forty days, the beſieged were forced to ſurrender. After this, he ſent troops to pillage the towns of *Bay*, *Kuſân*, and *Târem*. *His ſucceſs in* Jetâh.

[q] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 112—121, c. 1—4.

(P) The preſent capital of *Kâſhgar*.

(Q) All towns of *Moguleſtân*. *La Croix*.

Akſû

A. D. 1399. *Of Mirza Eſkânder;*

THESE conqueſts finiſhed, the Mîrza *Eſkânder* marched from *Akſû* to *Kotan* (R). This place is thirty-five days journey from *Kara Koja* (or *Aramuth*), and fifteen from *Kaſhkar*, which is twenty-five from *Samarkant*. In *Kotan* are two rivers, *Orakkaſh* and *Karakaſh*, the ſtones of which, being jaſper, are carried to other countries. The mîrza behaved with ſo much prudence, that all the towns and caſtles of this frontier province were reduced. From *Kotan* he went to *Karângû Tâg*, a ſteep and rugged mountain, in which the rivers of *Kotan* have their ſprings, and to which the inhabitants of that and the neighbouring places fly for refuge in time of war: but, finding it inacceſſible, returned, to winter at *Kâſhgar*. From hence he ſent preſents to the emperor, and the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân*, of three beautiful women of *Kotân*: but the latter refuſed his preſent, being greatly incenſed againſt *Eſkânder*; becauſe, having entered *Turkeſtân* with an army, in order to join him againſt the *Getes*, the young mîrza, that he might not ſerve under *Mehemed Soltân*, inſtead of waiting for him, as he ought, marched before into *Moguleſtân*, while his couſin, in diſguſt, returned to *Samarkant*.

and his diſgrace.

WHEN ſpring was come, *Eſkânder* returned to *Andekhân*, and thence ſet forward to viſit *Mehemed Soltân*. But, learning on the road that the latter intended to ſeize him, he returned, and entered the caſtle of *Andekhân*. There, being taxed by two amîrs with a deſign to revolt, they aſſembled the militia, and beſieged him. Upon this, *Eſkânder* came out, and having talked to them with much good-nature, went to lodge in a garden made by his father *Omar Sheykh*. Then having ſeized his domeſtics, they, by *Mehemed Soltân*'s order, carried them, with the mîrza, to *Samarkant*; and having bound him, put to death his *atabek* (or governor), with twenty-ſix of his houſhold.

Timûr attacks Komſha.

To return to *Timûr*. This prince, having choſen three men out of every ten, to ſerve as ſcouts, ſet out from *Karabâgh Arrân*; and croſſing the *Kûr*, over a bridge of boats, was joined by Sheykh *Ibrâhîm*, of *Shîwân*, and *Sidi Ahmed*, prince of *Sheki* (S), by which city the army paſſed, and took the road

(R) This city is 157 days journey from *Kambâlek* (or *Peking*); for, from *Kotan* to *Kara Koja*, are thirty-five ſtages; thence to *Tetkawl*, in the borders of *China*, thirty-one, where there is a wall between two mountains, with a great gate, and ſeveral inns; from hence to *Ghen-jan Fû*, a city of *China*, fifty-one days; and forty thence to *Kambâlek*; 'tis alſo forty from *Ghen-jan Fû* to *Nem-nay*. *Sharifo'ddîn*.

(S) A town on the ſouth borders of *Georgia*, near the *Caſpian* ſea. *La Croix*.

to

to the defile of *Komſha* (belonging to a prince of that name), where the infidels dwelt. As this defile was full of impaſſable woods, the ſoldiers, with their axes and ſaws, made a road, ten days journey in length, and broad enough for ſix companies to march in front. Although it ſnowed very hard, for twenty days together, yet the army entered *Georgia*, and fell upon the infidels in the mountain, giving quarter to none. *Komſha*, the chief of them, fled, leaving his family and effects. They deſtroyed his villages, with the churches, and plucked up the vine-trees, which the inhabitants, who were very fond of wine, had carefully planted. After a month's ſtay in this defile, the roads being impaſſable, through the ſeverity of the weather, *Timûr* returned to *Karabâgh*; where an inquiry being made into the behaviour of the officers, who fought the *Georgians* in their return from *Alenjîk*, ſome were puniſhed with the baſtonado, and all the principal officers of the Mîrza *Mîrân Shâh* fined. The Prince *Burhân Aglen* (who had been reſtored to favour) was put to death, for his miſdoings in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes; and his ſon treated in the ſame manner: but the Mîrza *Abûbekr* was much honoured, for his valour ſhewn in that action [r]. A. D. 1399.

THE Mîrza *Rûſtem*, ſent from *Jâm* to *Shîrâz*, as before-mentioned, being arrived at that city, was handſomely received by the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*: and ſet out for *Bâghdâd* ſoon after, according to his orders, leaving *Pîr Mehemed* behind to follow him. He paſſed by *Toſtar* and *Râmhermes*, to *Mendeli* (T); where he arrived in *March* 1400; and, defeating Amîr *Ali Kalânder* the governor, pillaged the town. Mean while, the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, after a long delay, ſet out for *Bâghdâd*: but, after ſome days march, turned back again, on pretence of ſickneſs; and, by the inſtigation of certain perſons, undertook to compoſe poiſons and faſcinations. The Amîr *Saïd Berlâs*, governor of *Shîrâz*, being informed hereof, impriſoned the mîrza in the caſtle, and gave advice to *Timûr*; who immediately ſent *Allahdâd*, to proſecute the offenders, and place *Rûſtem* on the throne of *Pârs*, in the room of his elder brother, whom he was to bring bound to court. This amîr put to death ſome men of quality, concerned in corrupting the prince; while *Rûſtem*, coming from *Mendeli*, on notice given him, was, by letters patents, eſtabliſhed in his place. Pîr Mehemed *depoſed*. Hej. 802. A. D. 1400.

[r] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 121—130, c. 4—6.

(T) A town of *Arabia* [rather *Irâk Arabi*], dependent on *Bâghdâd*. *La Croix*.

A. D. 1400.

Plot at Bâghdâd.

When *Mîr Ali Kalander* arrived at *Bâghdâd*, with an account of what had passed at *Mendeli*, Soltan *Ahmed*, in great perplexity, ordered the gates to be shut, and the bridge destroyed. He was still more alarmed at the conspiracy formed against him by *Sherwân*. This lord had been made governor of *Khûzestân* by *Timûr*; but, having committed several irregularities, in extorting money, and even putting to death governors of cities, he revolted, with 1000 horse, to the soltan. He had not been long at *Bâghdâd*, before he began to conspire against his protector, by bribing his principal officers with vast sums of money. The plot was discovered by an officer, who finding the memorandum of the monies paid, which *Sherwân*'s secretary had lost, carried it to his master, at such time as he had ordered the gates to be shut. The soltan, more affrighted at this treason than before, sent orders to the amîrs, who were on an incursion with *Sherwân*, to cut off his dead; and, in less than eight days, put to death above 2000 of his own officers in *Bâghdâd*; he slew, with his own hand, most of the ladies and officers of his (*Sherwân*'s) houshold.

Soltân Ahmed's *flight.*

After this, Soltân *Ahmed* shut himself up in his saray, not suffering any one to come near him: even when the stewards brought him his dinner, they delivered it at the door, without entering. He spent several days in this manner; and then crossing the *Tigris*, in the night, by boat, with six persons only, rode to the country of *Kara Yusef*. Mean time, the stewards, as usual, delivered the king's dinner at the palace-gate; so that he returned, with *Kara Yusef* and his troops, before the people knew any thing of his absence. In *July* *Ahmed* hearing that *Timûr* was on his march to *Siwâs* (in *Anatolia*), set out, with *Kara Yusef*, his family, and treasures, that he might get thither before the roads were stopped up by the emperor's troops. At *Hâleb*, he was opposed by *Temûrtâsh*, who commanded there; but having defeated his troops, he continued his road.

Timûr *invades* Georgia.

To return to *Timûr*. When winter was over, this prince called a dyet, wherein the war of *Georgia* being considered as preferable to all others, both on account of religion, and increase of power, he departed from *Karabâgh* for *Georgia*; the roads and provinces of which, he ordered to be described in writing. In ten days he arrived in the plain of *Berdaa*; where he gave audience to *Tahârten*, prince of *Arzenjân*, on the *Euphrates*. The emperor honoured him with the marks of sovereignty, and then dismissed him, with orders to watch the motions of the *Othmâns*. After several days march from *Berdaa*, he arrived on the borders of *Georgia*; from whence he sent to *Mâlek Ghârghin*, king of that country, to demand *Tâher*,

Tâher, ſon of Soltân *Ahmed*: but, inſtead of complying, *Ghûrghin* returned a very uncivil anſwer. Upon this, the *Jagatays* entered his dominions, and deſtroyed every thing they met with, even the vines. The affrighted inhabitants, who eſcaped the ſword, fled, with their effects and proviſions, to the high mountains; where they had fortified caverns and houſes, built on craggy rocks; ſo that no power had ever yet conquered them. A. D. 1400.

FOR all this, *Timûr*'s ſoldiers, without conſidering the dangers, aſcended the mountains; and then, laying themſelves in boxes, were let down by cords to the caverns of the infidels; which they entered, making a terrible ſlaughter. Some of theſe craggy places were ſo well defended, that, as well to diſperſe the enemy, as to burn their houſes and intrenchments, the army were obliged to make uſe of combuſtible matter. Thus they took fifteen noted places, giving quarter only to ſuch as turned *Mohammedans*. *Timûr* left a ſtrong garriſon in *Taflîs*, or *Teflîs*, capital of *Georgia*, and then went to encamp in the plain of *Mokran*. King *Ghûrghin* fled into the deſarts; but the greater part of the *Oznawrs* came to the camp, and ſued for pardon. When the country was reduced, the temples and monaſteries were razed, and chapels and moſks erected in their room [s]. *Makes great havock.*

AFTER this conqueſt, *Timûr* reſolved to attack the other provinces of *Georgia*, and marched next towards the defile of prince *Jâni Bek*, whoſe country being pillaged, and people ſlain, he ſoon came to ſubmit himſelf. Among other fortreſſes, there was one named *Bîl*, at the entrance of the defile, which, though ſtanding very high, and of difficult acceſs, was preſently taken, and razed. The army, having ravaged other parts of the country, went to encamp in the true antient *Georgia*; from whence at length removing, they croſſed the *Kûr*, laden with ſpoils. During theſe tranſactions, a great number of *Oznawrs* retired into the caſtle of *Zerit*, ſituated on the ridge of a narrow mountain, and never before taken: but *Timûr* having beſieged it, after ſeveral attacks, on the ſeventh day a general aſſault was given, and the fort being taken ſword in hand; it was demoliſhed, and all the *Georgians* ſlain. After this, on advice that king *Ghûrghin* was in the town of *Swanit*, the emperor marched thither with one half of his army: but the king, not daring to wait his coming, fled towards *Abkhâz* (U). *Takes the fortreſſes.*

[s] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 130—139, c. 7, 8.

(U) A town of *Georgia*, on the frontiers of *Cherkaſſia*. *La Croix*. —— Perhaps rather the country of the *Abkhâz*, to the weſt of *Mingrelia*.

A. D. 1400. The troops carried *Swânit* at the first assault; and then went in pursuit of *Ghûrghin*: but that prince, crossing the rivers *Aygar* and *Korlan* (X), had the good fortune to escape.

The king submits. THE king of *Georgia* seeing himself reduced to the last extremity, by protecting Prince *Tâher*, he obliged him to retire to his father, in the *Othmân* dominions; and then sent an ambassador to beg *Timûr*'s pardon, with a promise, on oath, to pay the annual tribute, and send any number of forces into his service. The emperor, on those conditions, withdrew out of his country, and marched towards the territories subject to *Ayvâni*, one of the most powerful sovereigns of *Georgia*. As there was no army to oppose them, the soldiers dispersed themselves, ruining the towns and castles, and destroying every thing with fire and sword. They did the like by the country and people of *Kara Kalkânlik*, who were armed with black bucklers, and good mountain horsemen. After this, *Timûr* set forward on his return: but, receiving advice, when at *Ilâk* or *Yeylâk Menkûl*, that the enemy had assembled again in *Faraşgherd*, in *Georgia*, he marched thither; and, in five days, made himself master of seven fortresses, which he razed, after slaying an infinite number of the infidels; and then returned to *Menkûl*. Here ambassadors arrived from an *European* prince, to make an alliance with him. They brought with them the son of Amîr *Morâd* (or *Amurath*), the *Othmân* emperor, whom they had taken prisoner. *Timûr* received them with great civility, granted them what they desired, and, having given them rich vests, dismissed them, to return by way of *Trabizond*[t].

CHAP. V.

Timûr *overthrows* Bayezîd, *and reduces* Georgia. *Dies on his March to conquer* China.

Timûr *offended,* DURING the two months that *Timûr* encamped in *Menkûl*, he prepared to march against *Bayezîd*, surnamed *Ildrîm*, or *the thunderer*. This prince, who had extended his dominions considerably on every side, had not only taken *Siwâs* and *Malatîya*, from princes in friendship with *Timûr*; but had summoned *Tahârten*, though he knew him to be under the emperor's protection, to come to his court, and to send the tributes of *Arzenjân*, *Arzerûm*, and their dependencies, to his treasury. Of this *Tahârten* sent advice to *Timûr*; who

[t] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 139—145, c. 9—12.

(X) Rivers of *Kapschâk* (or *Kipjâk*). *La Croix.*

thereupon wrote a letter, to adviſe *Bayezîd* to keep within his own bounds, and not offer to go beyond thoſe limits. But, as that letter contained many reproachful expreſſions, the *Othmân* made anſwer to the envoys, that he had long deſired to have a war with their maſter; and that, if *Timûr* did not advance againſt him, he would go ſeek *Timûr*, and drive him beyond *Tauris*. A. D. 1400.

THE emperor, on the return of his envoys, immediately marched towards *Anatolia*. Being arrived at *Avenîk* (or *Vân*), he was met by the Amîr *Allahdâd*, who brought with him, from *Shîrâz*, the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, bound like a criminal. *Timûr* ordered that the Mîrza ſhould be examined, in a council of war, and puniſhed according to his deſerts. He was ſentenced to receive the baſtonado, according to the yaſa (or laws of *Jenghîz Khân*); and, having undergone that puniſhment, his chains were taken off, and he was ſet at liberty. By the ſame laws, the Sheykh *Zâde Ferîd*, and *Mobârek Koja*, were put to death, for having corrupted the mîrza, and taught him magic. After this, the emperor marched forward, at the head of his army; and, at his arrival at *Arzerûm*, was ſaluted by *Tahârten*, prince of *Arzenjân*. *September* 1, he entered the country of the *Othmâns*, and attacked *Siwâs*: but, as we intend to give a pretty circumſtantial account of this war, in our hiſtory of the *Othmâns*, we ſhall only ſlightly touch on thoſe tranſactions in this place [a]. *marches againſt* Bayezîd.

SIWAS (or *Sebaſte*), a fine as well as ſtrong city, ſubmitted, after eighteen days leaguer, to *Timûr*; who ordered 4000 *Armenian* cavalry to be buried alive, and the walls to be razed, for an example to other places. He then ſent troops in purſuit of Soltân *Ahmed*, who had entered *Anatolia*, and others, under the Mîrza *Shâh Rûkh*, to deſtroy the *Turkmân* robbers of *Abûleſtân*, in *Zulkâderia*, who had carried off ſome horſes. The ſoltân and *Kara Yuſef* eſcaped, with the loſs of their baggage, and a ſoltâna; but the robbers were cut to pieces. After this, he marched againſt *Malatîyah*, which he took in one day, the governor and his party flying at his approach. Then he ſent out troops, on all ſides, to ruin the country of *Malatîyah*; which they did, and returned with abundance of ſpoil. Thus the frontiers of *Anatolia* and *Syria* were, in a ſhort time, brought in ſubjection; and as the ſoltân of *Egypt* had offended *Timûr* no leſs than the *Othmân* emperor, he reſolved to invade his dominions, before he proceeded any farther againſt *Bayezîd*, who had no army yet in the field. *Takes Siwâs.*

[a] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 145—152, c. 13—15.

A. D. 1400. *Invades* Syria.

TIMUR, in the year 795 (1393), after he had reduced *Bâghdâd*, having sent an ambassador to Soltân *Bârkok*, then reigning in *Egypt*, as hath been before-mentioned, this ambassador, on his arrival at *Rahaba*, on the *Euphrates*, was seized, according to custom, and sent to *Egypt*; where, by the persuasions of Soltân *Ahmed*, he has put to death. After this, *Kara Yusef* having, in battle, taken prisoner *Atîlmîsh Kûchin*, *Timûr*'s governor of *Avanik*, while that monarch was in *Kipjâk*, sent him to *Bârkok*, who confined him in prison, and continued his hostilities against the *Jagatays*. The emperor being now on the borders of *Malatîyah*, sent a letter to *Farrûj*, who had succeeded *Bârkok*, to demand *Atîlmîsh*: but *Farrûj*, after his father's example, ordered the ambassador to be imprisoned at *Hâlep*, where he had been already stopped, as usual, till notice was given to the soltân of his arrival. *Timûr*, enraged at this insult, resolved to be revenged; and although, at first, the amîrs besought him to disband his troops, who wanted repose, after so many late fatigues, yet, perceiving him to be firm, they applauded his resolution. They marched on to *Behesna*, and encamped on an eminence near the castle, which is in a defile where several torrents flow, built with very high and strong walls, on the ridge of a steep mountain [b].

Takes Antâp.

WHILE *Timûr* was viewing the place, a great stone, shot at him from an engine, fell near his tent, and rolled into it. Enraged at this, he immediately ordered his troops, who had taken the lower town, to besiege the fortress, in whose wall they soon made breaches with their engines, sapping them, at the same time, in other places. The governor *Mokbel*, seeing himself in this distress, sent to beg quarter. *Timûr* promised him his liberty: but said, he would take the place first, to shew, that though reckoned impregnable, it was not so to him. The 7th of *October*, fire being put to the props, the towers began to fall: after which, the emperor not only spared *Mokbel*, but the whole garrison. The army then marched to *Antâpa* (or *Antâp*) (A), a city, whose walls were built of stone, exceedingly strong; surrounded by a ditch thirty cubits deep, and near seventy wide, with a draw-bridge. The counterscarp, which was of stone, had a covered-way, broad enough

[b] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 152—162, c. 15—19.

(A) *Arabshâh* says, that *Timûr* left *Kalâto'rrûm* (or *the castle of the* Romans), without daring to attack it, on account of its strength, although the commander made several sallies upon him: yet he owns, that, by the computation of *Karezem*, *Timûr*'s comptroller, his army amounted to 800,000 men. *Timûr* did what was necessary; and *Arabshâh* hated him.

for

for a man on horſeback to paſs along it; which poſt was aſ- A. D.
ſigned the archers. When the *Tatars* arrived, they found the 1400.
principal perſons all gone out (B); and only a few poor inhabitants left, who immediately opened the gates to *Timûr*, and put him in poſſeſſion of abundance of goods, as well as ammunition.

MEAN time *Temûrtâſh*, governor of *Hâlep*, having ſent ad- *Proceeds to* Hâlep.
vice to *Kâhera* (or *Kayro*) of the enemy's proceedings, the ſoltân ſent orders for all the troops of *Syria* to march to that city. When they were arrived, *Temûrtâſh* aſſembled the chief commanders, to conſult whether it was beſt to ſubmit to a powerful prince, whoſe ſucceſſes and conqueſts he ſet forth to advantage, or oppoſe him. The moſt experienced officers approved of the motion: but the majority, and eſpecially *Shadûn*, governor of *Damaſkus*, taxed him with cowardice (C); vaunting, that the towns of *Syria* were not built of mud and brick, like thoſe of the countries conquered by *Timûr*, but with ſolid ſtone; and that taking but a few men out of every village, which the regiſters reckoned to be 60,000, an army might be raiſed ſufficient to withſtand any force. While, therefore, it was reſolved to defend *Hâlep*, *Timûr* advanced towards it. The two firſt days he marched ſix or ſeven leagues each; but afterwards ordered the army to move no more than half a league *per* day: ſo that in a whole week they proceeded but one day's journey, and that with great precautions. The *Syrians*, imputing the ſlowneſs of the enemy's march to fear, abandoned their firſt reſolution of keeping in the town, and drew out in the open field.

THE 8th of *November* the army of *Timûr* arrived near *Hâ-* *Defeats the enemy.*
lep; and, the third day after, marched to attack the enemy in order of battle: every one had on a coat of mail, a cuiraſs, and helmet. The right wing was commanded by the Mîrzas *Mirân Shâh* and *Shâh Rûkh*; and the van-guard of it by the Mîrza *Abûbekr*. Soltân *Mahmûd* led the left wing, whoſe van-guard was conducted by Soltân *Huſſayn*. The main body was commanded by *Timûr* himſelf; who had before him a rank of bulky elephants, which ſerved as a rampart, with towers on their backs, filled with archers, and flingers of wild-fire. The battle began by the ſkirmiſhers; who ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy's batallions, and either killed, or brought

(B) According to *Arabſhâh*, *Aſkewâr* the governor ſallied out; and, being abandoned and wounded, fled to *Hâlep*, but was not purſued.

(C) *Arabſhâh* ſays, that *Temûrtâſh* had agreed with *Timûr* to betray the ſoltân of *Egypt*.

A. D. 1400. off some noted person prisoner. The right wing then fell on the *Syrians* left wing, which was routed by the valour of the Mîrza *Abûbekr*. Their left wing likewise defeated the enemy's right; while the main body performed the like service. Hereupon *Shadûn* and *Temûrtâsh* fled into the city, followed by their troops, who dispersed. The major part took the road to *Damascus*: but, being pursued, only one horseman of all that great army escaped to carry the news to that city [c].

Takes the city. As for those who retreated into *Hâlep*, the disorder was so great in the chief street of the city, and the gates so crouded, that one could hardly pass. Here was the greatest slaughter ever mentioned: for, to avoid the fury of the sword, they flung themselves upon one another into the ditches. On the other hand, the *Jagatays*, with a single pike, often ran three or four of the enemy through at a time, in the throng of the gate: so that the dead bodies were piled upon one another, to the very plinth of the walls; and at length a passage was made over the ditch, upon those bodies, level with the draw-bridge. There one might see the horses and their riders mixed promiscuously, and covered with blood and dirt; some pierced with arrows, and others with their brains dashed out; one with a coat of mail, his head bending beneath the blow of a war-club; another falling without his head, his sword fast clasped in his hand. Mean time other troops were employed in pillaging the enemy's camp, where they met with abundance of spoil. At length the whole army marched to the general assault the same day, and entered the city; which they plundered of its great wealth, carrying away the women and children, horses and cattle.

The castle surrendered. *SHADUN* and *Temûrtâsh* had retired to the fortress, which was built on the ridge of a high steep rock (D), surrounded with a ditch thirty cubits wide; and so deep with water, as to carry a boat (E). From the surface of the water to the castle-wall, it is about 100 cubits; and the shelving so smooth and steep, that it is impossible to ascend it on foot, because it is covered with free-stone, and polished bricks. As soon as the *Jagatays* had surrounded the ditch, they shot arrows so incessantly, that the besieged dared not appear on the walls;

[c] Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 162—172. c. 19—21.

(D) The castle of *Aleppo* is not built on a rock, but a mountain of earth, covered with free-stone. *La Croix.*

(E) The author seems not to have seen the ditch, any more than the castle; for if the ditch was full of water, a ship might sail in it. *La Croix.*

while

while the ſappers, croſſing the water in floats, began to work at the bottom of the mountain, and ſhake the ſtones. This being perceived by the beſieged, five of the braveſt men, going down by a rope tied to their waiſt, the ends of which were held by others on the wall, ran ſword in hand upon the ſappers; but the *Tatars*, who had orders to ſupport them, ſallied out of their tents, and ſlew them with their arrows. After the dead bodies were drawn up, no ſoldier would venture to ſhew his head. Upon this, *Timûr* wrote a letter to the two generals, exhorting them to ſave their lives, and ſurrender. This they did, upon a reflection on their circumſtances; and, being put in irons, with other chiefs, and 1000 ſoldiers, *Timûr* ſent one of them to acquaint the king of *Egypt* with their condition; and that he muſt forthwith ſend *Atîlmîſh* to him, if he would preſerve their lives. A D. 1400.

THERE were in this city treaſures of an infinite value, conſiſting of that laid up by ſeveral kings; and the riches carried in by the citizens, in hopes of ſaving them. Part was diſtributed among the ſoldiers; and the reſt left in charge with eight amîrs, who were appointed to govern this ſtrong place. Then, after fifteen days ſtay, he marched, to continue his conqueſts in *Syria*. He had ſent before the Mîrzas *Pîr Mehemed* and *Abûbekr* as ſcouts towards *Hama* (F); the town of which they took, but could not reduce the caſtle: yet, on the appearance of the innumerable troops which *Timûr* brought, the garriſon begged quarter; which was granted, but the ſpoil was given to the ſcouts. The emperor ſtaid here twenty-two days: during which time the amîrs made another attempt to induce him to ſtop here; repreſenting, that, for two years, they had been continually on the march, or in battle; and that the enemy's troops were in much better condition than theirs. They therefore deſired that they might go and repoſe themſelves at *Tripoli*, on the ſea-coaſt; ſo that, at the beginning of ſpring, they might march with vigour againſt the *Syrians*. Hama *reduced*.

BUT *Timûr* would not hearken to their reaſons; alledging, that they ought not to give the enemy any time to recover themſelves. Hereupon he ordered them to march towards *Hems* (or *Emeſſa*): and, as a great amir was ſent before for a ſcout, he prevailed upon the inhabitants to ſubmit, on promiſe both of their lives and effects. Accordingly the principal men went out, loaden with preſents, to meet *Timûr*; and received his protection. The emperor then continued his road towards Hems *ſurrendered*.

(F) A city of *Syria*, of which the geographer (or hiſtorian) *Abû'lfeda* was prince. *La Croix*. It is the antient *Epiphania*.

Bâalbek;

A. D. 1400. *Bâalbek*; and, in the way, detached troops to pillage the coaſt of *Saïd* (or *Sidon*) and *Barût*. When the army came before *Bâalbek*, they admired the beauty of its walls. Among the ſtones, which are of a prodigious ſize, there is one at the corner of the caſtle, facing the gardens, which is twenty-eight cubits long, ſixteen broad, and ſeven high. Its buildings are very lofty; and it is believed to have been raiſed by dæmons and genii, at the command of *Solomon*, who had an abſolute power over them. For all this, it was quickly reduced by the *Jagatays*, who found abundance of proviſions. After which, they marched towards *Damaſkus*, which is ſeventy leagues diſtant from *Hâlep*, through ſnow and rain, it being the third of *January*; and, having made one day's journey, *Timûr* halted to viſit the tomb of the prophet *Noah* [d].

Attempt of aſſaſſins. MEAN time *Farruj*, ſoltân of *Egypt*, to whom *Syria* belonged, raiſed a great army, chiefly of cavalry, which were the beſt in the world; and came to *Damaſkus*, which he put in a good poſture of defence. But, relying more on policy than ſtrength, he ſent to *Timûr* an eloquent villain, in quality of ambaſſador; who, the better to cover his intentions, put on a religious habit. He was accompanied by two aſſaſſins, who had orders to murder the emperor during the ambaſſador's audience. When *Timûr* drew near *Damaſkus*, thoſe villains joined the court, and were admitted to pay their compliments. They had thus ſeveral favourable opportunities: but, the emperor being protected by Heaven, they could not execute their deſigns. However, *Koja Maſſaûd Semnâni*, one of the great ſecretaries of the council, ſuſpected, by their behaviour, that they had ſome evil intention. This being related, by a third perſon, to *Timûr*, he ordered them to be ſearched; and poiſoned daggers were found in their boots. The chief of the villains, perceiving their plot diſcovered, confeſſed the truth; and was, by the emperor's order, ſlain with the ſame dagger which was found about him, and his body burnt. The two aſſaſſins had their noſe and ears cut off, with deſign to ſend them, in that condition, with a letter to the ſoltân of *Egypt*.

Farruj *feigns ſubmiſſion.* *TIMUR*, being arrived at *Kobbey Seyâr*, ordered *Shadân*, and the other priſoners, brought from *Hâlep*, to be put to death, farther to be revenged on *Farruj*. The ſame night there happened an affair as ridiculous as extraordinary: The Mîrza *Soltân Huſſayn*, after a debauch, was excited by ſome ſeditious perſons to revolt againſt his grandfather (G). Accordingly

[d] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 172—181. c. 21—24.

(G) According to *Arabſhâh*, he quitted *Timûr*, being aſhamed to ſee him with his army in ſo miſerable a condition.

cordingly he went to *Damaſkus*, and liſted himſelf in the *Syrian* ſervice. This adventure gave the enemy much joy; and *Farruj*, in policy, treated him with all poſſible reſpect. Next day the army went and encamped towards the ſouth ſide of the city; building a wall, the height of a man, about the camp, and digging a trench round the wall. Two days after, *Timûr* ſent a letter to the ſoltân, to demand *Atîlmiſh*; and offer peace, on condition that he cauſed money to be coined in the emperor's name, and his name to be read in the public prayers. The ambaſſador was received with great honour; and, being diſmiſſed, was followed by ſeveral lords, who, from *Farruj*, promiſed obedience to *Timûr*, and to ſend *Atîlmîſh* to his court within five days. A. D. 1400.

TIMUR, believing theſe lords to be ſincere, received them kindly, and preſented them with veſts; but he was ſoon unde- ceived: for, ſome days after, having ordered his army to remove their camp to *Gauta* (H), that the horſes might feed in that delicious place: they had no ſooner begun to move, than the whole army of *Syria* ſallied out of *Damaſkus*, imagining that this march eaſtward proceeded from weakneſs, and an intention to fly. They thought likewiſe, that ſo numerous an army could not decamp without falling into ſome diſorder; and that, if they took the opportunity to attack their rear, they could not fail of defeating them. With theſe hopes, the ſoldiers, iſſuing forth, and joined by prodigious numbers of the populace, armed with ſwords, ſticks, or ſtones, fell on the rear of the *Tatars*; who thereupon, facing about, ſecured their front with the bales of baggage. When the whole army were come together, and ranged in order, *Timûr* ſent to the Mirzas *Mirân Shâh*, *Shâh Rûkh*, and *Abûbekr*, who commanded the right wing, to attack the enemy on one ſide, while the amîrs of the left wing preſſed them on the other. As the two wings, backed by the main body, fell furiouſly on the *Syrians*, they were defeated, after an obſtinate battle, and repulſed to the gates of *Damaſkus*; after having above half their ſoldiers ſlain, and a great part diſperſed: who, being purſued, were for the moſt part cut off[e]. *Attacks the Jagatays.*

THIS ſignal victory was gained *January* 19th, 1400. During the heat of the battle, one of *Shâh Rûkh*'s officers fell in with the Mîrza *Soltân Huſſayn*, who commanded the *Syrians* left wing; and, having ſeized his horſe's bridle, brought him *Defeated, and flies.*

[e] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 181—189. c. 24—25.

(H) A great plain to the eaſt of *Damaſkus*, where there is a very large lake; into which the rivers watering that city fall in an united ſtream.

to

A. D. 1400. to his master, who gave advice of it to *Timûr*. This prince ordered him to be put in prison, loaded with chains: but he was soon after delivered, through the intercession of *Shâh Rûkh*; yet not till he had received the bastonado, according to the yasa; and, besides the reproaches he met with, was never after suffered to enter the emperor's hall. Next day *Timûr* ordered the army to march towards the city in order of battle, with the elephants at their head, to strike farther terror into the inhabitants: and it is remarkable, that, from the end of the right wing to the extremity of the left, it took up between three and four leagues of ground. The soltân, on this, held a council; wherein it being agreed for him to return to *Egypt*, and leave the soldiers to defend the city, with the inhabitants, he sent an ambassador to excuse what happened the day before, as a popular sedition; and promised, that, if his highness would grant a cessation of arms for the present day only, he would next morning execute whatever he should command.

Damascus besieged, THE emperor, on this message, ordered his army to return, and encamp a second time: but, when night came, *Farruj*, accompanied by the principal lords of his court, departed from *Damascus*. This flight being discovered by a *Tatar* deserter, *Timûr* sent after him a great body of horse; who overtook the soltân, slew several of his men, and obliged the rest to abandon their equipage to fly the swifter. Next day he ordered the city to be invested by his whole army. This so terrified the inhabitants, that the sharifs, kâdi's, and other men of the law, opened the gates; and, going to the camp, agreed to pay a tax to save their lives. The city being thus yielded, they invested the castle, which was one of the most noted fortresses in the world. Its walls, consisting of great pieces of rock, very high, and regularly built, were encompassed with a ditch about twenty cubits wide. The soldiers having raised three platforms high enough to command the city; the battering-rams, and engines to cast stones and wild-fire, began to play: while the sappers, after the ditch was drained, fell to undermining the walls on every side, notwithstanding the great stones and wild-fire showered down on them by the besieged. They heated great pieces of the rock, by putting fire underneath, and casting vinegar thereon: and then, with their hammers, broke them out; placing wooden props, to keep the rest from falling on them. When they had done sapping the bastion of *Tarma*, which was largest of all, fire was set to the shorings; when presently this high and famous tower fell, and made a vast breach by its fall: but, as the soldiers ran to enter this breach, on a sudden another part of the wall fell; which, crush-

with great vigour.

ing

ing fourſcore of them to pieces, ſo damped the ardour of the reſt, that they would advance no farther. A. D. 1400.

THE beſieged, taking advantage of this reſpite, cloſed up the breach, and fortified themſelves behind it; but, great part of the caſtle falling ſoon after, they loſt all hopes: ſo that *Yezdâr* the governor cauſed the gate to be opened, and carried the keys himſelf to *Timûr*; who ordered him to be put to death, for having deferred ſurrendering too long. They found in the caſtle abundance of riches. The garriſon, conſiſting moſtly of *Cherkaſſians*, *Habahans*, *Zenji*, and *Mamlûks*, were all made ſlaves; ſo were the citizens. *Timûr*, obſerving with indignation, that, while *Damaſkus* abounded with fine edifices, the tombs of *Omma Selma* and *Omma Habîba* were neglected, ordered two magnificent marble domes to be built over them, adorned with ſeveral works in ſculpture. He likewiſe cauſed gold and ſilver to be coined in place of the *Syrian* money, which was coarſe; and ſent troops to ravage the ſea-coaſt about the city of *Akkia*[f] (or *Akka*). *and ſurrendered.*

DURING theſe tranſactions, *Timûr* was attacked with an impoſthume in his back, which was very grievous for the time, but ſoon went off. After this, aſſembling his privy-council, he told them, "He had heard that the *Syrians* encouraged "the *Ommîyan* khalifahs in all the cruelties they exerciſed "againſt *Ali*, in the wars which they carried on againſt him; "and could not conceive how a nation ſhould be thought to be "of the ſect of a prophet, which united with the moſt cruel "enemies of his family. He added, that ſo rigorous a puniſh-"ment, as had then fallen on them, was a proof that the "ſaid tradition was true." This reflection of *Timûr*, being communicated to others, ſo wrought on the minds of the ſoldiery, that, *March* 28th, 1401, they broke into the city without orders, and made a terrible ſlaughter; enſlaved the reſt of the inhabitants, and ſeized their effects (I). The riches were ſo great, that the beaſts they had taken between *Siwâs* and *Damaſkus* not being ſufficient to carry them off, they were obliged to fling away great part, ſuch as gold and ſilver brocades, curious belts of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and the like. *Dreadful maſſacre.* Hej. 803. A. D. 1401.

As the two upper ſtories of the houſes of *Damaſkus* are of wood, the loweſt being of ſtone; and moſt of the cielings, as well as walls, are varniſhed, next day the city took fire by

[f] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 189—198. c. 25—27.

(I) *Arabſhâh* inveighs againſt *Timûr* for the havock made at *Damaſkus*; and, from this account, he ſeems to have been the cauſe of it.

accident,

A. D. 1400. accident, and burnt down; nor was it possible to quench it. Besides the wooden roof of the famous *Ommîyan* mosk, covered with lead, the eastern menâret, built of stone, was reduced to ashes: yet that of *Arûs*, named also *Munar Beyza*, on which the *Musulmâns* believe *Isa*, or *Jesus*, will descend to judge the world, though made of wood, remained intire. After this, *Timûr*, resolving to return out of *Syria*, ordered all the slaves taken in that country, as well as *Damaskus*, to be set at liberty. He then set forward, the 31st of *March*; and sent for the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* from the frontiers of *Mogulestân*, to invest him with the empire of *Hûlâkû*, which he deserved for his merit. When he arrived at *Hems*, he sent the Mîrzas *Rûstem* and *Abûbekr*, with 10,000 horse, to the city of *Tadmîr* (or *Tadmor*), built by *Solomon*, the houses of which are of free-stone, to pillage the subjects of *Zulkâder*, who were in its neighbourhood. The Mîrza *Soltân Hussayn*, at the head of 5000 horse, marched to *Antiokh*; and the Mîrza *Kalîl Soltân*, with 15,000 horse, was detached against the *Turkmâns* of *Kubek*, who were encamped on the *Euphrates*.

The city burnt.

Turkmâns *spoiled.*

THE first party, having made the *Zulkâderians* fly into *Arabia*, and brought away 200,000 sheep, went on to the *Euphrates*. The second party pillaged the city and country of *Antiokh*; and then, joining the third at *Hâlep*, marched towards *Kalâto'rrûm*, and the *Euphrates*. Here, meeting the *Turkmâns*, they were vigorously attacked: but the Sheykh *Hussayn*, son of *Kubek*, their leader, being slain, his brothers fled with the rest of those people, who left a great prey of cattle: so that, with what the other soldiers had gotten, they reckoned 800,000 sheep, which sold for a dinâr apiece, and were obliged to leave the other animals behind. Mean while *Timûr* proceeded on his way. When he came to *Hamâh*, he ordered the town to be pillaged, the houses plundered, and the inhabitants made slaves; to punish them for destroying the edifices which the *Jagatays* had built at their first arrival. The walls likewise of the castle of *Hâlep* were razed, and the houses burnt, by the amîrs, who then joined the imperial army, which in four days marched to the *Euphrates*, where the other detachments met them. As the Mîrza *Soltân Hussayn* performed several brave actions in his expedition, he obtained pardon for his former fault, and was received into favour.

Hamah *pillaged.*

Bîr *and* Roha *yield.*

THE army crossed the river, by swimming, over-against the city of *Bîr*; from whence two boats were sent to carry over the baggage of the emperor, who confirmed the governor in his

his poſt. Here *Kara Ozmân*, governor of *Malatîya*, arrived alſo, and was handſomely received. After *Timûr*'s departure from hence, he had a mind to hunt in *Meſopotamia*: hereupon a circle was made by the two wings, five days journey in circuit, of which the fountain of *Râſo'l Ayn* (K) was the centre; where they found ſuch abundance of game, that they took them with their hands. The hunt concluded with a feaſt; in which they ate of antelopes and roebucks, whoſe fleſh is very tender, and the beſt of all the animals of the deſart. In their paſſage, the inhabitants of *Roha*, or *Orfa*, came out with preſents, and were kindly treated: but a caſtle beyond it was razed; and the *Armenian* robbers, who held it, cut to pieces. The army then advanced to *Mardîn*; whither the ſoltâns of *Huſni Keyfa* (L) and *Arzina*, and other lords in thoſe quarters, came to ſalute the emperor: only the ſoltân of *Mardîn*, who had been ſet at liberty and reſtored by *Timûr*, not having followed the army into *Syria* with his troops, or ſent any of his brothers on that duty, dared not come to meet his highneſs. *Timûr*, however, kindly aſked after him, and ſent for him in very obliging terms: but he refuſed, confiding in the ſtrength of the place. And, as the emperor was ſenſible it would require a long ſiege to reduce it (M), he was contented to ruin and burn all the houſes of the lower town; at the ſame time ordering *Kara Ozmân* to block up the fortreſs ſo cloſely, that not a man might eſcape [e].

A. D. 1401.

Mardîn *revolts.*

TIMUR, having ſent the Amîr *Allâhdâd* to take care of the frontiers of *Jetah*, departed from *Mardîn*. After which, he detached the Mîrzas *Soltân Huſſayn*, *Pîr Mehemed*, *Omar Sheykh*, and *Abûbekr*, with a great body of the army, to *Alenjîk*; with orders, after taking that fortreſs, to march into *Georgia*: but as they had heard at *Vân*, that *Alenjîk*, after two years ſiege, had been forced by famine to ſurrender, they turned off towards the right for *Georgia*; and made ſuch haſte, that they ſurpriſed the inhabitants, and ravaged their country. Hereupon *Mâlek Gûrghîn* ſent to acquaint the mîrzas, that he was ſurpriſed at this invaſion, ſeeing he was one of the

Alenjik *reduced.*

Georgia *invaded.*

[e] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 198—208. c. 27—30.

(K) From hence ſprings the river *Al Khabûr*, which falls into the *Euphrates* at *Karkiſia*.

(L) Corruptly called *Haſan Keif*; a city on the *Tigris*, between *Amed* and *Müſſel*. *La Croix*.—'Tis alſo, by travellers, written *Aſan Kief* and *Chief*: it ſhould be *Haſn* or *Heſn Keyf*, that is, *the caſtle of* Keyf.

(M) *Arabſhâh* ſays, that *Timûr* could not take the caſtle of *Mardîn*, becauſe ſituated on an inacceſſible rock, large enough to contain much plowed lands, with ſeveral ſprings of water.

emperor's

A. D. 1401. emperor's moſt faithful ſervants; and that, as ſoon as his highneſs ſhould come into thoſe parts, he would not fail to pay obedience to him. Upon this, the mîrzas ceaſed ravaging his country; and ſent to know if *Timûr* would grant that king quarter, waiting at *Menkûl* the return of the courier.

Bâghdâd beſieged. AT the ſame time the Soltân *Mahmûd Khân* and the Mîrza *Rûſtem*, with ſeveral amîrs at the head of their tomâns, according to orders, ſet out for *Bâghdâd*. Where, as ſoon as they arrived, *Farruj*, of the *Jalayr* tribe of *Mungls*, who was governor, ſupported by vaſt multitudes of *Turks* and *Arabs*, ſallied out, being joined by ſeveral princes and amîrs of *Irâk Arabi*: from the eaſt, came the amîrs *Ali Kalânder*, of *Mendeli*, and *Jân Ahmed Bakû*; from the weſt, *Farrukſhâh*, of *Hilleh*, or *Hella*, and *Mikaïl*, of *Sîb*, with 3000 men. The Mîrza *Rûſtem* immediately took horſe, with his troops; and, ſurrounding the enemy, repulſed them as far as the *Tigris*, where a bloody battle enſued. *Jân Ahmed* was ſlain, with many of the braveſt ſoldiers; and others drowned in the river. For all this defeat, *Farruj* would not ſurrender; pretending that Soltân *Ahmed* ordered him to deliver up the city to *Timûr*, if he came in perſon, but not elſe. Of this the amîrs ſent advice to the emperor; who, after the ſubmiſſion of *Niſibîn*, having paſſed the *Tigris* at *Muſel*, in his way to *Tauris*, immediately ſet out for *Bâghdâd*, accompanied by the braveſt men in his army, by way of *Altûn Kupruk* (N). As ſoon as he arrived at that city, he encamped at the lower part of the river, oppoſite to the gate called *Kariet Ulakab*; and his troops, ſurrounding the walls, tho' two leagues in compaſs, began to ſap them.

Its vigorous defence. MEAN time *Farruj*, deſirous to know if *Timûr* was come, ſent to him, as an ambaſſador, one who knew him; who was admitted to audience, and honoured with a veſt: but altho' this perſon was a confidant of the governor, yet, at his return, he impriſoned him, under pretence that he told what was not fact. On the other hand, *Timûr* cauſed a bridge of boats to be laid acroſs the *Tigris*, below *Kariet Ulakab*; and took all neceſſary precautions to block up all the paſſages with his troops: in ſhort, it was ſo incloſed on all ſides, that, altho' the river ran thro' the middle of it, and was covered with boats, yet it was impoſſible for any body to get out. In the interim, *Farruj*, and the inhabitants, thro' deſpair, rather than bravery, performed actions which almoſt exceeded human power: for, as ſoon as the *Tatars* made a breach by ſapping, the beſieged

(N) A bridge on the river *Altûn Sû* (or water of gold), near *Meſſil*. *La Croix*.

immediately

immediately repaired it with morter and brick, and entrenched themſelves behind. The heat was now ſo violent, that the birds fell down dead, and the ſoldiers melted like wax under their cuiraſſes: for all this, they raiſed a platform which commanded the city, from whence they inceſſantly caſt ſtones with their engines. A. D. 1401.

THE amîrs had often begged to make a general aſſault; but *Timûr* would not give leave, in hopes the enemy would ſubmit: but, at the end of forty days, on the 23d of *July*, when the inhabitants were forced, by the heat of the ſun, to quit the walls, and retire to their houſes, leaving their helmets reared on ſticks in their places, the army advanced furiouſly to the walls; and, having fixed their ſcaling-ladders, the Amîr *Sheykh Nûro'ddîn* mounted firſt: then, ſounding the drums and trumpets, all the commanders followed, and the troops entered ſword in hand. The inhabitants, endeavouring in vain to fly from the place to avoid the ſword, caſt themſelves into the *Tigris*. Several got into boats; and others ſwam, to deſcend the river: but were no ſooner come to the bridge, than they were ſhot by ſoldiers placed in ambuſh. However, *Farruj* found means to eſcape by water, with his daughter: but, being cloſely purſued, and not able either to defend himſelf, or get off, caſt himſelf, with his daughter, into the river, where they were both drowned, and the boat ſunk. Afterwards his body was taken up, and thrown on the bank [h]. *Taken by aſſault.*

As ſeveral *Tatars* had been ſlain in the aſſault, each ſoldier was ordered to bring one (O) head of the men of *Bâghdâd*; in executing which command, they ſpared neither old men of fourſcore, nor children of eight years old: the number of the dead was ſo great, that the officers could not count them; and of their heads they made towers. Altho' no quarter was given to either rich or poor, yet ſome learned men found means to get acceſs to *Timûr*; who pardoned them, gave them veſts, and a convoy to places of ſafety. After this, the markets, karawânſarays, monaſteries, palaces, and all other buildings, were razed, excepting moſks, colleges, and hoſpitals. The air becoming infected with the ſtench of the dead bodies, the camp was removed to the upper part of the river, near *Barbarous maſſacre.* Bâghdâd *deſtroyed.*

[h] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, p. 208—215. c. 30—32.

(O) *Arabſhâh* ſays, two; and that 90,000 were ſlain in cold blood. They flung away the bodies; and made trophies of the heads, piled up together in towers, to the number of 120.

A. D. 1401. the tomb of the great imâm *Abû Hanîfah*, chief of the four orthodox sects among the *Mohammedans*, whose intercession *Timûr* implored. From this place he ordered Soltân *Mahmûd Khân* and the Mîrza *Kalîl Soltân* to make inroads in the neighbouring places. They accordingly passed by *Hilleh*, as far as *Mashhâd Nejef* (P); and thence to *Wâset* (on the *Tigris*). They ravaged the two cities: but paid their devotions at the holy place of *Mashhâd*, instead of attacking it.

The Kûrds *punished.* *TIMUR* took the road to *Shehrezûr* and *Kâlghi*, leaving the main body to come after with the baggage. As, in this march, the *Kûrds* attacked all who separated themselves, tho' at ever so small a distance, from the army, the emperor placed soldiers in ambush round the roads; who, sallying out as soon as those robbers appeared, seized, and hanged them on the chesnut-trees which grew in the highways (Q). At the river *Jagatû*, the empress *Saray Mulk Khanûm*, and other wives of the mîrzas, with their children, met his highness; and at *Akziaret* the sharifs, doctors, and principal lords, of *Irân*, came to wait on him. During his stay at this place, he invited the learned to dispute on points of religion. When he had passed by *Ujûn* (R), and was encamped at *Hesht Rhûd*, or *The eight rivers*, he received advice that *Bâyezîd*, who, during his stay in *Syria*, had taken *Arzenjân* from *Tahârten*, was marching towards the east. Hereupon *Timûr* ordered the troops who were at *Menkûl* in *Georgia* to join the Mîrza *Shâh Rûkh* at *Avenîk* (or *Vân*), and oppose the *Othmâns*. But a messenger arriving from *Tahârten*, with advice that *Bâyezîd* desired peace, and would make him satisfaction, the mîrza sent notice to court, and staid for an answer.

Affairs of Georgia. MEAN time *Timûr*, being arrived at *Tauris*, a few days after marched towards *Georgia*; and, when he came to *Kom-tûpa*, ordered the *Koja Ismael Kavâsi* to be hanged before the market-place of the camp, for the tyrannies he had exercised over the people. He afterwards crossed the *Arâs*, and encamped at *Nakhshivân*; from whence he went to see the castle of *Alenjik*, which is near that city. About this time *Tahârten* arrived at court with a letter from *Bâyezîd*; and, by his intercession, obtained pardon for the *Othmân*. Here being joined

(P) The same as *Mashkâd Hussayn*, in the plain of *Kerbela*, near the *Euphrates*, often mentioned before.

(Q) The author was informed by credible persons, that these trees one year produce chesnuts, and the next gall-nuts: but *La Croix* believes he mistook the oaks, which have that property, for chesnut trees; which, he says, are very uncommon in *Syria*.

(R) A town of *Azerbejân*, near *Tauris*. *La Croix.*—*Herbert* calls it *Ojone*.

by

by *Shâh Rûkh*, and the other mîrzas, with their troops, the army marched to the defile of *Shâhbûz*, and entered the mountains. From thence they paſſed by *Gheukchey Tonkez* to *Shemkûr*, a town of *Georgia*: whither the commiſſary, ſent to *Mâlek Ghûrghîn*, returned with that prince's brother, who brought the tribute, and rich preſents; promiſing, in the king's name, due obedience, and to keep troops always ready for the emperor's ſervice. The prince being diſmiſſed with orders for *Mâlek* to ſend an army forthwith to join the imperial troops, *Timûr* removed his camp to *Karawl Topâ*; from whence, marching by *Ghenjeh* and *Berdâa*, he came, the 12th of *December*, to *Karabâgh Arrân*, where he wintered. Here ambaſſadors arriving from *Kipjâk*, to aſſure the emperor of the khân's obedience, diverted him from his intended expedition into that country in the following ſpring. Here alſo the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* came from *Samarkant*, and was received with great honour, his father placing a crown of gold upon his head. He brought with him bound the Mîrza *Eſkânder*; who, having been convicted, before the divân, of a fault committed [i], received the baſtonado; but at length his chains were taken off, and he was ſet at liberty [k]. A. D. 1401.

As ſoon as Soltân *Ahmed* heard that *Timûr* had left *Bâghdâd*, he returned thither with a deſign to rebuild that city: but *Timûr*, being informed of this, ſent four bodies of troops, under the mîrzas, by different roads, to ravage the country, and prevent his intention. One party, paſſing through the country of the *Kûrds* (who, during the winter, were encamped in the plains), put an infinite number to the ſword. The Mîrza *Abûbekr*, who took the road to *Bâghdâd*, arrived there ſo ſuddenly, that the ſoltân, with his ſon *Taher*, and ſome domeſtic officers, croſſing the *Tigris* in a boat, fled to *Hilleh*, whither he was hotly purſued; but, by breaking the bridge behind him, eſcaped into the iſles of *Khâled* and *Mâlek* in the *Euphrates*. Another detachment pillaged *Mendelli*, and defeated the governor *Ali Kalânder*: while a fourth advanced to *Wâſet* (on the *Tigris*), and plundered the *Arabs* of *Abbâdân* (S), from whom they took a conſiderable ſpoil in horſes and camels. When winter was over, all the troops joined about twelve leagues from *Bâghdâd*, and marched together to the imperial camp. *Soltân Ahmed flies.*

[i] See before, p. 320.

[k] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, l. v. c. 32—37. p. 215—226.

(S) A town of *Arabia*, on the borders of *Irâk Arabi*, on the *Perſian* gulf, near *Baſrah*, of *Baſora*. *La Croix*.

A. D. 1401. *Ambassadors from* Bâyezîd.

BAYEZID having given protection to *Kara Yûsef*, who had begun afresh to rob passengers, and even insulted the karawân of *Mekka*, *Timûr* resolved to make war on him: but, as the inhabitants of *Anatolia*, who had already experienced this monarch's power, represented the destruction which would attend the arms of so formidable an enemy; the soltân sent ambassadors to *Karabâgh*, with a letter, asking pardon for what was passed, and promising obedience for the time to come. *Timûr*, unwilling to hurt a prince who was at war with the infidels of *Europe*, told them: that he would forbear hostilities, provided their master would either put *Kara Yûsef* to death, send him to the *Tatar* camp, or expel him out of his dominions. After this, he did them particular honours, and dismissed them, accompanied with an ambassador of his own; telling them, that he would march in spring to the borders of *Anatolia*, where he would wait for an answer, which would determine whether their master desired peace or war.

Timûr irresolute.

WHILE *Timûr* was hunting in the plain of *Aktâm* (south of *Arrâs*), to which the *Othmân* ambassadors were invited, he perceived an old canal ruined by time, which he resolved to restore by means of his soldiers; who carried on the work with so much vigour, that, in a month, two leagues of it, deep enough for a boat, were dug. The spring-head is at a place called *Surkapil*; and it falls into the *Arrâs*, at another named *Kioshk Chenghîski*. The emperor gave it the name of *Nâhri Berlâs*, or *River of Berlâs*; and, on its banks the inhabitants have since built several towns, villages, and pleasure-houses, with gardens and vineyards. When spring came, *Timûr* was still in suspense whether he should march against *Bâyezid*, though he knew him to be his enemy: in consideration, partly, that he so zealously maintained a religious war against infidels; and partly because the *Ottomân* empire abounded with valiant as well as martial troops. On the other hand, the *Jagatays* being greatly fatigued with a long continual service, the amîrs endeavoured to dissuade *Timûr* from the expedition; alledging, among other reasons, that, in the campaign against the *Othmâns*, there appeared in the heavens, according to the astrologers, an inevitable misfortune attending the *Jagatayan* army.

Hej. 804. A. D. 1402.

Consults the astrologers.

THE emperor, upon this, sent for *Mûlâna Abdo'llah Lesân*, one of the most famous court-astrologers; and, to remove the apprehensions of the amîrs, ordered him to declare what the different aspects of the heavens portended. *Abdo'llah* hereupon said, "It appears, by the ephemerides of the present "year, that the ascendant of this empire is in the highest "degree

" degree of ſtrength, and that of the enemy in the loweſt " degree of weakneſs. A comet will appear in *Aries*; and an " army, which comes from the eaſt, will make an intire con- " queſt of *Anatolia*, the prince of which will be taken pri- " ſoner (T)." All objections being thus removed, *Timûr*, in the end of *April*, departed from *Karabâgh*; and, by way of *Berdâa* and *Ghenjeh*, arrived at *Shemkûr*; from whence he marched towards *Alatâk* (U). Having paſſed by *Tabadâr*, on the borders of *Georgia*, he came to the plains of *Menkûl*; from which place he ſent a ſecond ambaſſador, with a letter, to *Bâyezîd*, importing: that, in caſe the ſoltân conſented to what he had deſired, and would deliver up the fortreſs of *Kemak* (W), which had been always ſubject to the countries under the obedience of *Timûr*, he would not interrupt his wars againſt the infidels, but even ſuccour him with his troops[1]. A. D. 1402.

THERE being a ſtrong caſtle, named *Tartûm*, in the neighbourhood, whoſe garriſon refuſed to pay tribute, and inſulted paſſengers, *Timûr* ſent troops to take it; which they did on the ſixth day of the ſiege, and put all the *Georgians* to the ſword. He ſtaid at *Avenîk* (or *Vân*) for the return of his ambaſſadors ſent to *Bâyezîd*: but, when two months were paſſed beyond the time agreed on, finding all his endeavours to preſerve *Anatolia* were fruſtrated, he continued his march towards that country. When he came to *Arzerûm*, the Mirza *Mehemed Soltân* begged leave to go and conquer the caſtle of *Kemak*, which his father granted; and, when he arrived at at *Arzenjân*, he ſent the Mîrzas *Abûbekr*, *Kalîl Soltân*, Soltân *Huſſayn*, and *Eſkânder*, with more troops, to his aſſiſtance in the ſiege. The caſtle of *Kemak* (X) is one of the moſt noted in all *Aſia*: it is ſituated on a high ſteep rock, and ſurrounded with a defile in form of a labyrinth. At the bottom of its walls are gardens, and parterres of flowers, on the bank of the *Euphrates*; and no prince had ever taken it by force. Several poets have compared it to the terreſtrial paradiſe, be- *Marches towards Anatolia.*

[1] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 228—238. c. 37—41.

(T) *La Croix*, in the margin, puts, *Admirable prediction of an aſtrologer:* as if he believed in that idle ſcience, or rather impoſing art; and took it for granted, that the prediction was made according to its rules: whereas it might have been framed to encourage the army; or only added by the hiſtorian from report, which always magnifies or changes facts.

(U) Perhaps it ſhould be *Avenik*, or *Vân*.

(W) On the *Euphrates*, twenty-one miles ſouth of *Arzenjân*.

(X) *Kamek*, *Kamak*, or *Kâmkh*, as in the *Nubian* geography.

A. D. 1402. cauſe every year, for three days together, little birds as big as ſparrows, and unfledged, fall out of the air; which the inhabitants gather up, and preſerve ſalted in pots. If they do not take them in three days, their wings grow large enough to fly away.

Takes Kemak fortreſs. THE troops no ſooner came before *Kemak*, than they beſieged it in form. They made their approaches for ten days; during which time they cut off the water which ſupplied the place. Next day they made rope-ladders; and, in the night, the *Mekrit* ſoldiers, who ran up the ſteepeſt mountains like roebucks, got to the top of the rock; from whence they let down cords, by which a great number of brave men mounted, armed with cuiraſſes, during the darkneſs. When the beſieged perceived them, they caſt down great ſtones; and ſeveral, miſſing the ſteps, fell down. Next morning the ſoldiers mounted to the aſſault; while wildfire flew from the engines on both ſides. The officers of the Mîrza *Abûbekr*, who himſelf did wonders, firſt ſcaled the walls, and erected the horſetail: at the ſame time others mounted on all ſides, and became maſters of the place. When *Timûr* received advice that *Kemak* was taken, he came before it; and gave the government to *Tahârten*, becauſe it was no more than ſeven leagues from *Arzenjân* [m].

Defeats and takes Bayezid. AFTER this, *Timûr* marched forward; and at *Siwâs*, or *Sebaſte*, was met by his ambaſſador, with two others from *Bâyezid*; whoſe anſwer was ſo unſatisfactory, that the emperor refuſed their preſents, and bid them tell their maſter, they muſt prepare for war. Having reviewed his army, he departed from *Siwâs*; and, ſending troops to take the caſtle of *Harûk*, marched towards *Kayſarîya*, or *Cæſârea*, in *Kappadocia*; to whoſe inhabitants he gave quarter; and then ſet out for *Ankora* (Y), to meet *Bâyezîd*, who was advancing on that ſide. The Amîr *Shâh Mâlek*, who was ſent before to get intelligence, with a thouſand horſe, lay in ambuſcade, to ſurpriſe the *Othmân*'s ſcouts; and defeated them. *Bâyezid*'s ſon, on the other hand, formed an ambuſcade near the camp of *Timûr*, but to no effect. The emperor, being come to *Ankora*, laid ſiege to it: but, on advice that *Bayezîd* was approaching, he ordered it to be raiſed, and the army to march toward the enemy. Next day, being the firſt of *July*, the two armies met,

[m] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 238—242, c. 42, & ſeq.

(Y) The ſame as *Ankûria*, *Anguri*, or *Enguri*, as 'tis variouſly written the antient *Ancyra*; a city towards the north part of *Anatolia*, and about the middle from eaſt to weſt.

met, and came to an engagement, the particulars of which we have related elſewhere[n]; and therefore ſhall only mention here, that *Timûr* gained the victory; and *Bayezîd* was taken priſoner, with his ſon *Mûſſa*, who were treated with great humanity and honour[o]. A. D. 1402.

Upon this great defeat, *Ankora* ſubmitted; and *Timûr* ſent the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* towards *Pruſa*, to ſeize the treaſures of *Bâyezîd*, and other riches of that city. While the Mîrza *Eſkânder* was detached to *Konîya* (*Kogni*, or *Ikonium*), *Akſhâhr*, *Karahiſſar*, *Satalia*, and other places, the Mîrza *Shâh Rûkh* was ſent to *Ghulhiſſar*, and *Timûr* himſelf marched to *Khyutahia*; from whence he ſent out parties towards other cities, to ravage all the country of *Anatolia*, while he recreated his court and great officers with feaſts and rejoicings. Although the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* made the greateſt haſte to *Pruſa*; yet *Muſſulman Chelebi* had gotten thither before, and fled with the treaſures: the principal inhabitants alſo fled different ways; but were purſued, and brought back. *Bâyezîd*'s wife and two daughters were taken at *Yeniſhahr* (Z); as was likewiſe the daughter of Soltân *Ahmed*, king of *Bâghdâd*, whom *Bâyezîd* had demanded in marriage for his ſon *Moſtafa*. The Mîrza ſeized on what treaſure had been left at *Pruſa*, conſiſting in abundance of plate and rich furniture: after which, the pillage was given to the ſoldiers; who, when they had done plundering, ſet the houſes on fire. Ankuria *ſurrenders*. Pruſa *taken*.

From thence the Mîrza *Abûbekr*, being ſent to *Iſnîk*, or *Nice*, took and pillaged it: he alſo reduced the whole country. Then, marching with the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* to *Yeniſhâhr*, married *Bâyezîd*'s eldeſt daughter. Mean time the Mîrza *Soltân Huſſayn*, detached to make inroads in the ſouthern parts, took *Akſhâhr* and *Karayſer* (or *Karahiſſar*), plundering the towns as far as *Konîyah*; while others ravaged the province of *Aydîn*, and the ſea-coaſt. *Timûr* generouſly ſent to *Bâyezîd* his wife *Deſtina* (A); and reſtored the Amîr *Mehemed*, ſon of *Karamân*, who had been twelve years kept in chains by *Bâyezîd*, to the government of all *Karamânia*. After this, he left *Kyûtahîya*, where he had ſtaid a month, and marched towards Iſnîk *pillaged*.

[n] See, in a ſubſequent Volume, the Hiſtory of the *Othmân Turks*.
[o] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 242—257. c. 43—49.

(Z) Four leagues from *Pruſa*, and ſix days j urney from *Conſtantinople*; the ſame as *Yeniche*. *La Croix*.—It ſeems rather to be ten leagues from *Pruſa*, or *Burſa*. It is called alſo *Shahrno*.

(A) The *European* romances call her *Roxana*; and ſay, *Timûr* kept her for his own uſe. *La Croix*.

A.D. 1402. *Tangûzlik.* In the way, he iſſued out a ſevere order, that the brave *Sainte Maure* and his brother *Morâd* ſhould be put to death, for ſeveral crimes they had committed; with his ſon, and other brothers: *Koja Firûz*, prince of *Iſra Yaka* (B), was treated in the ſame manner. At the ſame time feaſts were prepared; to which *Bâyezîd* was invited, and treated with great honour: further to comfort him, *Timûr* conferred on him, by patents, the kingdom of *Anatolia*, and had the crown placed on his head [p].

Egypt *and* Turky *threaten'd.* THE feaſting being over, *Timûr*, *October* 25th, ſent an ambaſſador to *Farruj*, ſoltân of *Egypt*, with a letter, threatening to march to *Kâherah*, or *Kayro*, unleſs he ordered money to be coined with his (the emperor's) impreſs; the kotbah to be made in his name; and *Atîlmîſh* to be ſent him without delay. Two other ambaſſadors were ſent to the *Tekkûr*, or *Greek* emperor, to ſummon him to pay tribute, and the cuſtoms: likewiſe meſſengers to *Muſſulman Chelebi*, who had fled to *Iſra Yaka*, and reſided at *Ghuzelhiſſar*, which his father had built above *Conſtantinople*, threatening to ſend over the army, if he did not forthwith repair to court, or at leaſt lend *Timûr* money. Some time after, the ambaſſadors, ſent to the *Greek* emperor, returned with two others, to make his ſubmiſſion, and agree to pay the impoſed tribute. At *Bûlûk* he was overtaken by the meſſengers ſent to *Muſſulmân Chelebï*, and an ambaſſador, with a letter from that prince, promiſing to come and throw himſelf at *Timûr*'s feet. After this, advice was brought, that Soltân *Mohammed Khân*, titular emperor of *Jagatay*, who, by *Timûr*'s order, was gone to make inroads, had died of a violent diſtemper, with which he had been ſeized at *Kechik Bûrlûgh* (in *Ghermian-ili*); at which news *Timûr* was very much afflicted.

Anatolia *ravaged.* MEAN time *Kechil Bûrlûgh*, *Akyaka*, and *Satala*, ſituated on the ſea-coaſt, were ravaged. Afterwards the provinces of *Menteſha* and *Teke-ili* were ruined, by the amîrs ſent for that purpoſe, who returned to court loaden with booty. During autumn, the emperor lay encamped at *Tangûzlik*; where, the air being infected by the violent heat, ſeveral ſoldiers died, as well as by drinking the water of a ſpring at this place, which petrifies when it ſtagnates. *Timûr*, having ſettled the winter-quarters for his troops, ſent the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* to *Magnaſiah*, in the province of *Serhan-ili* (or *Sarûkhân*), and *Shâh Rûkh* to quarter in the province of *Ghermian-ili*, between *Olûg*

[p] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 258—267. c. 50—53.

(B) That is, *Turky* in *Europe*. *La Croix*.

Bûrlûgh

Bûrlûgh and *Kechik Bûrlûgh*. After this, the emperor marched to *Dûgûrlik*; and, having croſſed the *Menduras*, came to *Ghuzelhiſſar* (C); from thence he paſſed on to *Ayâzlik* (D); then to *Tira*, one of the moſt noted cities of *Anatolia*, whoſe inhabitants, like thoſe of other places, were obliged to pay the ranſom for their lives. A. D. 1402.

BEING informed at this place, that, on the ſea-coaſt, there were two exceeding ſtrong fortreſſes, named *Ezmîr* (or *Smyrna*), one poſſeſſed by Chriſtians, the other by *Mohammedans*, who were inceſſantly at war on account of religion; he thought it his duty to deliver the *Muſſulmans*, by extirpating their enemies. Hereupon he ſent the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, ſon of *Omar Sheykh*, to ſummon the Chriſtian *Ezmîr* to embrace the faith: but, on the news of his approach, *Mahmûs* the governor, craving aid of all the *European* princes, ſoon aſſembled a conſiderable force. *Timûr*, being informed of this, marched in perſon to attack the place; and, having been joined by all his troops, laid ſiege to the ſame in form; whereof we ſhall give an account in the *Turkiſh* hiſtory [q]. The place being taken, the inhabitants were put to the ſword, excepting a few, who ſwam to the ſhips in the road; and all the houſes demoliſhed. As all this was done in fourteen days, the people of the country were aſtoniſhed, who were acquainted with the ſtrength of the place, and knew that it had never been taken before by any *Mohammedan* prince: beſides *Morâd*, father of *Bâyezîd*, had ſeveral times attempted it, with a formidable army, to no purpoſe; and *Bâyezîd* himſelf had laid ſiege to it for ſeven years in vain [r]. Smyrna *taken, and ruin'd.*

DURING theſe tranſactions, ambaſſadors arrived again from *Muſſulman Chelebi*, and from *Iſa Chelebi*, another of *Bâyezîd*'s ſons, promiſing the utmoſt obedience; with whoſe misfortunes the emperor was touched. *Foja*, another Chriſtian caſtle, a day's journey diſtant from *Ezmîr*, ſubmitted, on ſight of the troops of *Timûr*; who afterwards, having furniſhed the *Muſſulmâns*, who inhabited the other caſtle of *Ezmîr*, with arms to repulſe the enemy, went to encamp at *Ayâzlik*. There *Soba*, an *European* prince of the iſland *Khio*, in which grows maſtic, ſent an ambaſſador to *Timûr*, offering ſubmiſſion, and to pay the tribute; upon which he was taken into the empe- Foja *and* Khio *yield.* Hej. 805. A. D. 1403.

[q] See a ſubſequent Volume, I. v. c. 54—57. p. 267—278.

[r] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, I. v. c. 54—57. p. 267—278.

(C) This is the ſame with *Magneſia*, on the *Meander*; the ſame as *Menduras* in the text, by others called *Madra*.

(D) Or *Ayâzaluk*, the ſame as *Epheſus*.

ror's

A. D. 1403. ror's protection. From *Tangûzlik* the army marched to *Soltân Hiſſar* (*); where *Timûr* gave the cities of *Khyûtahia*, *Tangûzlik*, and *Karaſhâr*, with the province of *Ghermian-ili*, to *Yakûb Chelebi*, who fled from *Bâyezîd* to the emperor, and was the rightful heir. Being come to *Ulug Bûrlûgh*, which had not yet ſurrendered, he gave orders to attack it. It was ſoon taken; and, as the Amîr *Jalâlo'l Iſlâm* was ſlain before it, the men were all put to the ſword, the women carried away captive, and the place demoliſhed. Here *Timûr* ordered the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* to march by the road of *Ankora*, and rejoin the camp at *Kayſarîya*.

Other places taken. AFTER this, leaving *Uluk Bûrlûgh*, in two days and nights he reached *Egridur*, a city built with free-ſtone, in the province of *Hamid-ili*. It ſtands on the bank of a freſh-water lake, called by ſome *Falak abâd*, fives leagues long, and four broad. Three of its ſides are ſurrounded by the lake, and the fourth by a mountain. In the midſt of the lake are two iſles, *Ghûliſtân* and *Naſibîn*; in which laſt is built a fortreſs, whither the neighbouring people had retired for ſafety with their effects. As *Timûr* thought himſelf obliged in honour to take this place, he ordered it to be attacked by his troops: who, ſoon entering it, put the inhabitants to the ſword, excepting a few, who eſcaped in boats to *Niſibîn*; which iſland they reſolved to attack next. To this purpoſe, the mîrzas and amirs having croſſed over on floats made of the ſkins of oxen and horſes, the governor immediately went out and ſubmitted. Thence the court marched to *Akſhâhr*, where the Amîr *Mehemed Karamân* came from *Konîya*; and, under the name of ranſom, among other things, preſented ſuch vaſt ſums of ſilver, that it was thought he did more than he was able, conſidering the ſmall extent of his country; which made *Timûr* honour him the more.

Death of Bayezîd. ABOUT this time *Bâyezîd* fell ſick, and ſoon after died at this place; whoſe death *Timûr* bewailed with tears, having intended, after the conqueſt of *Anatolia*, to re-eſtabliſh him on the throne. He beſtowed ſeveral largeſſes on that prince's officers; and preſented his ſon *Mûſſa Chelebi* with a royal veſt, a load of gold, and other rich things, and then diſmiſſed him; telling him, that his father ſhould be buried with the greateſt pomp. Mean time advice came, that the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân* was likewiſe fallen ill; and that, thro' the unſkilfulneſs of his phyſician, he was become delirious. Upon this, *Timûr* immediately departed from *Akſhâhr*, for the place where his grandſon lay ſick; and, having haraſſed the lands of the

(*) Or *Tralles*.

Durgot

Durgot tribe of *Turkmâns* in the way, *March* 25th arrived thither, and found the Mirza ſpeechleſs. He ordered him to be put in a litter, and departed: but, coming to *Kara Hiſſar* three days after, the prince died there, aged eighteen years, extremely regretted by *Timûr*, on account of the great actions he had performed, and what might have been expected from him. His corpſe was ſent under a convoy to *Avenîk* (or *Vân*); whence, being put in a new coffin, it was ſent to be interred at *Soltânîya*, in the prophet *Kayder*'s tomb; from whence it was tranſlated afterwards to *Samarkant* [s]. A. D. 1403. *and* Mehemed Soltân.

When *Timûr*'s ambaſſadors were arrived at *Kayro*, they found a handſome reception from *Farruj*, ſurnamed *Almâleko'n-nâſr*; who, having heard of *Bâyezîd*'s overthrow, thought it would be ruinous to refuſe obedience to the conqueror: he therefore, by advice of his council, cauſed money to be coined, and prayers read, in *Timûr*'s name; and, after honouring *Atîlmîſh* with an audience, ſent him back, with two ambaſſadors, and preſents, to intercede for him. *Timûr*, being pleaſed with this ſubmiſſion, diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors with a crown, mantle, and belt enriched with precious ſtones, for the ſoltân. Being then in the country of the *Kara Tatars*, he reſolved to remove thoſe people into *Tartary*. They are a nation of *Turks*, whom *Hûlâkû* brought with him into *Irân* (in 1256); and, having experienced their malice, obliged them to reſide on the borders of *Anatolia* and *Syria*: but, in the confuſion which aroſe in *Irân* on the death of *Abûſaïd Khân* (in 1320), they revolted; and, dividing themſelves into fifty-two tribes, reſolved to live independent. When *Bâyezîd*, after the death of *Kâdhi Burhâno'ddîn*, prince of *Siwâs*, was become maſter of this kingdom, he enrolled them in the *Othmân* army, and gave them a reſidence in his empire, where they became exceeding rich and powerful. Egypt *ſubmits*.

As *Timûr*'s deſign of removing them was to repeople *Jetah*, he treated their chiefs with great honour, and likewiſe made them preſents, when they came to ſalute him: but, as there were between thirty and forty families of them, he ordered his army to ſurround the plains of *Amaſia* and *Kayſarîya* (E), where they dwelt, that none might get away, and then ſent for their chiefs; who, after being told his reſolution to carry them back into *Tartary*, ſeemed readily to ſubmit to his will; and, being diſtributed among his troops, began their march with them out of *Anatolia*. When *Timûr* arrived at Kara Tatars *tranſplanted*.

[s] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 279—289. c. 57—62.

(E) I believe it ſhould rather be *Akſara*. *La Croix*.

A. D. 1403. *Kayſarîya*, the inhabitants, through fear, defended themſelves againſt his troops: but, being overpowered, were all cut to pieces. From thence he went to *Siwâs*; where he conferred ſeveral honours on *Kara Ozmân*, and ſent him back to his principality. At *Arzenjân* he was complimented by the faithful *Tahârten*, on whom he beſtowed a royal veſt. From thence he paſſed on to *Arzerûm*; and at length came to *Avenîk* (or *Vân*), where the empreſſes met him, clothed in black, for the death of the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân*; which being now made known to the princeſs *Khân-zâdeh*, ſhe ſwooned away, and tore herſelf like one diſtracted.

Timûr *comes to* Vân.

AFTER this exceſs of mourning, *Timûr*, for the good of the deceaſed prince's ſoul, gave alms to the poor; and provided a funeral banquet, where the ſharîfs, doctors, grandees, and nobles, of all *Aſia*, aſſembled on this occaſion. They ſat down, according to their rank, at the emperor's table: the korân was read over ſeveral times. The banquet was ſerved up by his majeſty's ſtewards: the mîrza's braſs drum was beaten; whereat the ladies, amîrs, and ſoldiers, made a great cry, and wept bitterly; after which, it was broken to pieces, according to the cuſtom of the *Mungls* [t].

Enters Georgia.

MEAN time *Mâlek Ghûrghîn*, king of *Georgia*, having failed to come, at the time appointed, to caſt himſelf at *Timûr*'s feet, and beg pardon, that monarch marched into his country; and, being arrived at *Menkûl*, received the ſubmiſſion of *Mâlek Iſſa* (or *Ayſa*), prince of *Mardîn*, who, with his head uncovered, begged pardon on his knees. The emperor, after reprimanding, forgave him. As this prince brought with him the tribute for ſeveral years paſt, and made abundance of handſome preſents, *Timûr* gave him a crown, a royal veſt, and a belt ſet with precious ſtones. As an addition to thoſe favours, his daughter was betrothed to the Mîrza *Abûbekr*; and thus had the honour to be allied to the emperor. At the ſame time *Yowâni*, grandſon of *Akbûga*, a *Georgian* prince, and *Kuſtandil*, brother to *Mâlek Ghûrghîn*, beſides the lords and princes of all the neighbouring places, came with preſents to pay their homage. *Timûr* received them with great civility; and, preſenting them with veſts, diſmiſſed them.

Mîrza Abûbekr *ſent*

IN the neighbourhood of *Menkûl*, the emperor again inveſted the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, ſon of *Omar Sheykh*, in the government of *Shîrâz*, capital of *Pârs*, or *Perſia*, then ſent him away: and at the ſame time diſpatched orders to the Mîrza *Rûſtem*, at *Shîrâz*, to repair to court. At *Kanſar*, a place dependent on *Jerbâdkhân*, he received a packet from

[t] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 289—299. c. 62—65.

court,

court, signifying that the emperor had given him the government of *Ispâhân*, capital of *Persian Irâk*; and with orders to rebuild the fortress of *Ormiyân*, at *Urûjerd*; which he did, after parting with his brother *Pîr Mehemed*, who came to *Kansar*, in his way to *Shîrâz*. When the court was come to *Kârs*, he invested the Mîrza *Abûbekr* with the government of the province of *Irâk Arabi*, as far as *Wâset*, *Basrah*, *Kûrdestân*, *Mardîn*, *Diyârbekr*, and *Oyrat*. He gave him orders to restore *Bâghdâd*, which had been destroyed: also to exterminate all disturbers of the public peace; and begin with *Kara Yûsef* the *Turkmân*, who had made himself master of *Irâk Arabi*. A. D. 1403.

THIS prince, having fled from that province to avoid the troops of *Timûr*, as hath been before mentioned, got into *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*: but, when the *Tatar* army arrived at *Kaysarîyâ* (in its march against *Bâyezîd*), he fled back again to *Irâk*; where having assembled all the *Turkmân* tribes, he stopped at *Payan Hît*. Soltân *Ahmed* at the same time retired from *Bâghdâd* to his son Soltân *Tâher*: but being excited by his father's amîrs, who feared *Ahmed*, to revolt, he passed the bridge during the night, and encamped on this side of the river. When the soltân was informed of it, he broke down the bridge; and, marching along the river, stopped in presence of the rebels. From thence he sent an express for *Kara Yûsef*; who having joined him, they passed the river together; and, coming to a battle, *Tâher* was vanquished, and fled: but, endeavouring, with his armour on, to leap his horse over a brook, both fell in, and he was drowned. *against* Kara Yûsef;

AFTER this defeat, *Tâher*'s troops dispersed; and Soltân *Ahmed*, growing jealous of *Kara Yûsef*, returned to *Bâghdâd*; but this latter, coming soon after from *Hilleh* with his army, took that city. The soltân hid himself: but was perceived by one *Kara Hassan*, who helped him to escape during the night, carrying him on his shoulders to a place near five leagues distant; where, meeting a man with an ox, *Ahmed* mounted, and came with his deliverer to *Takrît*. Being here joined by several of his officers, he went to *Damascus*; while *Kara Yûsef* became peaceable possessor of *Irâk Arabi*. When the Mîrza *Abûbekr* came to *Erbil* (or *Arbela*), he seized *Abd'allah* the governor, and other chiefs of the rebels; then, marching to *Bâghdâd*, he went in pursuit of *Kara Yûsef*; and, being joined by the Mîrza *Rûstem*, from *Urûjerd*, with other amîrs, and their troops, near *Hilleh*, they passed the *Euphrates* together; and met the *Turkmân* prince opposite the town of *Sib*, more to the south, on the other side of *Nâhro'lgânam*; where, altho' he was entrenched with a numerous army, and *who takes* Bâghdâd.

A. D. 1403. the Mîrza had but three thouſand men, they reſolved to attack him.

Is defeated, and flies. On this occaſion, they divided their troops into two bodies, that they might aſſault him on both ſides at once: then *Rûſtem* croſſed the water, and fell on the enemy with great reſolution; while the Mîrza *Abûbekr* did the like on his part. Nor did the enemy yield in bravery to the *Jagatays*; but at length they were defeated. *Kara Yûſef* fled into *Syria*, with ſome of his domeſtics: but his ſubjects, who conſiſted of between 10 and 15,000 families, his oxen, ſheep, and camels, were plundered. His brother *Yar Ali* was ſhot off his horſe in the battle, and had his head cut off: but his wife, the queen of the *Turkmâns*, with the ladies of her court, and relations, were taken priſoners. The Mîrzas alſo vanquiſhed *Noayr*, abſolute ſovereign of all the *Arab* tribes of the deſart; with ſeveral other princes in thoſe parts, who, till that time, had never ſubmitted to any conqueror. After this, *Abûbekr* employed himſelf to render the country as flouriſhing as ever: he encouraged the people, obliged them to cultivate the lands; and cauſed the city of *Bâghdâd*, which was almoſt ruined, to be rebuilt [u].

Georgia invaded, MEAN time *Timûr*, having decamped from the neighbourhood of *Kârs*, entered *Georgia*; whither Sheykh *Ibrâhîm*, prince of *Shîrwân*, paſſing thro' *Armenia*, had gone before, and ſeized ſome defiles. *Mâlek Ghûrghîn*, ſurpriſed at the news of this march, ſent ambaſſadors to court, with preſents, ſignifying "his obedience; and that he was ready, on the "firſt order, to ſend either money or troops: that his fear "had hindered him to repair to court; but that, as ſoon as it "was over, he would run to kiſs his majeſty's feet, as the "prince of *Mardîn*, and other governors, had done; would "proſtrate himſelf before the throne, and receive his orders "as his ſlave." *Timûr* would not hearken to what the ambaſſadors ſaid, nor receive their preſents. He told them, "That "the caſe of their maſter, who was a Chriſtian, differed from "that of the other princes (he mentioned), who were *Mo-*"*hammedans*; and therefore, on the ſcore of religion, more "intitled to favour: that, if he deſired life, he muſt immedi-"ately repair to court; and, if God ſhould not give him grace "to turn *Mohammedan*, the tribute of *Karaj* would be im-"poſed upon him; after which, he would leave him once "more the government of his country, and ſuffer his ſubjects "to live in peace: that the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, as a

[u] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, l. vi. c. 1, 2. 11. p. 299—305. 325, & ſeq.

"Chriſtian,

" Chriſtian, was on the ſame footing with him : in ſhort, that A. D.
" if he came to court, he ſhould be well received ; but that, 1403.
" if he made the leaſt difficulty of coming, none of his ex-
" cuſes ſhould be accepted of."

THE ambaſſadors being diſmiſſed, and the corn-harveſt of the *Georgians* approaching, to prevent their reaping it, *Timûr* ſent troops into their country, who drove out the inhabitants ; and, carrying off all the corn and pulſe, deſtroyed every thing elſe. There is a very ſteep hill in *Georgia*, 150 cubits high, ſituated between two very deep defiles ; on the ſouth of it is a rock, which ſurpaſſes it in height, and is aſcended by ladders and cords. There is but one way leading to this hill, and that very narrow as well as crooked ; beſides, the precipices which ſurround it, hinder an army from encamping, and beſieging it. The *Georgians* had fortified this mountain on all ſides ; built houſes on it, and a gate at the very extremity, with ciſterns to preſerve rain-water. This fortreſs, called *Kortene*, was commanded by *Trâl*, a *Georgian* prince, who had under him thirty great *Oznawrs* ; and a ſtrong garriſon, ſecured againſt want, their ciſterns being filled with water, their cellars with delicious wines, and the place ſtored with ſwine and ſheep. *and cruelly ravaged.*

TIMUR, appriſed of the importance of this place, reſolved to take it, notwithſtanding the difficulties which might attend the ſiege ; as it was in the midſt of the enemy's country, and neither victuals nor water enough was to be found for the troops required to carry it on : ſo that every one was ſurpriſed at this undertaking, and believed it impoſſible to take the place. As ſoon as the imperial ſtandard arrived before the caſtle, *Auguſt* 13th, the inhabitants ſent to offer *Timûr* preſents and ſubmiſſion : but, finding they could not divert the ſtorm, they declared war by a diſcharge of arrows and ſtones. The amîrs having taken the quarters aſſigned them, Shâh *Mâlek*, who was poſted on the ſide of the gate, was ordered to build a ſconce oppoſite to it ; which, to the admiration of all, he finiſhed in three days, though capable of containing 3000 men. Two other amîrs were likewiſe ordered to build two ſconces in different places : this was done, that, in caſe the ſiege laſted too long, garriſons might be put in them, to incommode the beſieged. *Fortreſs of* Kortene

TIMUR encamped in a place behind the fortreſs, proper for making battering and other engines ; where he commanded a meljûr, or platform, of ſtone and wood, to be built high enough to command the place. This work being finiſhed in a week, on the 20th *Bikîjek*, a *Mekrît*, ſkilful in marching over mountains, found means, during night, to get upon the rock *deſperately beſieged.*

A. D. 1403. rock south of the castle; to the top of which he carried a goat, which he took in his way up; and, having killed it, placed it for a signal, and then descended unseen by the *Georgians*. Next day he told this adventure to the emperor; who immediately ordered strong cords to be made of raw silk and thread, for making ladders. When these were finished, four other *Mekrîts* ascended the rock, and drew up the ladders with long cords. Then mounting by an arch, which a goat could scarcely pass, and fastening the ladders to a tree which grew out of the very ridge of the rock, fifty of the bravest *Turks* of *Khoraſſân* immediately ascended. At day-break one of them cried aloud, *Allah Akber*, and blessed *Mohammed:* at the same time *Mahmûd*, an officer, sounded his trumpet [w].

and taken. THE watch, alarmed by this noise, roused the sleeping garrison; while the scalers began to advance towards the place by a way very narrow and dangerous, no more than three persons being able to march in front. One of them went first, followed by two others, holding his buckler before him: but, being shot in the mouth with an arrow, he fell backwards, and the enemy seized on his buckler. *Abd'allah Sebzwâri* advanced sword in hand, and slew some *Georgians*; till, being mortally wounded in ten or twelve places, he fell, thro' weakness. The *Turk Mahmûd* fell on the enemy with a heavy club, with which he broke the leg of a very considerable *Oznawr*. In short, of the fifty men who had mounted to the assault, several arrived at the castle-gate; where a bloody battle ensued. Some also continued to attack the place from the meljûr, or platform; so that at length the gate was broken, and the troops entered the castle on the 22d of *August*. The besieged begged for quarter on their knees: but most of the *Oznawrs*, or officers, were cast headlong from the walls. The governor *Trâl* was bound, and carried to the camp, with the whole garrison; who were all beheaded by *Timûr*'s order, and their wives and children enslaved: but he made a present of *Trâl*'s wife to Sheykh *Ibrâhîm*, prince of *Shîrwân*.

The garrison slain. THE emperor heaped honours and riches on *Bikîjek*, and the other brave men who had first mounted the rock. He made *Mehemed Turân*, surnamed king of *Bawran*, one of the principal lords of *Khoraſſân*, governor of the place; with orders not to suffer the *Georgians* to gain any more footing in the neighbouring conquered countries. He was likewise to convert the church into a mosk, to build a niche in place of the altar, and, instead of bells and crosses, to provide muezîms, and readers of the korân.

[w] Hist. Tim. Bek, l. vi. p. 306—310. c. 3—5.

DURING

DURING theſe tranſactions, all the great officers, and governors of the ſeveral provinces and cities of *Khoraſſân* and *Irâk*, came to court, to pay their homage. After the taking of *Kortene*, *Timûr* marched for *Abkhâz*, which is the northern frontier of *Georgia*; and the van-guard having opened a road through the thick woods, he entered into the middle of the kingdom: where he plundered 700 towns and villages, laying waſte the cultivated lands, razing the Chriſtian monaſteries and churches, which were built of marble and free-ſtone. A. D. 1403. Georgia *waſted.*

THE *Georgians*, to avoid the enemy, retired into caverns, among rocks and mountains, by means of ladders, which they drew up after them: but the ſoldiers being let down in boxes, by great ropes, from the top of the mountain, to the caverns, as in former expeditions, entered them, though ſome contained near 100 *Georgians*, and put them to the ſword. When *Mâlek Ghûrghîn* was informed of this deſolation, and progreſs quite through his country, by the lords who were ſlaves in *Timûr*'s army, he ſent ambaſſadors, offering to ſend all his riches to court, the annual tribute, and the troops which ſhould be required. The amîrs, on their knees, intreated him to accept of theſe ſubmiſſions: but, not being able to abate his zeal for the continuation of the gâzi (or religious war), they propoſed the affair to the doctors of the law, and to the mufti's; who unanimouſly declared, in the imperial council, *That, ſince the* Georgians *conſented to pay the tribute, and not to injure the* Muſſulmans, *they were obliged, by their law, to grant them quarter, without doing them any farther harm, either by ſlaughter or pillage.* Upon this concluſion of the doctors, *Timûr* nodded to Sheykh *Ibrâhîm* (king of *Shîrwân*), one of the interceſſors, in token, that, in reſpect to him, he condeſcended to the requeſt of king *Ghûrghîn*. The ambaſſadors, who were diſmiſſed, between hope and fear, ſoon returned, and brought 1000 gold medals, ſtruck in the name of *Timûr*, 1000 horſes, gold and ſilver plate, with a balaſs ruby, of a beautiful colour, weighing eighteen medikals, there being few which weigh ſo much; they likewiſe obliged themſelves, by oath, to pay the tribute [x]. *Peace granted.*

THEN *Timûr* decamped, in order to return; and, after ſome days march, arrived at *Teflîs*, having ruined all the churches and monaſteries in the neighbouring parts. When he had gone two days journey beyond the river *Kûr*, he reſolved to march to *Karabâgh*, and rebuild the city of *Baylakân* (F); Baylakan *rebuilt.*

[x] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 311—319, c. 5—8.

(F) Called alſo *Bilkân*, and *Pilkân*.

A. D. 1403. near which last he encamped. From hence removing, to winter at *Karabâgh*, although the season was very cold and rainy, yet he set the work forward, in which the soldiers, under the inspection of the shâhzâdehs (or mîrzas), and the amîrs, wrought with such diligence, that the buildings, which were of brick, were finished in a month. The circuit of the walls was 2400 cubits, of large measure, the thickness eleven, and height fifteen; the ditch was thirty cubits wide, and twenty deep. At each angle of the place was a great bastion; and in the middle of each curtain, a gallery, with battlements, and an engine to cast stones. *Timûr* gave the government of this new city to *Bahrâm Shâh*; and invested the Mîrza *Kalîl Soltân* with that of *Baylakân*, *Berdaa*, *Ghenjeh*, the country of *Arrân*, *Armenia*, *Georgia*, and *Trebizond*. He likewise ordered a canal to be cut, six leagues in length, and fifteen cubits in breadth, to convey the water of the *Arrâs* into *Baylakân*: and this is one of the most magnificent monuments of his grandeur and power.

Timûr's vigilance over governors.

DURING *Timûr*'s stay at this place, the principal lords of *Irân* and *Turân* came to court, where an assembly of the most learned men was held; the emperor being very curious in hearing the chief questions of the law explained; with the distinction between positive commands, and those which contain only matter of advice. One day the conversation happening to fall upon the words of *Mohammed*, *That God orders princes to practice justice and beneficence*; *Timûr* asked the doctors, *How they came to neglect to tell him what he ought to do, and what he ought not to do?* they answered, *That his highness did not stand in need of their counsels*; *but, on the contrary, they might profit by imitating him.* The emperor told them, he did not like that sort of compliments, which looked like flattery: adding, his meaning was, that, as they could not but be acquainted with the affairs of the provinces they came from, and conduct of the several officers in authority, he expected they should inform him, whether they distributed justice or not, that he might remedy evils, and deliver the weak from oppression. Hereupon the doctors having represented the condition of their respective provinces, *Timûr* chose the most experienced among them, and sent with each an intendant, to whom he gave a full power to make, or dispense with, laws, for the better administration of justice. He likewise permitted them to restore, out of the treasury, what sums had been extorted from poor people, and to punish the oppressors, in an exemplary manner. Then *Timûr* made this memorable speech, which was taken down by a lord, who was present at the assembly:

"My

" My heart hath hitherto been set upon enlarging the li- A. D.
" mits of my vast empire: but now, I take up a resolution to 1403.
" use all my care in procuring quiet and security to my sub-
" jects, and to render my kingdoms flourishing. It is my will, *Remarkable speech.*
" that private persons address their petitions and complaints im-
" mediately to myself: that they give me their advice, for the
" good of the *Mussulmans*, the glory of the faith, and the ex-
" tirpation of the wicked disturbers of the public quiet. I am
" unwilling, at the day of judgment, that my poor oppressed
" subjects should cry out for vengeance against me. I am not
" desirous, that any of my brave soldiers, who have so often
" exposed their lives in my service, should complain against
" either me, or fortune; for their afflictions touch me more than
" they do themselves. Let none of my subjects fear to come
" before me with their complaints: for my design is, that the
" world should become a paradise under my reign; knowing,
" that when a prince is just and merciful, his kingdom is crowned
" with blessings and honours. In fine, I desire to lay up a
" treasure of justice, that my soul may be happy after my
" death."

TOWARDS the end of *November*, a *Cherkassian* officer came *A great*
to the camp before *Baylakân*, with the head of *Mâlek Azzo'ddin*, *oppressor*
king of *Lor Kuchek*, who had revolted. His skin had been flay'd off, and hung up, stuffed with straw, for an example to others. About this time, *Timûr* likewise performed an act of justice on the person of the famous doctor, *Mûlâna Kothbo'ddîn Karmi*, who was come to court, with the other officers of the diwân of *Shîrâz*: because, at his departure, he had taxed the inhabitants of *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*) at the sum of 300,000 dinârs kopeghi, under pretence of a present to the emperor. His majesty, being highly offended at this tyranny, which he was informed of privately, by *Mûlâna Saed*, a doctor of the same country, immediately ordered the Sheykh *Darwîsh Allâhi* to bind his hands, and, placing the forked branch about his neck, sent him, in that figure, to *Shîrâz*, with the sum he had extorted from the inhabitants, to be restored to those who had paid it. *Argûn; Kothbo'ddîn*'s intendant, was condemned *punished*
to be hanged, on account of the troubles which he had brought *with infamy.*
on the people, by his masters order: and sentence was executed on him, as soon as *Mûlâna Saed* returned to *Shîrâz* [y].

THE *Friday* following, the inhabitants of the city and neighbouring villages, being assembled in the old mosk, *Mûlâna Kothbo'ddîn* was exposed, at the foot of the preaching-chair, which was of free-stone; from whence *Mûlâna Saed*

[y] Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 319—328, c. 9—13.

A. D. 1403. having told the people what *Timûr* had ordered him to ſay on the occaſion, the moſk ecchoed with their acclamations. After this piece of juſtice had been done on the perſon of one of the greateſt lords of the kingdom, the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, ſon of *Omar Sheykh*, took off his fetters and forked branch, and ſent him back to *Samarkant*, the intendancy of the finances of *Shîrâz* being given to another.

Eſkânder Sheykhi revolts.

WHEN *Baylakân* was intirely built, *Timûr* marched to paſs the winter at *Karabâgh*, in koria's, or thatched houſes, built for the purpoſe. Here advice being brought, that *Eſkânder Sheykhi*, prince of *Damâwend* and *Firûzkûh*, had revolted, the Amîr *Soleymân Shâh* had orders to go to *Ray*, to obſerve *Eſkânder*'s motions; and the Mîrza *Rûſtem* was ſent to aſſiſt him. They were directed to give him a handſome reception, in caſe he returned forthwith to his obedience: but to proſecute him to the utmoſt, if he continued obſtinate. About this time, *Ibrâhîm*, king of *Shîrwân*, regaled the whole court with a banquet; and *Nûr Alwerd*, ſon of Soltân *Ahmed*, of *Bâghdâd*, eighteen years old, was brought from *Irâk Arabi*. The venerable Sheykh *Bereke* (G) then alſo arrived at court; and the pious *Timûr* went out of his tent to meet him. The ſanton, having perceived the emperor, flung off his turbân, and paid his compliments of condolence on the death of the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân*. *Timûr* embraced, and wept a long time with him. The learned of *Great Bukhâria* came to court on the ſame occaſion of condolence; and every evening, after the emperor had done with the affairs of ſtate, he heard them diſpute on ſome queſtions of learning and religion.

Sheykh Bereke arrives.

Affairs of Ghîlân.

As the princes of *Ghilân* had only ſent a few ſmall preſents, inſtead of coming to court, *Timûr* ſent the karawl, or vanguard, and the Mîrza *Shâh Rûkh*, with his troops, to *Kzeligâj* (or *Kezeligâj*). The princes, alarmed at theſe motions, conſented to pay a great ſum, under the name of *Karaj*, and ſent the Seyd *Râzi Kiya*, one of the princes of *Dilem*, of *Mohammed*'s race, with another prince, to give aſſurances of their obedience. The emperor honoured the Seyd *Râzi* in a particular manner, made him vaſt preſents, and gave him the government of the caſtle of *Kemâk*, on the borders of *Anatolia*, which *Shâms*, a relation of the Amîr *Abbâs*, formerly poſſeſſed (H), with troops to go thither. Soon after, the Sharîf *Seyd Bereke* fell ſick at *Karabâgh*, and died. *Timûr* wept bitterly for the loſs of his beſt friend; and cauſed his coffin to be buried at *Andekûd*.

The ſheykh dies.

(G) He is mentioned before, as propheſying victory to *Timûr*. P. 225.

(H) *Timûr* gave it, not long before, to *Takârten*, prince of *Arzenjân*. See before, p. 342.

Then

Then he gave to the Mîrza *Eſkânder* the government of *Hamadân, Nehawend, Urujerd, Lor-kûchek*, and their dependencies. A. D. 1403.

When winter was over, *Mâlek Iſſa* (I), prince of *Mardîn*, came to court, with his daughter, betrothed to the Mîrza *Abûbekr*. *Mâlek Azzo'ddîn Shîr* came alſo from *Vaſtân*, with a preſent of numerous horſes. About the ſame time, the emperor iſſued out a general order to all the greater and leſſer officers of the kingdom of *Hûlâkû Khân*, reſiding in *Azerbejân* and *Irâk Arabi*, to ſend each a brother, or ſome relation, to reſide at *Samarkant*: and, to prevent delay, diſpatched officers to the reſpective places, to bring them away forthwith. In the month of *Ramazân*, *Timûr* made a funeral banquet for the Prince *Mehemed Soltân*, in which the poor chiefly were regaled. The ſheykhs, doctors, and imams, from all parts, were preſent at this feaſt; where the intire *Korân* was read over; and which concluded with prayers for the repoſe of the mîrza's ſoul. Afterwards the Princeſs *Khân Zâdeh* went to *Soltânîya*, and conveyed from thence the mîrza's coffin to *Samarkant*. Hej. 806. A. D. 1404. *Politic regulation.*

TIMUR, after this, took the diverſion of a grand hunting, in the plains of *Aktâm*, beyond the *Arrâs*; in which, beſides dogs, were employed leopards, with gold chains; ſwift greyhounds of *Greece*, and uncommon beagles. But, what were moſt remarkable, huge *European* maſtifs, as ſtrong as *African* lions, terrible as enraged tygers, and ſwift as arrows. When the chace was over, the emperor diſtributed among the learned of *Great Bukhâria* an infinite number of curioſities, brought from *Anatolia*. And finding there was nothing in *Aſia* which he was not maſter of, excepting *China*, he left *Karabâgh* on the 8th of *April*, with a reſolution to go upon the conqueſt of it; and, croſſing the *Arrâs*, encamped near the town of *Nimetabâd*, on the canal of *Berlâs*. Here, at a great feaſt, he inveſted the Mîrza *Omar*, ſon of *Mirân Shâh*, with the government of the empire of *Hûlâkû*, containing the countries of *Azerbejân, Rûm*, or *Anatolia*, and *Syria*, as far as *Egypt*. He likewiſe obliged the princes who governed *Pârs* and both the *Irâks*, to be ſubject to his juriſdiction [z]. *Mîrza Omar promoted.*

Mean time, the Mîrza *Râſtem* and *Soleymân Shâh*, who were gone to *Ray*, to inquire into the conduct of *Eſkânder Sheykhi*, found that he had revolted; and, having placed his family in the fortreſs of *Firûzkûh*, was fled to the mountains in the foreſts of *Chelawn* and *Râſtemdâr*. The generals here- Eſkânder *purſued.*

[z] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 328—338, c. 13—17.

(I) Called elſewhere Soltân *Ayſa*.

A. D. 1404. upon drew 2000 men out of the garrisons, and, entering the forest, took and razed the fortress of *Nûr*. Here *Mâlek Kayûmarrez*, an enemy of *Eskânder*, coming to meet them, they sent him to *Eskânder*, thinking to oblige him with a kind invitation to a treaty in his favour: but, not daring to trust them, he accommodated matters with *Kayûmarrez*, and began hostilities. On advice of this, *Timûr* sent several troops before; and following himself, with the rest of the army, by *Ardebîl* and *Soltâniya*, arrived, *May* 15, at *Kashîn*; where, at Mîrza *Abûbekr*'s request, he permitted *Mirân Shâh*, his father, to go to *Bâghdâd*, to reside there with him; and then sent him to join *Rustem* at *Kujûr*, where they kept entrenched till the arrival of the army: after which, they cut roads through the forests, and marched to seek the enemy.

Firûzkûh *taken.* THE 22d, *Timûr* came to *Ray*; then passing by the castle of *Ghulkendân*, at the foot of mount *Damâwend*, and afterwards by *Damâwend*, arrived at *Firûzkûh*; a citadel, famous in history, situated on the ridge of a mountain, and walled with the utmost strength. The 31st of *May*, the siege was formed, and the throwers of wild-fire began the attack. As one of the towers of the place was built on the bank of the river, and reached as high as the level of the mountain, at whose foot it stood, the enemy made use of it, to draw up water from the river: but the besiegers turned the course of the stream, and spoiled the water which was left, in spite of a vigorous opposition. During night, *Mehemed Azâd*, *Akbuga*, and other brave men, got up to the foot of the walls; who, being perceived by the garrison, were resolutely attacked, and several wounded: but, after sun-rise, all the soldiers ascended, by different places, and gave a general assault. The son of *Eskânder Sheykhi*, governor of the castle, and those with him, being seized with fear, though the garrison consisted of 300 strong men, surrendered the place, after a two days siege.

Kara Tatars *revolt.* NEXT day, advice came, that the *Kara Tatars* had revolted near *Damgân*, and wounded almost to death their deroga. The other bands, hearing this, resolved to fly: but the Amîrs *Shâmso'ddin*, and other captains, who had the conduct of them, falling on the mutineers, slew above 3000 on the spot. Some were brought away, and the rest fled to the forests of *Astarabâd*; but, being pursued by way of *Bestâm*, were overtaken at *Karatugan*, on the *Caspian* sea, and defeated, though far more numerous. Above 1000 were slain, and more than 10,000 families were taken prisoners. After this, *Timûr* marched in person against *Eskander Sheykhi*, over high mountains and deep valleys, to *Chelawn*, where he arrived *June* 11; but, not being able to find the rebel, returned the same day. In this road there is a very

very deep defile, full of woods, always covered with mists; and in the middle runs an exceeding rapid torrent, which one can neither ford nor swim over. The great difficulty there is in passing this streight, has given it the name of *the defile of hell*; and as *Eskânder* had broken the bridge over the torrent, his pursuers were obliged to build another of wood, which *Timûr* crossed, and encamped on the top of a mountain beyond it [2]. A. D. 1404.

Eskander defeated.

PARTIES being sent out every way, in search of the fugitive, one of them met with him, on the 17th of *June*, in the middle of a wood, near the *Caspian* sea, at the head of 200 foot, and thirty horse, with which he sallied out of his little camp, and prepared to attack his pursuers; who, though but twenty in number, fearing *Timûr*'s reproaches, resolved to die rather than fly. *Eskânder*, followed by his horsemen, attacked them several times with their pikes: but the *Jagatays* so plied him, that he at length shamefully turned his back, though famed for intrepidity, and fled, with his soldiers, farther into the forest. They pillaged his camp; and, next morning, met with his son, the Amîr *Ali*, and daughter, his wives, and domestics, who were all made slaves. The scouts, being joined by the Mîrza *Soltân Hussayn*, and seventy men, continued the pursuit of *Eskânder*; and meeting him, about noon, in the midst of the forest, with 200 foot, and fifty horse, fell furiously upon him; then retreated, as if he would have fled. The enemy, upon this, boldly sallied out to attack his men: but they turned on them suddenly, in good order, and made a cruel slaughter of the foot. Two of the horsemen were taken prisoners; and *Eskânder*, re-entering the forest, went out by the side towards *Ghilân*; nor was ever heard of more: although some say, he took the habit of a monk; others, that he died for grief in the woods.

Timûr returns

THE amîrs being all returned to the camp, *Timûr* reproved them for not continuing the pursuit, and sent them back again on the same errand: but, on advice that they could not encamp in the woods, which the rains had made exceeding miry, he sent orders for them to return, after they had sufficiently fatigued themselves. Then *Timûr* marched to the castle of *Harsi*, towards *Ghilân*, and from thence to the meadow of *Kelare Dâsht*. After he had sent the mîrzas to their respective governments, he departed for *Samarkant*. In a few days, he came to the kioshk, or pavilion, of *Argûn Khân*, at the foot of mount *Damâwend*, in the country of *Lâr*; and *July* 10th, encamped at *Firûzkûh*, the government of which, and *Ray*,

[2] Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 338—347, c. 17—21.

A. D. 1404. with their dependencies, he left with the Amîr *Soleymân Shâh*. The 14th, he arrived at *Beſtâm*. The 20th, left *Niſhâbûr*; and paſſing *Jâm*, came to the river *Jûkûjerân*. From hence, by *Kerlân*, he went to the river *Morgâb*; where *Apaktâlpa*, governor of *Shiſhektu*, was, for oppreſſing the inhabitants, hanged, with his head downwards, after having had his feet bored through.

to Samarkant. THEN continuing his route by *Andekûd*, the defile of *Ghez*, and *Aliabâd*, he at length croſſed the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*) at *Termed*, and came to *Kaſh*. From whence he made ſuch haſte to *Samarkant*, that the principal perſons had not an opportunity to proceed far to meet him. He arrived there in *Mohârrem* Hej. 807. 807. Soon after, *Maſſaûd Dawd*, and *Mehemed Jilde*, who A. D. 1404. July. had been the principal ſecretaries, and, during *Timûr*'s abſence, performed the function of wazîrs, were condemned, for doing injuſtice; and both hanged, by his order, at *Khâni Gheul*, during the banquet there. Afterwards, *Timûr* went to the garden *of planes*, where he gave audience to an ambaſſador of *Idekû*, emperor of *Kipjâk*, who preſented him with a ſhonkar. He next viſited the garden of *Dilen Shâh*, where he received an ambaſſador from one of the greateſt ſovereigns of *Europe* (K), who made him ſeveral curious and magnificent preſents; particularly, ſome pieces of tapiſtry, wrought with ſo much art, that, were the great performances of the painter *Mani*, on the cloth of *Artene*, to be compared with them, *Mani* would bluſh, and his works appear deformed [b] (L).

Magnificent palace. AFTER this, *Timûr* ordered a palace to be built by the *Syrian* architects, in the garden ſouth of *Bâghi Shamâl*, more large and magnificent than any he had founded before. It was a ſquare, each ſide being 1500 cubits in length. The chief ornaments were of marble, in ſculpture, and inlaid work of

[b] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 347—357. c. 21—24.

(K) This, doubtleſs, was *Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo*, ſent by *Henry* III. king of *Caſtile*. He ſet out 21 *May* 1403, and returned to *Spain* 24 *March* 1406. He mentions the feaſt made by *Timûr*, on the marriage of his children, and to which he was invited: but not a word of his audience of leave, and the rich preſents he received. On the contrary, he aſſures us, he never had one; becauſe *Timûr* died about that time, at *Samarkant*. But this appears to be falſe in fact; and alſo ſhews the ambaſſador had left *Samarkant*, and obtained his audience. For had he been at *Samarkant* (as he intimates) when *Timûr* died, he muſt have known that conqueror did not die in that city. See *La Croix*, pref. to *Timûr Bek*, for an account of this embaſſy.

(L) This is doing great honour to *European* manufactures.

various

various colours. The outside of the walls was covered with porcelain of *Kashân*, and the fountains were beautified with infinite jet d'eaus of several forms. The emperor solemnized the finishing of it with a splendid banquet, to which the *European* ambassadors were invited: *for the kasses*, says our author, *have also their place in the sea* (M). A. D. 1404.

TIMUR resolving, before he made his intended expedition to *China*, to marry his grandchildren, ordered a grand feast to be made, in the plain of *Khâni Gheul* (N), whither he went to lodge, on the 17th of *October*. The governors of provinces, generals, and great lords of the empire, assembled in this place, and pitched their tents in order. People from all parts of *Asia* repaired, to behold this solemn rejoicing; where all sorts of diversions were exhibited, and the richest curiosities sold, in magnificent shops. There was built a *chartak*, or amphitheatre, covered with brocade and *Persian* carpets, furnished with seats for the music, and places for the buffoons and jesters, to shew their skill. There was another *chartak* for all sorts of tradesmen, and 100 of a different manner, filled with those who sold fruit, each of whom had a kind of garden, of pistachios, pomegranates, almonds, pears, and apples. The butchers dressed up skins of animals in very ludicrous figures. Women imitated speaking goats, with horns of gold, and ran after one another. Some were dressed like fairies and angels, with wings; whilst others assumed the appearance of elephants and sheep. *Kind of jubilee.*

THE skinners also appeared in masquerades, like leopards, lions, tygers, foxes, with whose skins they were covered. The upholders made a camel of wood, reeds, cords, and painted linen, which walked about, as if alive; and the man within it, drawing a curtain, discovered the workman in his own piece. The manufacturers of cotton made birds of cotton, and a high minâreh, or tower, of the same material, with the help of reeds, which every body imagined to be built with brick and mortar. It was covered with brocades and embroidered work, carried itself about, and on its top was placed a stork. The saddlers shewed their skill in two litters, open at top, carried on a camel, with a beautiful woman in each, who diverted the spectators by actions with their hands and feet. The mat-makers gave a proof of their dexterity, by two lines of writing, in *Kufik*, and other large characters, worked with reeds. *Feast, and diversions.*

(M) This seems to be spoken with great contempt of the ambassadors: for the kas is a little animal, the size of a barley-corn, which is seen on the surface of the sea. *La Croix.*

(N) That is, a mine of flowers.

THUS

A. D. 1404.

Princes married.

THUS every one contributed to celebrate the marriage of the young princes, who were the Mîrzas *Olûk Bek* and *Ibrahîm Soltân*, ſons of *Shâh Rûkh*; *Ayjel*, ſon of *Mîrân Shâh*; *Ahmed*, *Seydi Ahmed*, and *Biera*, all three ſons of the Mîrza *Omar Sheykh*. The aſtrologers having choſen a happy moment, the firſt officer of the houſhold drew the curtain of the imperial gate. The kadi's, ſharifs, imams, and doctors, of the empire met the emperor; and having agreed on the articles of marriage, the great doctor Sheykh *Shamſo'ddîn Mehemed al Jazârî* was pitched on to read them to the aſſembly. The grand kadi of *Samarkant*, *Mûlana Saláho'ddîn*, received the mutual conſent of the parties, which he regiſtred; and then, according to the *Hanafiyan* rites, joined the princes and princeſſes together in marriage; on whom every one ſprinkled gold and precious ſtones [c].

Great magnificence

THE emperor being ſeated on his throne, the banquet was ſerved up to the brides, and other ladies of the court, by the moſt beautiful young women of his ſaray, who had on crowns compoſed of flowers. The princes of the blood, amîrs, neviâns (or noyâns), ſharifs, and foreign ambaſſadors, were ſeated under a canopy, ſupported by twelve columns, and diſtant about a horſe's courſe from the nuptial-hall. Here were ranged earthen urns, with ſtrings of precious ſtones about them, filled with gold, and ſilver pilaſtres, on the tops whereof were cups of gold, agate, and cryſtal, adorned with pearls and jewels: all which veſſels were preſented on ſalvers of gold and ſilver, to thoſe who drank; the liquors being kammez (O), oxymel, hippocras, brandy, wines, firma, and the like. It is reported, that the wood of ſeveral large foreſts was cut down, to dreſs the victuals for this banquet. There were tables furniſhed in different places throughout the whole plain, and flaggons of wine ſet near them, with infinite baſkets of fruit. Beſides theſe preparations for the court, there were jars full of liquors, ranged all through the plain, for the people's drinking: and, that their joy might be complete, they were allowed to purſue whatever pleaſures they thought fit, without any reſtraint, by proclamation, in theſe terms; "This is the time "of feaſting, pleaſure, and rejoicing. Let no perſon repri- "mand, or complain of, another: let not the rich inſult the "poor; nor the ſtrong the weak: let no one aſk another, "Why have you done this?".

in the feaſt,

[c] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 357—364, c. 24—26.

(O) Or kemis, made of mares milk. See before, Vol. IV. p. 302.

THE

THE elephants, with thrones on their backs, were drawn out on this occaſion. When the feaſt was over, a vaſt quantity of curious moveable goods was, according to cuſtom, laid upon mules and camels, for the new-married princes; among which were all ſorts of rich habits, crowns, and belts, ſet with precious ſtones. The mules had coverings of ſattin, embroidered with gold: and their little bells, as well as thoſe of the camels, were of gold. This pompous equipage paſſed before the admiring people. The bridegrooms, with their brides, were clothed nine times in different habits, ſet off with crowns and belts. Each time they changed their dreſs, they paid their reſpects, as uſual, to the emperor; while the ground was covered with the gold, pearls, and precious ſtones, which were ſprinkled on them, and became the perquiſite of their domeſtics. At night, illuminations were made, with lanthorns, torches, and lamps; and the new-married princes entered the nuptial-chamber. Next day, *Timûr* honoured them with a viſit at their reſpective apartments, accompanied by the empreſſes, great amîrs and ſharîfs of the court. Nor were the rejoicings confined to *Khâni Gheul:* for there was not one place in the whole empire, from thence to *Tâs* (or *Maſhhâd*), in *Khoraſſân*, where the ſound of drums and trumpets was not heard.

A. D. 1404. *and equipage, of the married princes.*

THE marriage-feaſts laſted two months; after which, the aſſembly was diſſolved, and the licence which had been granted during the feaſt recalled: ſo that, for the future, no perſon was allowed to drink wine, or commit any thing unlawful. After this, *Timûr* retired to his cloſet; where "he thanked "God for his favours, in raiſing him, from a petty prince, to "be the moſt mighty monarch in the world: in giving him "ſo many victories and conqueſts; maintaining him in ſove-"reign authority, and making him his choſen ſervant."

TIMUR, having taken a ſhort repoſe, reſolved to put in execution his deſign againſt *China*. To this end, he ſummoned the mîrzas and great amîrs of his council to court; and made a ſpeech, wherein he told them, his dear companions, as he called them, "That as the vaſt conqueſts he had made were "not obtained without ſome violence, which had occaſioned "the deſtruction of a great number of God's creatures, he "was reſolved, by way of atonement for his paſt crimes, to "perform ſome good action; namely, to make war on the "infidels, and exterminate the idolaters of *China* (P): that it "was

The war of China

(P) He intended to atone for the deſtruction of God's creatures, by a farther deſtruction of his creatures: to atone for one crime, by committing another. Not only the *Chineſe* idolaters

A. D. 1404. " was fitting those very troops, which had been the instru-
" ments whereby those faults were committed, should also be
" the instruments of repentance; he therefore required, that
" they should march into *China*, to acquire the merit of that
" holy war, by demolishing the temples of the idols of fire,
" and erecting mosks in their places."

resolved in council. THE council having approved of this pious expedition, orders were immediately issued for assembling the forces of the empire at *Tâshkunt*, which was to be the general rendezvous of the army. *Timûr* then went from *Khâni Gheul* to *Samarkant*; where having done particular honours to the ambassador of *Egypt*, he gave him leave to depart; sending with him an ambassador of his own, with a letter to Soltan *Farruj*, seventy cubits long, and three in breadth, written in letters of gold, in answer to what that soltan had written, relating to Soltân *Ahmed* and *Kara Yûsef*. He likewise granted particular honours and favours to the ambassadors of *Europe* (Q), *Dâsht Kipjâk*, *Jetâh*, and other parts, and permitted them to return home. He gave the Mîrza *Omar Bek* the government of the towns of *Tâshkunt*, *Sayrâm*, *Yenghi*, *Ashira*, and all the kingdom of *Jetâh*, as far as *China*: likewise to the Mîrza *Ibrâhîm Soltân*, that of *Andekhân*, *Akshiket*, *Taráz*, and *Kâshgar*, as far as *Kotan* [d].

Timûr *sets out.* WHEN the troops were assembled, the Amîr *Berendâk* reviewed them, by *Timûr*'s order; and brought account, that there were in the army, which he designed to carry into *China*, 200,000 men complete, consisting of the forces of *Great Bukhâria*, *Turkestân*, *Bâlk*, *Badakshân*, *Khorassân*, *Sistân*, *Mazânderân*, the *Kara Tatars*, with the colonies from *Pârs*, *Azerbejân*, and *Irâk*. The emperor was pleased with the good condition they were in; and, having distributed his treasure among them, commanded them to begin their march. The Mîrzas *Kalil Soltân* and *Ahmed Omar Sheykh*, with the troops of the right-wing, were ordered to pass the winter, at

[d] Hist. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 364—372. c. 26, & seq.

laters were to be rooted out, but also those who were not idolaters, under the name of infidels.

(Q) The *Spanish* ambassadors, whom we have mentioned in the preface, were dismissed at the same time as those of *Egypt*, without obtaining an audience of leave of *Timûr*, who was reported to have been very sick; whence, in the *Spanish* relation, he is said, through mistake, to have been dead. *La Croix*.—This seems to be a palliation: *Timûr* died at *Otrâr*; and it does not appear that he was sick at *Samarkant*.

Tâsh-

Tâſhkunt, *Shâhrukhîya* (R), and *Sayrâm*; while the Mîrza *Soltân Huſſayn* was to remain, with ſome troops of the left-wing, at *Tâſſi* and *Sabrân*. At length *Timûr* ſet out from *Samarkant*, the 23 of *Jomazio'lawel*, in 807, in a happy moment fixed by the aſtrologers (*); and although the rains, ſnows, wind, and cold, were extremely violent, yet he continued his march to *Akſulat*, where cottages and houſes had been built to lodge in. Here the emperor being informed, that the Mîrza *Kalîl Soltân* had, a ſecond time, concealed, in his apartment, *Shâdi Mulk*, one of the concubines of the Amîr *Sayfo'ddîn*, whom he had married for love, he ordered her to be put to death: but, by means of the great empreſs, it being pretended ſhe was with child, the order was countermanded, and the lady committed to the care of the black eunuchs (S).

A. D. 1404. A. D. 1405. January 8.

TIMUR took ſuch care with regard to proviſion and arms, that every horſeman had enough of both to ſerve ten men. Beſides this, ſeveral thouſand loads of corn were carried in waggons, to ſow the fields on their road, to ſupply them in their return. Several thouſands of camels alſo were in the train, that, on preſſing occaſions, their milk might ſerve for nouriſhment to the ſoldiers. Theſe precautions were neceſſary in an army ſo numerous, as not to be matched in antiquity (T). Although the cold was ſo extreme, that ſeveral men and horſes periſhed on the road, ſome loſing their hands and feet, others their ears and noſes, yet *Timûr* ſet forward from *Akſûlat*, and croſſing the *Sihûn* (or *Sîr*), over the ice, at *Zarnûk*, *February* 27th, arrived at *Otrâr*. This river was frozen ſo hard, that they were obliged to dig two or three cubits to get water: and, during the months of *January* and *February*, waggons, men, and beaſts, could paſs either the *Jihûn* or *Sihûn*, in any part of them. The ſame day, one corner of the roof of the palace where the emperor lodged took fire, by means of a chimney; which accident was conſidered by the courtiers, who before had been ſcared with frightful dreams, as a prognoſtic of ſome misfortune to his majeſty [c].

Arrives at Otrâr.

A bad omen.

[c] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 372—380, c. 27—29.

(R) This place, formerly called *Fenakunt*, was intirely ruined by *Jenghîz Khân*'s army; but, in the year 794 of the Hejrah, and of Chriſt 1392, *Timur* ordered it to be rebuilt, and repeopled: and, as he then gave it to the Mîrza *Shâh Rûkh*, it was called after him *Shâhrûkhîya*. *Sharîfo'ddîn*.

(*) Who could not foreſee his death.

(S) To prevent the mîrza's having any future commerce with her.

(T) Then it muſt have conſiſted of more than 200,000 men. Nay, *Timûr* himſelf had more numerous armies at other times.

AT

A. D. 1405.

Appoints an heir;

At this time, an ambaſſador arrived from *Tokâtmîſh Khân*, formerly emperor of *Kipjâk*, who had, for a long time, wandered as a vagabond in the deſarts of that country, confeſſing his maſter's ingratitude, and imploring forgiveneſs. *Timûr* not only gave *Kara Koja* a magnificent audience, but aſſured him he would, at his return from *China*, again conquer the empire of *Tuſhî Khân*, and give it to *Tokâtmîſh*. The 25th of *March*, his majeſty was attacked with a burning fever, and believed he heard the hûris ſay, *Repent! for you muſt appear before God.* On this, he became ſincerely penitent for his crimes, and reſolved to make ſatisfaction for them, by good works. Although his ſickneſs daily increaſed, yet he was continually inquiring after the condition of his army. When he found death approaching, he ſent for the empreſſes, and principal amîrs. " He bid them not weep, but pray, for him: " Said, he had hopes God would pardon his ſins, though " numberleſs; and had this conſolation, that he had never " ſuffered the ſtrong to injure the weak. He exhorted them " to procure eaſe and ſafety to the people, as an account would " be required of all in power, at the day of judgment." He then declared his ſon *Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr* his univerſal heir, and lawful ſucceſſor; commanding them all to obey him, and ſacrifice their lives to maintain his authority. After this, he ordered all the amîrs, great lords of the court, and generals, to come before him, and made them ſwear to ſee his will executed, and to ſuffer none to oppoſe it. He commanded that all thoſe who were abſent ſhould take the ſame oath.

and dies.

The lords burſt in tears, and promiſed to fulfil his teſtament. They propoſed ſending for the Mîrza *Soltân* and amîrs at *Tâſhkunt*, that they might hear his majeſty's will from his own mouth; alleging, that their declaration could not have the ſame force with them. But *Timûr* forbad it, as they could not come time enough to find him alive; and ſaid, he had no other deſire than to ſee the Mîrza *Shâh Rûkh* once more; but that it was impoſſible. After recommending the obſervance of his will, and the avoiding of diſcord, to the princes his children, he ordered one of the doctors to read the *Korân* at his bed's-head, and often repeat the unity of God. At night (about eight o'clock), he ſeveral times made profeſſion of his belief, *That there is no other god than God*; and then gave up his ſoul to the Angel *Eſrafiel* (or *Iſrael*), on the 17th of *Shabân* 807 (U), after he had lived ſeventy-one years, and reigned thirty-ſix [f].

[f] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, Vol. II. p. 380—387, c. 29—31.

(U) Which anſwers to *Wedneſday* the 1ſt of *April* 1405.

TIMUR

A. D. 1405.

His character.

TIMUR was remarkable for his ſincere piety, great veneration for religion, ſtrict juſtice, and unbounded liberality; which have been ſufficiently exemplified in the foregoing hiſtory. As to his birth, his ninth grandfather was *Tumena Khân*, of the race of *Buzenjer Khân*, chief of a branch of the tribe of *Kayât* (X), deſcended from *Turk* the ſon of *Japhet*. However, the Amîr *Trâgay*, his father, as well as his grandfather the Amîr *Berkulk*, had abdicated the kingdom, and left the government of the principality of *Kâſh*, which they had preſerved, with the toman of 10,000 men annexed thereto, to the children of their uncles, of the family of *Berlâs*: ſo that *Timûr Bek* may be ſaid to have brought the crown into this auguſt family, he being the firſt emperor of it. At the age of twenty-five, he attained the higheſt dignities, with ſurprizing courage, and an ambition admired by all the world. Endeavouring to perfect the great talents which he had received from nature, he ſpent nine years in different countries: where his good ſenſe, and great genius, appeared in councils and aſſemblies; while his intrepidity and valour, whether in perſonal combats or pitched battles, drew upon him the admiration of every-body.

Power and conduct.

He made himſelf maſter of the three empires of *Jagatay Khân*, *Tuſhi Khân*, and *Hûlâkû Khân* (Y); ſo that his power, riches, and magnificence, were greater than what we read of other monarchs (Z), or even than can well be imagined. But the chief proof of his power was, whatever kingdom he made war upon, he ſoon conquered it, and gave the government to ſome of his children and officers (A); not acting like antient conquerors, who were contented with thoſe tokens of ſubmiſſion which vanquiſhed princes might make by the payment of a tribute. One thing farther remarkable in this monarch's conduct was, that, although he obſerved the wholſome maxim of holding dyets, yet he never ſolely confided in them; but conſtantly did what his own genius inſpired in him. He could not be ſhaken in his reſolutions; and had the policy to be pre-

(X) *Jenghîz Khân* was deſcended from the ſame tribe. See before, Vol. IV. p. 324, & ſeq.

(Y) That is, three parts of the empire of *Jenghîz Khân*; which all deſcended to *Oktay*, who reigned in the eaſtern part of *Tartary*, and whoſe ſucceſſors conquered *China*; of whom, for a time, thoſe of the other three parts held their dominions. *Timûr* did much; for he carried his conqueſts to the river *Ganges* in the eaſt, and the *Archipelago* in the weſt.

(Z) This ſeems to be aimed at *Jenghîz Khân*: but *Timûr* was not equal to that conqueror in thoſe reſpects, or perhaps any other.

(A) In this he did but imitate *Jenghîz Khân*.

ſent

A. D. 1405. ſent at the execution of his moſt important enterpriſes, whether they concerned the ſtate, or religion: but, in peace and war, he would put forward every thing himſelf.

Public works. THERE remain infinite monuments of his grandeur in the cities, towns, caſtles, and walls, which he built; in rivers and canals which he dug; as well as bridges, gardens, palaces, hoſpitals, moſks, and monaſteries, which he erected in divers parts of *Aſia* in ſo great a number, that a king might be accounted very powerful and magnificent, who ſhould have employed thirty-ſix years only in building the great edifices which *Timûr* cauſed to be founded. Are not all the karawânſarays in the great roads of *Aſia*, for the accommodation of travellers; the magnificent monaſteries and hoſpitals, from which the poor, the ſick, and paſſengers, reap ſo great advantage by the alms diſtributed there; the good works of this pious emperor [g]?

His perſon. THIS character of *Timûr*, given by his hiſtorian *Sharîfo'ddîn Ali*, is confirmed by his enemy *Arabſhâh*, with circumſtances which give us a much greater idea of that prince, than what his profeſſed friend and flatterer has ſaid of him. *Timûr*, according to that author, was, as to his perſon, very corpulent, tall, and exceeding fat, but very well-ſhaped. He had a large forehead, and big head. His countenance was good; and his complexion fair, very ruddy, and not at all ſwarthy. He wore a large beard (B); was very ſtrong, and well-limbed: had broad ſhoulders, thick fingers, and long legs. His conſtitution was perfectly hale: but he was maimed in one hand, and lame of the right ſide His eyes appeared full of fire, but were not very briſk. His voice was loud and piercing. He feared nothing; and, altho' near fourſcore years of age, his underſtanding was ſound and perfect, his body vigorous and robuſt; his mind conſtant, and unſhaken like a rock.

Prudence and ſagacity. HE did not like raillery, and could not bear a lye. There was no joking or fooling before him; for he loved the naked truth, even altho' it was to his own diſadvantage. He neither grieved, if he miſcarried in any attempt; nor appeared overjoyed on any good ſucceſs. The device of his ſeal was, *I am ſincere and plain*. He never admitted of any lewd diſcourſe in his preſence; nor ever talked of ſlaying, plundering, ravages, making ſlaves, or the like violences: yet was bold, courageous, feared, and reſpected. He had a clear and ſubtle underſtanding: was ſurpriſingly ſure in his conjectures; extremely happy in his

[g] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, l. v. p. 424, & ſeqq. c. 48.

(B) This deſcription does not tally with the print of his head, given by *Kæmpfer* in his *Amœnitates exoticæ*, p. 36.

gueſſes;

gueſſes; vigilant and active where requiſite; and unſhaken in his reſolutions. He could ſee into the moſt hidden intrigues, and diſcover the moſt ſubtle artifices: could diſtinguiſh the truth from ſophiſtry; and, by the ſtrength of his reaſon, ſaw things in their cauſes, as others ſee objects preſent to their eyes [h]. A. D. 1405.

TIMUR took great delight in reading hiſtory, or hearing it related. He was ſo well verſed in the ſtate of countries, provinces, and cities, that the natives were aſtoniſhed to find him as knowing as themſelves; and, when he arrived at any city, would aſk thoſe who came firſt to wait on him, *What news of ſuch and ſuch perſons? What was it that happened to ſuch a one, at ſuch a time, and in ſuch an affair? How did ſuch an undertaking ſucceed? What end did ſuch perſons make of the difference that was between them?* and would often tell them of the diſputes and converſations they had with others. This made them think he had been among them in diſguiſe; and ſome affirmed they had ſeen him: but this intelligence he gained by ſpies and correſpondents, which he had in all places. His ſtratagems, inventions, and their effects, looked like inchantment. His conjectures came ſurpriſingly to paſs: among the reſt, when he arrived before *Siwâs*, which had a very ſtrong garriſon, he ſaid to his men, *Mark what I tell you; we ſhall have this place in eighteen days:* which actually happened. *It is moſt certain*, ſays *Arabſhâh*, *that this limper was either directed by heaven; or doomed to eternal torments, by the ill uſe which he ſhould make of temporal felicities* [i]. *Knowlege of countries.* *Great penetration.*

HE was a great diſſembler, and ſtudied ways to deceive every body. He would pretend that the things, which above all others he hated, or deſired to avoid, were moſt agreeable to him; and ſeemed not to like thoſe which he was paſſionately fond of. He would aſſemble his officers, to conſult which way they ſhould march next; and, when they had come to a reſolution, would iſſue orders accordingly; and at the ſame time aſſign the reaſons for taking ſuch a route: but, as ſoon as every thing was ready, and the army began to move forward, he on a ſudden countermanded his orders, and obliged them to march a quite contrary courſe. He was ſo artful, that, when an enemy advanced to meet him, he would often, as in *Syria*, ſpread a report, that his ſoldiers were fatigued and diſpirited: he would even retreat, under pretence that his troops wanted proviſions or forage: all this was done in order to animate the *Cloſe and ſubtle.*

[h] His portrait by AHMED EBN ARABSH. p. 2, & ſeq. [i] Ibid. p. 4—12.

A. D. 1405. enemy, and make them keep their poſt, that he might the more eaſily ſurround them with his forces.

Great firmneſs When he reſolved on any ſiege, or other enterpriſe, though ever ſo difficult and hazardous, he was not to be diverted from his purpoſe, and it was dangerous for any body to adviſe him to deliſt. *Mohammed Kawjîn*, the greateſt of all his favourites, having undertaken, at the ſolicitation of the chief commanders, to give over the ſiege of a caſtle in *India*, built on a very high rock; *Timûr* ſtripped him of all his wealth, which he gave to a Black, and turned him adrift [k].

This prince, when he undertook any thing, never ceaſed labouring, both with his hands and head, to bring it about. One time, that he beſieged a caſtle, he contracted a fever by too much fatigue; yet, not being able to reſt, without ſeeing how things went on, he ordered himſelf to be carried to the door of his tent, which ſtood on an eminence, from whence he beheld the attack. He was ſupported under the arms by two perſons: but, being very weak, ſoon ordered them to lay him gently on the ground; which they did. Then, ſending one of them away, ſaid to the other, named *Mahmûd*, of *Karazm*, "Conſider my feebleneſs, and how deſtitute I am "of ſtrength. I have neither a hand to do any thing, nor a "foot to walk: if I ſhould be attacked, I cannot defend my- "ſelf. Should I be abandoned in the conditon I am in, I "ſhould remain as in a trap; without being able in any-wiſe "to help myſelf, or avoid the evils that muſt befal me: yet, "ſee, the Almighty has ſubjected nations to my obedience, "gives me entrance into the moſt inacceſſible places, fills the "earth with the terror of my name, and makes kings and "princes fall down before me. Can ſuch works come from "any but God? What am I but a poor miſerable wretch, "without either power or application equal to ſuch great ex- "ploits." At theſe words, ſaid *Mahmûd* to our author, the tears fell from his eyes, nor could I refrain myſelf from weeping [l].

of mind.

His ſons, *TIMUR* left behind him fifty-three deſcendants; thirty-ſix males and ſeventeen females:

I. The Mîrza *Jehân Ghîr*, his eldeſt ſon, died before him, as hath been mentioned in his reign: but left two princes; (1) *Mehemed Soltân* (who alſo died before his grandfather). This prince had three ſons; *Mehemed Jehân Ghîr*, nine years old at the death of *Timûr*; *Sadvakkas*, ſix; and *Yahia*, five. (2) The Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr*, twenty-nine years of

[k] His portrait by Ahmed ebn Arabsh. p. 12—21. [l] Ibid. p. 39.

age.

age. He had seven sons: *Kaydu*, nine years old; *Kaled*, seven; *Buzenjer*, *Sadvakkas*, *Tenjer*, *Kayser*, and *Jehân Ghîr*: in all, eleven princes. A. D. 1405.

II. The Mîrza *Omar Sheykh*, deceased, left six sons: (1) *Pîr Mehemed*, twenty-six years old; who had one son, of seven years, named *Omar Sheykh*. (2) *Rûstem*, aged twenty-four; who had two sons, *Ozmân*, six years old; and *Soltân Ali*, one year. (3) *Eskânder*, twenty-one years of age. (4) *Ahmed*, eighteen years. (5) *Sidi Ahmed*, fifteen. And, (6) *Bayera Hassan*: in all, nine princes. *and grandsons*;

III. The Mîrza *Mirân Shâh*, thirty-eight years of age, had five sons: (1) *Abûbekr*, twenty-three years old: who had two sons, *Alengher*, nine years of age; and *Ozmân Chelebi*, four. (2) *Omar*, twenty-two years old. (3) *Kalîl Soltân*, twenty-one years. (4) *Ayjel*, ten. And, (5) *Siorgatmish*, six: in all, seven princes.

IV. The Mîrza *Shâh Rûkh*, twenty-eight years of age, had seven sons: (1) *Olûk Bek*, eleven years old. (2) *Ibrâhim Soltân*, of the same age. (3) *Bayssânkar*, eight years. (4) *Siorgatmish*, six. (5) *Mehemed Juki*, three years. (6) *Jân Aglen*, two years. And, (7) *Turwi*, one year: in all, eight princes.

Besides these princes, *Timûr* had one daughter, named *Soltânâ Bâkht Begûm*; and sixteen grand-daughters. *Omar Sheykh* had three daughters: *Mehemed Soltân*, three. *Mirân Shâh*, four: and *Shâh Rûkh*, one. *Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr*, three. *Abûbekr*, one: and *Kalîl Soltân*, one. *daughters*, *and grand-daughters*.

The Mîrza *Soltân Hussayn*, twenty-five years of age, was the son of *Timûr*'s daughter, named *Akia Beghi*, or *Taji Khân*; and his father was the Amîr *Mehemed Bey*, son of the Amîr *Mûssa* [m].

CHAP. VI.

Distractions which arose on the Death of Timûr, *and the Usurpation of* Kalîl Soltân.

As soon as *Timûr*'s death was known in the court, the empresses tore their faces and hair; the court-lords rent their clothes, and, flinging themselves on the ground, passed the night in grief: while the heavens, says our author, seemed to share in their affliction; since rains and thunder, storms and tempest, ceased not all the night. Next morning the body was washed, and embalmed with camphire, musk, and rose-water; then wrapped in linen, and laid in a coffin of *State of affairs.*

[m] Hist. Tim. Bek, l. vi. c. 48. p. 427, & seq.

A. D. 1405. ebony. As the design of the war in *China* was not yet abandoned, they kept his death concealed, by avoiding all signs of grief; and sent advice to the mîrzas, particularly *Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr*, to repair forthwith to court. Next day the mîrzas, empresses, and amîrs, who were at *Otrâr*, set out, with the corps, for *Samarkant*; and, having crossed the *Sihûn*, two parasangs distant, on the ice, entered a wood; where it was agreed in council, that they should march to *Tâshkunt*, under the command of the Mîrza *Ibrâhîm Soltân*; who, on his arrival, should deliver up the command to his elder brother *Kalîl Soltân*: that this latter should bear the title of emperor the whole campaign; and proceed with the whole army to conquer *China*: lastly, that, at their return to *Samarkant*, they should hold a general dyet, to execute *Timûr*'s last will and testament.

Mirza Hussayn rebels. After this, several lords were sent with *Timûr*'s coffin to *Samarkant*; where they arrived the 6th of *April*, and buried it with the usual solemnity. The empresses, and other ladies, followed, with the Mîrza *Olûk Bek*, and others; while the Mîrza *Ibrâhîm Soltân* took horse, at the head of the army, to march into *China*. When they were come to the bridge of *Kaldorma*, on the river *Arj*, east of *Otrâr*, and one league from it, expresses were sent to the Mîrzas *Kalîl Soltân* and *Soltân Hussayn* to join them at *Jûklek*, a town five leagues east of the same city, in order to proceed in the expedition. But this great design was frustrated by the Mîrza *Soltân Hussayn*, in whose breast the death of *Timûr* rekindled the inclination of revolting, which he had discovered in the war of *Damascus*: for, as soon as he received that advice, he disbanded part of the troops of the left wing; and, taking from them their horses, passed the *Sihûn* (or *Sîr*) at *Kojend*, with one thousand men, each having two horses, and took the road to *Samarkant*: his design was, to have amused the inhabitants, and entered the city by stratagem[a].

Kalîl Soltân *elected.* This news being brought to the Amîrs Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn* and Shâh *Mâlek*, who sent him the express, they immediately gave notice to *Argûn Shâh*, whom *Timûr* had left governor at *Samarkant*; and ordered him to secure that ambitious prince, if he approached the city. They wrote also to the Mîrza *Kalîl Soltân*, and his great amîrs, who were at *Tâshkunt*, six days journey of the karawân from *Otrâr*, to acquaint them with the evil design of Soltân *Hussayn*; and that it was proper to return with their troops to *Akar*, there to concert measures with them for the public good. After this, they marched for *Samarkant*;

[a] Hist. Tim. Bek, l. vi. c. 31—35. p. 387—397.

markant; and, having croſſed the *Sihân* on the ice, next morning joined the empreſſes. Mean time affairs took a croſs turn; for the amîrs, with Soltân *Kalîl*, having had advice, before the expreſs from *Otrâr* arrived, of the proceedings of Soltân *Huſſayn*, their fear cauſed by *Timûr*'s death was much increaſed; and, thinking the beſt way to prevent the evil, was, to create an emperor, the Mîrza *Ahmed Omar Sheykh*, and the Great Amîrs *Kodadâd Huſſayni*, *Yadghiar Shâh Erlat*, *Shâmſo'ddîn Abbâs*, *Berendâk*, and other principal officers, advanced the Mîrza *Kalîl Soltân* to the throne at *Tâſhkunt*, and ſwore obedience to him. A. D. 1405.

As ſoon as the empreſſes, with the mîrzas and amîrs, received this advice, they wrote to the mîrzas of *Kalîl Soltân*, reproaching them with their breach of oath to *Timûr*, and acting contrary to his laſt diſpoſitions. The amîrs, having read the letter, ſent *Berendak* to *Akſulat*, where the empreſſes were encamped, to acquaint the amîrs, "That what they did was "with a good intention, and to prevent troubles: but, ſince "they found what they had done was ageeeable neither to "their ſentiments, nor the late emperor's will, they were "ready to join with them in ſuch meaſures as they ſhould "judge proper for carrying his majeſty's teſtament into exe- "cution." Upon this, the Amîrs Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn* and Shâh *Mâlek* wrote a ſecond letter to thoſe at *Tâſhkunt*, exhorting them to annul the oath they had wrongfully taken thro' inadvertency; and, by a written inſtrument, ſigned by *Kalîl Soltân* as well as themſelves, ſubmit to the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*. When *Berendak* was diſmiſſed, the empreſſes and mîrzas, with their troops, continued their road. When they came to *Ali Abâd*, the Mîrza *Omar Sheykh* and Shâh *Mâlek*, went before: but, on their arrival at *Samarkant*, *Argûn Shâh*, who had been gained by the promiſes of *Kalîl Soltân*, ſhut the gates againſt them: he even refuſed to let in either Shâh *Mâlek* or Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn*, to confer with the amîrs there; pretending it would be contrary to the orders he had received from *Timûr*. He ſaid, however, "That he believed his majeſty had ordained "the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed* his ſucceſſor; and that he would "deliver up the government of the city, as ſoon as the mîrzas "and amîrs ſhould, in an aſſembly, agree upon it[b]." *Secures Samarkant.*

Those amîrs, who looked on all that *Argûn Shâh* had ſaid to be grimace, returned to the empreſſes at *Ali Abâd*. Mean while, *Berendek* being returned to *Tâſhkunt*, the amîrs drew up a manifeſto, which every one ſigned and ſealed, and the Mîrza *Kalîl Soltân* himſelf was obliged to ſubſcribe. The *Renounces the empire.*

[b] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, l. vi. c. 36—38. p. 397, & ſeqq.

A. D. 1405. mîrza ordered *Atilmîſh* to carry this paper to the Amîrs *Nûro'ddîn* and Shâh *Mâlek*, and from them to *Pîr Mehemed*; directing him "to aſſure the mîrza, that he was his ſincere "friend; and would acknowlege him for his father's ſucceſ- "for, purſuant to his laſt will." But, in this, *Kalîl Soltân* acted the hypocrite; his ſole deſire being to reign; in which he was inſtigated by ſome amîrs who were about him. He ſeized all the horſes, mules, and camels, belonging to *Timûr*, as well as the mîrzas and amîrs of his attendants, which he had left to graze at *Tâſhkunt* and *Sayrâm*, and diſtributed them among thoſe of his own party: he gave them likewiſe abundance of money, ſtuffs, and arms, which belonged to the ſoldiers who were in thoſe quarters; and then departed, at their head, for *Samarkant*.

Aſſumes it again, WHEN he came to the *Sihûn*, he ordered the Amîr *Berendâk*, with the troops of the right wing, to croſs the river, on a bridge of boats, above *Shâh Rûkhîya*. As ſoon as he was gotten over, he broke the bridge, and went to join the empreſſes, who were then on their way to *Samarkant*. The Amîrs *Kodadâd* and *Shâmſo'ddîn Abbâs*, with the ſame view, marched to *Achik Ferkint*, purſuant to a ſecret agreement made before with *Berendâk*, to abandon *Kalîl Soltân*, and do nothing contrary to *Timûr*'s will. The mîrza, on this advice, paſſed the *Sihûn* with his troops. Mean time *Berendâk*, being informed, on the road, how *Argûn Shâh* had refuſed the Amîr Shâh *Mâlek* admittance into *Samarkant*, he was ſurpriſed; and, moved as well by his ambition as his cowardice, without regarding his oath, immediately returned to join the Mîrza *Kalîl Soltân*, to whom he ſwore fidelity a ſecond time. Hereupon the mîrza, with thoſe of his party, declared the inſtrument void, wherein they had promiſed obedience to *Pîr Mehemed*; and at the ſame time continued his road to *Samarkant*, with deſign to uſurp the empire.

without reſerve. WHEN the Amîrs Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn* and Shâh *Mâlek* received this advice, after a ſpeech, wherein they lamented the confuſion which the empire was fallen into; and the little regard paid to the will of a great monarch, when dead, by thoſe very perſons who had taſted moſt of his favours, they adviſed the empreſſes to proceed to *Samarkant*, while they attended the mîrzas to *Bokhâra*; from whence they propoſed to go meet the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, *Timûr*'s heir. When the empreſſes came to *Samarkant*, the amîrs of the city would not admit them on that day. Next morning they entered; and took up their abode at the kanika of the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân*, where *Timûr*'s coffin lay. There ſeveral grandees of the empire, aſſembling in mourning habits, made lamentation over the

the emperor's corpſe, and were joined in ſigns of grief by all the inhabitants [c]. A. D. 1405.

MEAN while the Mirzas *Olûk Bek* and *Ibrâhîm Soltân*, being arrived at *Debbûs*, a high fortreſs on the river of *Samarkant*, received a letter from *Koja Yûſef* and *Argûn Shah*, importing, "that their refuſing to open the gates to them, was not thro' "any motive of treaſon, but to obey *Timûr*'s will: that they "would uſe the Mîrza *Kalîl Soltân* in the ſame manner, ſhould "he come; and, in ſhort, would reſign the city to none but "the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, the lawful ſucceſſor, for whom "they kept it." This they ſwore to at the end of the letter: but, three days after, the princes received advice that they had gone out to meet *Kalîl Soltân*, and conduct him into *Samarkant*. Hereupon they went on to *Bokhâra*, which they put in a poſture of defence. The Mirza *Kalîl Soltân* entered *Samarkant* on the 27th of *April*, choſen by the aſtrologer *Mûlâna Bâdro'ddîn*; and took poſſeſſion of the great imperial palace, where all the treaſures of *Aſia* were amaſſed. There, being ſeated on the throne, he received the ſubmiſſion of the mîrzas, amîrs, and principal men of the ſtate. *Comes to Samarkant.*

As ſoon as he was inſtalled, to ſhew he had an outward regard to *Timûr*'s will, he gave the title of khân to the Mîrza *Mehemed Jehân Ghîr*, ſon of the Mîrza *Mehemed Soltân*, and nephew of the Mîrza *Pîr Mehemed*, though that prince was but nine years of age: his name alſo was placed at the top of all the patents, and imperial orders, according to cuſtom; altho' the Mîrza *Kalîl Soltân* aſſumed the ſole diſpoſal of every thing, as if the lawful ſovereign. Two days after, the new emperor went to the kanika, where *Timûr*'s tomb was, to pay his devotions, and perform the public ceremonies of mourning; at which the empreſſes, mîrzas, amîrs, and all the people, aſſiſted in black habits. When the funeral banquet was over, the imperial drum was beaten in a doleful manner: after which, it was broken in pieces; and the Seyd *Bereke*'s body being brought from *Andekûd*, *Timûr*'s was placed underneath it, purſuant to his orders. *Creates a khân.*

WHEN the Mîrza *Kalîl Soltân* was fixed on the throne, he diſtributed his immenſe treaſures profuſely among the amîrs, principal lords, and ſoldiers. This liberality, or rather prodigality, was the firſt cauſe of his ruin: the ſecond was his violent paſſion for *Shâh Mulk*, before-mentioned: for, when he found himſelf an abſolute ſovereign, he reſigned every thing up to the will of this beauty, and took no pleaſure but in her company; while ſhe ſhewed no regard to either princes or *His profuſeneſs.*

[c] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, l. vi. c. 39—43. p. 405, & ſeqq.

A. D. 1405.

nobles, but thought every one below her. What made his laviſh humour the more inexcuſeable, was, that he ſquandered away his wealth on men of no worth; while perſons of extraordinary merit could obtain nothing, or but a trifle. He likewiſe advanced ſeveral ſtrangers of mean extraction to the firſt employments in the ſtate; which alienated from him the hearts of the great amîrs of his court, and generals of his armies. Beſides, as *Shâdi Mulk* was inferior in rank to the deceaſed emperor's wives, and theſe latter became jealous of her growing greatneſs, ſhe conceived a great averſion to them, and perſuaded *Kalil* to give them, as well as *Timûr*'s concubines, in marriage to ſome conſiderable amîrs; in order, as ſhe ſaid, the more firmly to engage them in his intereſt. Accordingly he diſpoſed of thoſe great ladies, but in a manner condemned by all men of underſtanding, for he forced them to marry thoſe who were not worthy to be their porters. In effect, his actions drew on him the averſion not only of his ſoldiers, but all his ſubjects; and affairs falling into confuſion by his ill management, all his grandeur came to nothing in leſs than four years [d].

and ill conduct.

THIS is the ſubſtance of what *Sharîfo'ddîn Ali* has written concerning the reign of *Kalîl Soltân*: but here we muſt, with regret, take leave of that well-inſtructed hiſtorian, to follow others who lived at too great a diſtance to be well acquainted with the affairs of the deſcendants of *Timûr*, for want of authors who were upon the ſpot.

His character.

KALIL Soltân was of an amiable diſpoſition; and, being exceeding liberal, attained, without any difficulty, to the ſovereignty which he aſpired to. He had at his diſpoſal the brave *Arab* and *Perſian* troops, with their beſt commanders, who were charmed with his affability, mildneſs, and ſincerity. He was finely ſhaped, and handſome; dextrous in managing his arms, and valiant: bountiful to thoſe who ſerved him, and always did more than he promiſed. He began his reign with the conſent of the army: but this conſent was not to be depended on. His amîrs and chief officers expected that he ſhould be attacked on all ſides as ſoon as the ſeverity of the ſeaſon was over; and only waited opportunities to ſerve their reſpective intereſts. We have already mentioned the deſertion and return of *Brendâk* (or *Berendâk*), of whoſe perfidy at that time *Kalîl Soltân* took no notice: he even heaped favours on him; but, when his affairs were ſettled, put to death the traitor when he leaſt ſuſpected, ſeized all his effects, and extirpated his whole family.

[d] Hiſt. Tim. Bek, l. vi. c. 44—46. p. 413—423.

THE

THE next who took off the mask was *Khodadâd Hussayn*, governor of the provinces beyond the *Sihûn* (or *Sîr*), and the frontiers of *Turkestân*. This person was the greatest enemy the new emperor had; and had always set himself on an equality with *Timûr* himself, as being of the house of Soltân *Hussayn*: on which account he bore the rank as sovereign in those countries. But, as *Khalîl*'s affairs were quite unsettled when he passed the *Sihûn*, he could do no less than keep up a friendship with him, and leave him in possession of the government which he held before. On *Khodadâd*'s revolt, those who sought an occasion to quit *Kalîl Soltân*, repaired to him. Now the winter was over, Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn*, who had been one of *Timûr*'s chief adherents, went away openly, and joined the rebel. Shâh *Mâlek*, another of them, hasted afterwards from *Samarkant*, with a great noise; and, passing the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*), retired to *Shâh Rûkh*, who held the government of *Herât* and *Khorassân*. *Kalîl Soltân*, without giving himself any uneasiness about those who abandoned him, continued to oblige such as remained in his service [c]. A. D. 1405. Khodadâd *rebels*.

As soon as *Allâhdâd*, governor of *Esbara* (or *Ashpera*, on the frontiers of *Jetah*, towards *Mogulestân*), heard of these transactions, he consulted his friends; who advised him to leave that fortress, and return to his own country. Next day the commanders of the troops under his power repairing, according to custom, to pay him their respects, and receive his orders, he asked them privately, what was to be done in this conjuncture. As the officers left it wholly to him to direct the method, and promised to follow his orders, upon oath, he told them, his resolution was to wait on *Kalîl Soltân*; and desired, in the mean time, that they would stay and watch the *Mungls*. Things being thus settled, *Allâhdâd* set forward the 17th of *Ramazân* 807 (*), followed by his wives, children, and all that belonged to him. Taking his route thro' frost and snow, he arrived at *Kulatajuk*, where he received a mandate from *Kalil Soltân*, ordering him not to take any step against his interest, but to remain in his post at *Esbara*. Allâhdâd *alarmed*.

THIS order disconcerted all his measures; but, while he debated with himself what was to be done, a deputy arrived from *Kodadâd*, advising him to leave *Esbara*, and come to him as soon as possible. Nothing could arrive more opportunely, to deliver him out of the perplexity which he was in: he therefore made haste to join *Kodadâd*, who was overjoyed to see him: then passing the *Sihûn* at *Kojend*, they marched to- *Joins the revolter*.

(*) A. D. 1404; which date seems to have antedated facts a must be wrong. Our author whole year.

[c] ARABSH. Continuat. Hist. Timûr, p. 72—82.

wards

A. D. 1405. wards *Samarkant*. When they came to *Tiſek*, they began to ravage the country with fire and ſword, which had remained in peace all the reign of *Timûr*: this happened in *Shawal*, the ſame year 807; nor could *Kalîl Soltân* prevent this diſorder. Mean time the troops which *Allâhdâd* had left at *Eſbara*, fearing the *Mungls* might fall on them, began to conſult what courſe to take. Some were for waiting to perform their promiſe; others were for quitting that poſt. At length the diſpute roſe to ſuch a height between the two parties, that from words they came to blows, in which one of the captains was killed. At night part of the troops left the place; which obliged the reſt to follow, with all their effects. When they arrived where *Allâhdâd* was, this amîr, inſtead of treating them ill for diſobeying his orders, began to excuſe himſelf for not having performed his promiſe, on pretence of having been prevented by *Khodadâd* (†); and bid them ſtay near him till there was an opportunity of going to *Samarkant* [g].

Invited by Kalîl. THIS adventure perſuading *Khodadâd* that the enmity between *Allâhdâd* and *Kalîl Soltân* was irreconcileable, he began to put confidence in him, and aſk his advice: As he had intercepted a troop of ſervants belonging to the army, he was inclined to put them to the ſword: but *Allâhdâd* alleging, that it was moſt prudent to uſe lenity, eſpecially at ſetting out; and that, by ſending them away, he might gain the friendſhip of their maſters; he took his advice, and diſmiſſed them courteouſly. After this, *Kalîl Soltân* ſent a deputy to diſpoſe *Allâhdâd* to mediate the difference between him and *Khodadâd*, promiſing to ſatisfy both their expectations. The cauſe of their animoſity is ſaid to be this: *Kalîl Soltân* having at firſt been poſted in the provinces near *Khodadâd*, his grandfather ordered this latter to have an eye over him, and regulate his conduct. As *Khodadâd* was naturally rough, ſevere, and diſagreeable, he treated the prince with rigour and harſhneſs; which irritated him to ſuch a pitch, that he procured poiſon to be given him: but, diſcovering it in time, he took remedies, and eſcaped; however, he felt the effect of the doſe ever afterwards.

Goes to Samarkant. FROM that time a thorough hatred ſubſiſted between them, which at laſt became public, and was the occaſion of great diſorders in the ſtate. *Allâhdâd* ſhewed *Khodadâd* the letter of *Khalîl Soltân*; after which, he took an oath on the koràn, backed with the moſt horrid imprecations, "never to quit his "ſervice, or change his party, for any other; adding, that, "if he went to *Samarkant*, he would do his utmoſt to recon-

(†) Rather *Khodaydâd*.

[g] ARABSH. Continuat. Hiſt. Timûr, p. 83—88.

"cile

" cile the difference between him and *Kalîl Soltân*; put his " affairs on a good footing; and procure him *Tumâna* (C), one " of the wives of *Timûr*." Having, by these and many other artifices, lulled *Khodadâd* asleep, he returned to his friends at *Shâh Rûkhîya*, two stages distant; where crossing the *Sihûn*, he made what haste he could for *Samarkant*; sending before to let *Khalîl Soltân* know what had passed between him and *Khodadâd*; and desiring him to send an escort to meet and protect him, in case *Khodadâd* should suspect his design, and detach troops to stop him; as actually he did: but too late; for *Allâhdâd* never halted one moment on the road, excepting to refresh a little, till he arrived at *Samarkant*. A. D. 1405.

KALIL Soltân was overjoyed to see him; and, as the post of prime wazîr was vacant (Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn* and Shâh *Mâlek*, with all the rest who were inclined to rebel, having quitted the country), he gave that important mark of his favour to *Allâhdâd*, in prejudice to all the other wazîrs and grandees of the state. The new minister soon restored every thing to order, and detached troops to guard the frontiers. In the management of affairs, he was assisted by *Berendâk*, *Argûn Shâh*, and one *Kajuk*, thro' whose hands every thing passed, under his controul. Mean time Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn* and *Khodadâd* continued their ravages; and became at length masters of the frontiers of *Turkestân*, with the territories of *Sayrâm*, *Nasikand*, *Andekân*, *Khojend*, *Shâh Rûkhîya*, *Otrâr* (D), and *Segnâk*, besides other cities and provinces in those parts. Sometimes, crossing the *Jihûn*, they wasted the country of *Great Bukhâria*: but could never get any footing there; for *Kalîl Soltân*, in his turn, passed that river, and always put them to the route [h]. *Is made wazîr.*

WHEN the *Mungls* first heard that *Timûr* was marching towards them with an army capable of forcing its way thro' all opposition, they immediately took flight, dispersed themselves over the country, and retired, some into castles, others to the tops of inaccessible mountains. The inhabitants of *Dâsht* (E), and those to the north, withdrew likewise into deserts: but, as soon as they heard of *Timûr*'s death, and the troubles which ensued in his dominions, they took heart; and, returning to their respective countries, resolved to take advantage of the present opportunity. The *Mungls* first took the *The Mungls spread again.*

[h] ARABSH. Continuat. Hist. Timûr, p. 88—94.

(C) *Tumân Aga*, the second empress.

(D) Written *Anzar* in our copy, by some mistake in placing the diacritical points.

(E) Or *Dâsht Kipjâk*.

field;

A. D. 1405. field; and, falling upon *Eſbara* and *Aſikol* (or *Aſſighul*), overran the provinces, till they became neighbours to *Khodadâd*, whom they obliged to deliver up all the places taken from them by *Timûr*, and then made an alliance with him.

Pîr Mehemed *arms.*

MEAN time *Pir Mehemed*, couſin-german of *Kalîl Soltân*, to whom *Timûr* had bequeathed the ſucceſſion, departing from *Kandahâr*, with a numerous army, towards *Samarkant*; ſent to let *Kalîl Soltân*, and all the great lords, know, *that, as his grandfather had appointed him for his ſucceſſor, he thought it ſtrange that any perſon ſhould ſeize the capital of the empire, which belonged only to him, and oppoſe his acceſſion to the throne.* In anſwer to this meſſage, *Kalîl Soltân* alleged, " that, in this conjuncture, " the ſovereignty was to be held either by inheritance or ac- " quiſition. If by the former, that his father *Mirân Shâh*, " and uncle *Shâh Rûkh*, had a better right than either of " them, and he might hold of them either by grant or de- " putation (F). If by the latter, that he (*Pîr Mehemed*) " could have no pretenſions, as being at a diſtance, while him- " ſelf was in poſſeſſion: that, as to his grandfather's will, it " was of no ſignification; for that he became maſter of ſo " many countries himſelf by force, and actually divided them, " during his life-time, among his ſons and grandchildren: " that, as *Pîr Mehemed* had *Kandâhâr* for his ſhare, it was " fit that he (*Kalîl Soltân*) ſhould hold what he had con- " quered; eſpecially as the principal perſons of the ſtate had " acknowleged him for their ſovereign: that however, if his " father and uncle allowed of his competitor's pretenſions, " he would no longer diſpute the point with him."

Kalîl's *anſwer.*

Backed with forces.

THE lords, on their part, returned an anſwer to the meſſage of *Pîr Mehemed*, without either allowing or conteſting his demand: only *Abdo'lwâl*, the chief doctor in all *Great Bukhâria*, declared in expreſs terms, " that altho' *Pîr Mehe-* " *med* was the appointed ſucceſſor of *Timûr*, yet Heaven had " not favoured his cauſe; for that, if fortune had deſigned " him for the empire, he would have been near the capital at " *Timûr*'s death: that therefore his beſt way would be, to " reſt content with what God had ordained him, and not put " it to the hazard, by invading the property of another, leſt " he ſhould loſe the ſubſtance in following the ſhadow." Theſe anſwers were ſent: but Soltân *Kalîl*, judging his cauſe ſtood in need of ſtronger arguments, raiſed a powerful army, and ſent it againſt *Pîr Mehemed*, under the command of his couſin Soltân *Huſſayn*; accompanied by *Kajuk*, *Argûn Shâh*,

(F) The *Perſian* hiſtorians ſay, *Shâh Rûkh* confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of the countries to the north of the *Jihûn*.

Allahdâd,

Alâlhdâd, and other principal *Gete* commanders. In the month of *Zu'lkaadeh* 807 they set forward; and, being arrived at *Bâlk*, the general pretended to be sick, and sent for all the commanders, as if to consult about the war. When they were assembled at his house, he fell upon them furiously; ordering those, whom he had placed for the purpose, to spare none who resisted. On this occasion *Yusef*, an eminent commander, who had been lieutenant at *Samarkant* in *Timûr*'s absence, was slain [i]. A. D. 1405.

Soltân Hussayn revolts.

Upon this success, Soltân *Hussayn*, who was rash and violent, passionate and flashy, declared himself sovereign, and got the people to acknowlege him for such. As to the officers, they were at their wits end, and knew not what to think on this occasion: however, *Allâhdâd*, recovering his senses, called out to let him know he had some good advice to give him. Then taking him aside, told him, "that he was absolutely devoted "to his service: that *Kalîl Soltân* had no title to the sove- "reignty; and that if he (Soltân *Hussayn*) had but acquainted "him with his intentions, he would have disposed matters in- "tirely agreeable to his wishes." *Hussayn*, deluded by these and the like speeches, from thenceforth put confidence in him; and first advised with him, if he should put to death his companions. *Allâhdâd* made use of several plausible reasons, to shew that it was better not to do it: and knew so well how to ply him with flattery on the weak side, that he quite diverted him from that design; yet advised him, for his better security, to keep them in fetters.

Deserted, and flies.

Soltan *Hussayn* followed his counsel; and, having taken an oath of fidelity from them, turned back towards *Samarkant*. At the same time he sent to acquaint *Kalîl Soltân*, that he was coming to claim a share of his uncle's dominions, as well as the rest, and challenged him into the field. Then taking a new oath of his commanders, set them at liberty, and restored them to their respective posts. *Kalil Soltân*, who, before this, had been informed by *Allâhdâd* of the condition they were in, immediately set forward to meet *Hussayn*; who, with his usual imprudence, gave the command of his right wing to *Allâhdâd*, and that of the left to his two companions. When the two armies met, and were ready to engage, all those commanders went over to *Kalîl Soltân*; so that his competitor, finding himself abandoned, fled into *Khorassân*, to his cousin *Shâh Rûkh*, where he soon after died, whether a natural death, or by poison, is not known [k].

[i] Arabshah, Cont. Hist. Tim. p. 94—103. [k] Ibid. p. 103—108.

A. D. 1405. Pîr Mehemed *defeated.*

MEAN time *Pîr Mehemed* continued his march, and came at length to *Nakshab* (G), where, soon after, *Kalîl Soltân* advanced against him with all his forces; and, after a bloody battle, fought on the 2d of *Ramazân* 808, put him to flight, and took all his family prisoners. This victory got him a great reputation, and seemed to establish him on the throne; while *Jalâlo'ddawlet*, son of Soltân *Ahmed*, of *Bâghdâd*, who had been delivered out of prison by *Kalîl*, laid hold of the juncture, and made his escape to *Irâk*, which, it was said, had thrown off the yoke of the *Jagatays*. On the other side, *Pîr Mehemed*, being returned to *Kandahâr*, raised fresh forces; and, repassing the *Jihûn*, resolved once more to try the force of arms. But his troops turned their backs almost as soon as the signal was given for battle; and he fled himself for safety to a neighbouring castle called *Shaduman* (H). As the enemy immediately invested the place, and he had not men enough to defend it, he caused the common people to mount the walls; who, being accoutred with sham armour, made for the occasion, were taken for soldiers by the besiegers. This artifice was of service for some time: but, being at length discovered, he found there was no way left for him but to ask quarter; which was granted: and both parties came to an agreement, under oath, to relinquish all claim to each other's territories, and live together in amity for the future.

Hej. 808. A. D. 1405.

Gives up his claim.

His countryusurp'd.

PIR Mehemed, upon this, returned to his own dominions: but had not been there long, before *Pîr Alitâza*, his wazir, who had been with him in both his expeditions, rebelled against him, and took the field with those of his party. *Pîr Mehemed* marched against him with his troops; but was defeated, and taken prisoner. After which, the rebel wazîr, to sound the great men of the state, told them in ambiguous terms, "that, the affairs of the world being in great confusion, there "appeared manifest signs that the last day was at hand: this, "says he, is the time of antichrists; the deceivers and im-"postors bear the sway. *Timûr* is gone, who was the lame "deceiver. This is the time of the *Bald Impostor*; after "whom, the blind deceiver will come. If the *Bald* must "reign, I am He." As nobody returned an answer to his satisfaction, he summoned the governors of provinces, to see what he could do with them: but, altho' he applied to them in a very humble manner, they paid no regard to his suit; giving him to understand, that each of them thought himself as deserving of the sovereignty as he. The wazîr, finding that

(G) Called also *Nasef*, and *Kârshî*.

(H) *Khasr Shaduman*, or the castle of *Shaduman*.

he

he could not gain his point, without any more ado, repaired to the soltân of *Herât:* but *Shâh Rûkh*, instead of giving him a kind reception, punished him for his perfidy; and afterwards marched to conquer the country of *Kandahâr*, which submitted to him without making any opposition [1]. A. D. 1405.

Kara Tatars revolt.

It was in the same year that the *Tatars* of *Rûm*, who were put into the hands of *Argûn Shâh* (I), took the field, and attempted to break their captivity. They crossed the *Jihûn* over the ice; and left *Karazm*, in order to return to their own country: but the inhabitants every-where opposing their flight, and being no better united among themselves than the troops of *Irâk* were before, the same fate happened to them; that is, they remained dispersed thro' the country.

Afterwards *Idekas* (*), descending from the north with an army as numerous as the sands, entered the provinces of *Khowarazm* (or *Karazm*), of which *Mûsika* (K) was then governor. This man, affrighted at the approach of the *Tatars*, abandoned the country, and left it to the invader; who, then advancing with his cavalry towards *Bokhâra*, ravaged the neighbouring territory, and returned, after having chased the *Getes* (L), and put them in great fear. He gave the government of *Karazm* to one named *Ankas;* after which, these parts remained in peace.

Kalîl Soltân's successes.

While *Kalîl Soltân* was employed with his forces against *Pîr Mehemed*, *Khodadâd* and Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn*, taking advantage of his absence, approached *Samarkant:* but, not daring to attack the city, which shut its gates against them, they ravaged the neighbouring lands, and then withdrew. *Kalîl*, at his return, gave his troops a little rest; and then set forward, with a numerous army, to ravage their territories in his turn. On his arrival at the *Sihûn* (or *Sîr*), *Shâh Rûkhîya* and *Kojend* surrendered immediately. He then turned towards *Tâshkunt*; which, after a short siege, likewise submitted. These obstacles being removed, he marched in pursuit of his two enemies, who still fled before him, waiting for an opportunity to surprise him, which at length had like to have happened: for, one night, at a place called *Sarbekhân*, advancing alone before the baggage, they, on notice given by their spies, who were always in his army, sent out a troop to

[1] Arabsh. ubi sup. p. 109—119.

(I) These were the *Kara Tatars* spoken of before, p. 347.

(*) Or *Ilekû*, made khân of *Kipjak* by *Timûr*. See p. 112.

(K) He was appointed governor by *Timûr* in 1391.

(L) By *Getes*, or *Jetah*, here are to be understood the forces under *Kalîl Soltân*.

meet

A. D. 1405. meet and take him: but, luckily, a party of his cavalry, who were ſeparated from the reſt, coming up at the ſame time, he eſcaped that imminent danger; after which, the enemy diſperſing themſelves thro' the deſarts, he gave over the chace, and returned to his dominions [1].

Sheykh Nûro'ddîn returns.

MEAN time, as the friendſhip between *Khodadâd* and Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn* was not very ſolid, they fell at variance, each aſpiring to the ſole command. At length the latter, retiring toward *Sagnâk*, made himſelf maſter of it; and ſoon after, ſent to aſk *Kalîl Soltân*'s pardon for his paſt fault, deſiring to be reſtored to his favour. *Kalîl* readily granted his demand; and, to aſſure him of his good-will, ſent him *Tumâna*, one of *Timûr*'s wives; after which, they continued in friendſhip during his reign. But, after *Shâh Rûkh* had eſtabliſhed his power in *Samarkant*, Shâh *Mâlek* went to *Sagnâk*, under pretence of paying him a viſit, and renewing their antient friendſhip. Mutual oaths of ſincerity having been taken, Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn*, at the requeſt of the other, came out of the caſtle on horſeback, to give him an interview. After they had embraced, and talked awhile in an amicable manner, Shâh *Mâlek* retired to his troop; where he ſtaid till his men went and paid their reſpects to Sheykh *Nûro'ddîn*. Among the reſt, there was one *Argudak*, a very big and ſtrong man, whom Shâh *Mâlek* had engaged to perpetrate his deſign. When this perſon came up, he kiſſed *Nûro'ddîn*'s hand; but at the ſame time, ſeizing him by the neck, pulled him off his horſe; and, throwing him on the ground, cut off his head in ſight of all his people. When *Shah Rûkh* heard of this treacherous action, he was greatly grieved; and curſed Shâh *Mâlek*, whom he reproached in bitter terms. As for *Argudak*, he ordered him to be baſtonadoed ſeverely in public; and was a long time before he would ſee either of them.

Treacherouſly ſlain.

Termed *rebuilt.* Hej. 810. A. D. 1407.

IN the month of *Safar* 810, *Kalîl Soltân* ſent a party of ſoldiers, under the command of *Allâhdâd*, and ſome other captains, to rebuild *Termed*, which had lain in ruins ever ſince the time of *Jenghîz Khân*. Theſe commanders, dividing the work among them, not only raiſed the walls to a height not to be ſcaled; but alſo built houſes, and other places, fit for inhabitants, within the ſpace of fifteen days. After this, they gave notice to the deſcendants of the antient poſſeſſors, to come and dwell in the new city (M): but theſe people,

[1] ARABSHAH, ubi ſup. p. 96. and 120—122.

(M) The old city was built on an eminence which commanded the neighbouring country, and the *Jihûn* ran at the foot of the rock,

people, having ſettled themſelves in the gardens and plains of the old town, which was about a league diſtant, choſe rather to continue where they were. Hereupon *Allâhdâd* cauſed proclamation to be made thro' the country, for peopling the city; granting the property of the houſes to thoſe who firſt ſhould take poſſeſſion of them: by which means, in a little time, *New Termed* was filled with inhabitants, and ſoon became a flouriſhing city. A. D. 1407.

As ſoon as *Shâh Rûkh* heard of this proceeding, he ſent a troop alſo under *Marzab*, brother of *Jehân Shâh*, with orders, in like manner, to rebuild the caſtle named the *Fort of the Indians*, which ſtood in the extreme end of *Khoraſſân*, on the *Jihûn*, oppoſite to *Termed*. The fort was finiſhed without any interruption from *Allâhdâd*, who always lived in peace and friendſhip with *Marzab*. *Shâh Rûkh's power.*

AFTER this, Soltân *Ahmed* and *Kara Yûſef* returned amicably to *Irâk Arabi*; and, while the former re-eſtabliſhed himſelf at *Bâghdâd*, the latter made war upon the *Getes* (N): from whom he conquered the province of *Azerbejân*, after he had defeated their armies, and ſlain the Mîrza *Mirân Shâh*, as will be ſet forth hereafter. As for *Perſian Irâk*, it was at peace under the ſovereignty of *Pîr Omar*: but one of his near relations, named *Eſkânder*, rebelled againſt him, and ſeized the throne, after defeating, and taking him priſoner. Hereupon *Shâh Rûkh* marched to attack the uſurper; whom, having ſeized, he put to death, and took poſſeſſion of his dominions. By this conqueſt all *Ajem* (O) fell under the power of *Shâh Rûkh*, who enjoyed the whole without a rival; his father having, in his life-time, cut off all the princes of note in that large country, who might have given him any diſturbance[m].

THERE ſeems to be ſome miſtake in this account of *Arabſhâh*, with relation to the affairs of *Perſian Irâk*; at leaſt, it does not agree with the memoirs or extracts which we meet with from other authors. It has been obſerved in the reign of *Timûr Bek*, that he had inveſted his third ſon *Mirân Shâh* with the government of *Azerbejân*, *Rûm* (or *Anatolia*), with *Syria*, as far as *Egypt*: but, on that prince's loſing his underſtanding by a fall, he, in 1404, transferred that grant to *Omar* *Affairs of Irâk.*

[m] ARABSH. ubi ſup. p. 122—128.

rock on which its walls were built: but the new city ſtood on a flat, and at a diſtance from the river. *Arabſhâh.*

(N) So *Arabſhâh* terms thoſe whom others call *Jagatays*, that is, the troops of *Timûr* and his deſcendants.

(O) That is, the country of the barbarians; ſo the *Arabs* call *Irân*, or *Perſia* at large.

A. D. 1407. *Mirza*, second son of *Mirân Shâh*; with this farther authority, that the governments of *Persian Irâk* and *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*), then in the hands of *Rustem*, and his brother *Pîr Mehemed*, should be subject to him. On *Timûr*'s death, while *Kalîl Soltân* and *Pîr Mehemed* were struggling for the succession, *Omar* attacked his elder brother *Abûbekr*, who, in 1403, had *Bâghdâd* and *Irâk Arabi* granted him; and, having surprised him at *Soltânîya*, in *Persian Irâk*, took him prisoner: but *Abûbekr* made his escape, and, gathering forces, obliged *Omar Mirza* to fly to *Shâh Rûkh*, in *Khoraſſân*. *Shâh Rûkh*, to make him amends for the loss of his dominions, gave him *Astarabâd* and *Mazânderân* for his support: but, being of a restless temper, *Shâh Rûkh* was constrained to bring him to reason by force of arms. *Omar* fled, designing to get to *Samarkant*: but, being pursued by the soltân's troops, he was overtaken at the river *Morgâb*, some leagues to the north of *Herât*, where he was slain[n]. The *Pir Omar* of *Arabſhâh* is, doubtless, the *Omar Mîrza* of the *Persian* historians. That author seems to have mistaken *Ali Eskânder*, son of *Omar Sheykh* (to whom, in 805, *Timûr* gave the government of *Hamadân*, and the adjacent territories[o]), for *Abûbekr*, brother of *Omar Mîrza*; and the death of *Eskânder* for that of *Omar*. Our extracts from the *Persian* historians do not say *Shâh Rûkh* seized *Omar*'s dominions, either on the flight or death of that prince; yet, as we find him in possession of *Persian Irâk*, at the time he took possession of the countries beyond the *Jihân*, it may be presumed that he became master of it one of those times.

Troubles at Samarkant. ABOUT this time all the strangers, who had for many years past flocked to *Samarkant*, began to abandon it, on account of the scarcity and dearness of provisions. Some retired, with leave, to their respective countries: others went away by stealth. At length, plenty returning, the inhabitants enjoyed the sweets of peace: but this tranquillity did not long subsist. *Kalîl Soltân* had married *Shâdi Mulk*, the relict of Amîr *Sayfo'ddîn* before-mentioned; and so doated on her, that he let her do whatever she pleased, and transacted nothing without her advice. This princess had an antient servant, named *Bâba Termes*, a person of mean descent, with squinting eyes, and a face full of pimples, rude and ill-bred. As, on her advancement, her domestics shared in her good fortune, *Bâba Termes*, who was the chief of them, became a great man.

[n] D'HERBEL. bibl. orient. p. 20. & 693. art. Abubekr & Omar Mirza. [o] See before, p. 357.

From

From the management of his miſtreſs's affairs, he by degrees roſe to the moſt important employments of the ſtate; and at length diſpoſed of all things at pleaſure, without any regard either to *Allâhdâd* or *Argûn Shâh*, whoſe orders he often ſet aſide. A. D. 1407.

THESE two lords, enraged to be treated in ſuch a manner by this upſtart, on conſulting how to remedy the evil, could think of no better expedient, than to make their caſe known to *Khodadâd*, and adviſe him to march his forces towards *Samarkant*; aſſuring him that he might do it, without the leaſt danger. *Khodadâd* accordingly ſet forward, marching ſlowly till he came to *Ourataba*. As ſoon as *Kalîl Soltân* heard of this movement, he aſſembled a numerous army, and ſent it againſt the enemy, under the command of *Allâhdâd* and *Argûn Shâh*. Theſe generals took the field: but, inſtead of fighting the rebels, they ſent for more forces; and at length intreated *Kalîl Soltân* to come himſelf in perſon, as the ſureſt means to repulſe the enemy. The deluded prince, ſuſpecting no treachery, immediately ſet forward with his courtiers; of which *Allâhdâd* gave notice to *Khodadâd*: who thereupon, marching in the night, came up with *Kalîl Soltân*'s train, near *Soltânîya*, a little city built by *Timûr*; and ſurrounded them, before they were appriſed of their danger [P]. *Soltân Kalîl betrayed.*

THE prince and his attendants did not fail to make a valiant defence: but, as they were only a handful of men, they were ſoon defeated; and, after moſt of them had been ſlain, *Kalîl Soltân* fell into the hands of his enemy, who carried him to his camp. When he was arrived there, *Khodadâd* proteſted, with the moſt ſolemn oaths, that he had no deſign to hurt him in the leaſt; and that he would ſoon give him an inconteſtable proof of his ſincerity. In the mean time he deſired *Kalîl Soltân* to ſend orders to *Allâhdâd*, and thoſe he commanded to ſurrender, without making any reſiſtance; which was accordingly done. *Khodadâd*, being by this means become maſter of all the forces of the country, began his march towards *Samarkant*, without taking notice of *Allahdâd*, and thoſe of his party; who now, too late, found that he was deceived in his hopes, and ruined beyond redreſs. This revolution happened in the year 812. *Is taken priſoner.*

As ſoon as *Khodadâd* arrived at *Samarkant*, he turned every thing upſide down, and let nothing remain which had been eſtabliſhed. He made his ſon, named *Allâhdâd*, to aſſume the Khodaydâd *uſurps.*

[P] ARABSH. ubi ſup. p. 129—135.

A. D. 1407. title of *Soltân* (P), before witneſſes; and, in ſhort, intirely changed the ſtate of affairs. When this news was brought to *Shâh Rûkh*, he was greatly moved; and, reſolving to revenge the affront done to his father's houſe, iſſued orders for aſſembling all his forces. Mean time he detached Shâh *Mâlek*, with a powerful army, to ſtop the progreſs of the rebellion; and followed himſelf ſoon after, with the reſt of his troops. *Khodadâd*, on advice of this formidable march, knowing himſelf not able to reſiſt ſuch a power, and fearing either to be deſerted, or delivered up by his followers, thought it beſt to provide for his ſafety in time. Accordingly, after he had ſeized all the treaſure he could find, and packed up as much rich furniture as he could conveniently carry off, he ſet out for *Andekân*; leaving *Allâhdâd*, *Argûn Shâh*, and *Bâba Termes*, ſhut up in the caſtle of *Samarkant*, not caring to embarraſs himſelf with their company.

Flies from Samarkant, But, altho' he took *Kalîl Soltân* along with him, he left his dearly-beloved *Shâdi Mulk* behind, whom he had reduced from her ſtate of grandeur to a very low condition. After his departure, the people, being left without a commander, took care of their own intereſts the beſt they could. *Allâhdâd* and *Argûn Shâh* were deſirous to march out, and meet *Shâh Rûkh*, who now approached the city: but *Abdo'lwâl*, followed by the rabble, would not permit them. This doctor had great authority among the populace; and, during the ſhort interregnum, diſpoſed of things at pleaſure. He continually incenſed the people againſt *Allâhdâd* and his aſſociates, till ſuch time as Shâh *Mâlek* and *Shâh Rûkh* arrived. As ſoon as this prince drew near *Samarkant*, the citizens went out to meet him; and, with joyful acclamations, conducted him into the city, where he quickly ſet things in order. As to *Allâhdâd* and his collegues, he cauſed them to be ſeized; and put to death, after they had undergone the moſt cruel torments: only *Bâba Termes* was reſpited for ſome time longer, that he might receive the puniſhment in this life due to his crimes. But he eluded their deſign: for one day, pretending that he had hidden treaſure in a certain place, when he came to a deep pond, which lay in the road, he on a ſudden wreſted himſelf out of the hands of his guards, and jumped into the water, where he was drowned in their ſight [q].

with Kalil Soltan.

[q] Araesh. ubi ſup. p. 135—141.

(P) Perhaps it ſhould be khân; for *Kalil* had alſo made a khân, to keep up the appearance of a ſucceſſion of the line of *Jenghiz Khân*.

When

A. D. 1407.

When things were a little ſettled, *Shâh Rûkh* went to viſit the tomb of his father; where he cauſed all the funeral ceremonies to be performed as had been done before. After this, he ordered moſt part of the rich moveables, the arms, and other things of value, which were in the ſepulchre, to be carried into the magazines; plundering the treaſures, and ſearching the moſt ſecret places for hidden wealth. At length his officers ſeized on *Shâdi Mulk*, and made her ſuffer a thouſand indignities: they tortured her, to diſcover her effects; and, when they had gotten all from her, led her in chains thro' the ſtreets, ſhouting after her as an infamous woman. Mean time *Khodadâd*, being come to *Andekân*, entered into an agreement with *Kalîl Soltân*, and promiſed never to do him any injury for the future; aſſuring him withal, that this diſgrace had never happened to him, but thro' the perfidy of *Allâhdâd* and *Argûn Shâh*. He urged this diſcovery as a proof of his ſincerity; and, tho' he put the prince in mind of his attempt to poiſon him, yet declared he was ſo far from revenging it, that he would do his utmoſt to re-eſtabliſh him in his dominions.

Shâh Rûkh *enters.*

After this *Khodadâd* cauſed the kotbah to be made in the name of *Kalîl Soltân*, throughout *Turkeſtân*; and then, leaving him at *Andekân*, departed, in order to demand ſuccours of the *Mungls* (Q) in his behalf. The *Mungls*, as hath been obſerved before, had, on the death of *Timûr*, come to an agreement with *Khodadâd*: they likewiſe ſent ambaſſadors, with rich preſents, to *Kalîl Soltân*; who received them with great civility, and diſmiſſed them loaded with favours. As this amity was ſtrictly cultivated afterwards with the *Mungls*, as ſoon as *Khodadâd* arrived among them, they ſeized his perſon, and ſent advice thereof to *Kalîl Soltân*; acquainting him, "that they were ready to obey his commands, either in put-"ting *Khodadâd* to death, as the author of his preſent miſ-"fortunes; or ſending, by him, the ſuccours which he had "deſired in his name." *Kalîl Soltân*, in anſwer to this meſſage of the *Mungls*, ſet forth the miſerable condition to which that amîr had reduced him; adding, "that he now placed "him (the prince) as a buckler before him, to ward off the "ſtrokes of his own bad fortune." Then he told them, "that, as they knew better than he what deſigns *Khodadâd*

Khodadâd *ſlain.*

(Q) The *Perſian* hiſtorians ſay, that *Khodadâd* called in *Shamâ Jehân*, king of the *Mungls*, to take poſſeſſion of *Kalîl Soltan*'s dominions: but that the *Mungl* prince puniſhed the traitor, and ſent his head to *Shâh Rûkh*. *D'Herbel.* bibl. orient. p. 770. art. Schah Rokh.

A. D. 1407. " had in view; he therefore left it to them, to act in the af-
" fair as they should judge most expedient."

Kalîl Soltân *resigns.* On the receipt of this answer, the *Mungls* immediately cut off that commander's head, and sent it to *Kalîl Soltân*; who thenceforward continued on the frontiers of *Turkestân*, amusing himself with composing elegies, in *Persian*, on the absence of his beloved *Shâdi Mulk*, in terms capable of moving the very rocks. At length, no longer able to support his uneasiness, he marched with his troops towards *Samarkant*, and put himself into the hands of his uncle. *Shâh Rûkh* received him with honour; and, without speaking of the evils that were past, delivered up to him the chief object of his affections. After this, leaving at *Samarkant* his son *Olugh Bek*, to govern that province, he returned to *Khorassân*; carrying with him *Kalîl Soltân*, to whom he afterwards gave the command of the country dependent on *Ray* (R): but he did not enjoy that settlement long; for he soon after died, by means of a dose which his uncle caused to be given to him privately; and, by his death, put an end to the troubles in which the country had been involved. *Shâdi Mulk*, unable to bear this new affliction, thrust a poignard thro' her throat; and was buried at *Ray*, in the same tomb with her unfortunate consort [r].

His death.

CHAP. VII.

The Reign of Shâh Rûkh.

2. Shâh Rûkh. BY this conquest, or rather voluntary submission, of *Great Bukhâria*, *Shâh Rûkh* became peaceable possessor of the greater part of the empire of his father *Timûr*: for, besides that large region, he was master of *Karazm*, *Khorassân*, *Kandahâr*, and part of *Hindûstân*, *Jorjân*, *Mazânderân*, *Persian Irâk*, *Pârs*, *Kermân*; and, in short, all the country of *Irân*, or *Persia* at large, as far as the province of *Azerbejân*, which was then in subjection to *Kara Yusef* the *Turkmân* [a]. Hence it appears, that *Shâh Rûkh*, when *Kalîl Soltân* resigned the succession to him, was not possessed of much above half of his father's empire to the south of the *Jihûn*, or *Amû*: tho' it must be confessed, that the countries to the west of *Persian*

[r] Arabsh. ubi sup. p. 141—145. [a] Ibid. p. 146.

(R) The *Persian* historians say, that he gave him the provinces of *Persian Irâk* and *Azerbejân* in exchange for the provinces to the north of the *Jihûn*, with which he invested *Uluk Beg*, or *Oluk Bek*. *D'Herbelot*, bibl. orient. p. 770. art. Schah Rokh.

Irâk

Irâk were not intirely ſubject to that conqueror; who, in 805, divided them among the three eldeſt ſons of *Mirân Shâh*; *Abûbekr*, *Omar*, and *Kalîl Soltân*, juſt now mentioned. To the firſt he gave *Arabian Irâk*; *Omar* was inveſted with *Azerbejân*, *Rûm* or *Anatolia*, and *Syria*, as ſet forth in the reign of *Kalîl Soltân*; who had for his ſhare *Armenia*, *Arrân*, *Georgia*, and *Trabizond*. It may be proper, therefore, in this place, to inquire how the dominions granted to theſe three princes came to be loſt. 2. Shâh Rûkh. A. D. 1402.

When *Timûr* made a grant of *Arabian Irâk* to *Abûbekr*, it was then in the hands of *Kara Yûſef*; who, on his return from *Syria*, whither he had fled from the arms of *Timûr*, had ſeized it, on ſome diſguſt againſt Soltân *Ahmed*, whom he drove out of the province [a]: but *Abûbekr*, advancing with a ſuperior force, obliged the *Turkmân* to abandon *Irâk*; and rebuilt *Bâghdâd*, according to his grandfather's directions. After *Timûr*'s death, *Omar Mirza*, coveting to join his brother *Abûbekr*'s territories to his own, made war upon him; and, having ſurpriſed him in the city of *Soltânîya* (in *Perſian Irâk*) took him priſoner. By this means *Irâk* fell into the hands of *Omar*, with the city of *Bâghdâd*, its capital [b]. Soon after, Soltân *Ahmed*, whom, with *Kara Yûſef*, the ſoltân of *Egypt* had ſet at liberty, on receiving news of the death of *Timûr*, got privately into *Bâghdâd*, with ſome of his friends, in diſguiſe; and, exciting a ſedition againſt *Omar*'s governor, the people drove out the latter, and proclaimed *Ahmed* ſoltân. *Omar takes* Irâk.

Mean time *Abûbekr*, eſcaping out of priſon, raiſed forces, and drove *Omar* out of his dominions, which he ſoon became maſter of; and, while he was employed at the ſiege of *Iſpâhân*, towards the end of the year 808, the Amîr *Ibrâhîm*, coming out of *Shîrwân* (A), ſeized the city of *Tauris*: but was ſoon obliged to quit it on the approach of Soltân *Ahmed*, who thus was re-eſtabliſhed in all his dominions. However, *Ibrâhîm* having, in 809, reduced *Iſpâhân* (B), ſoon obliged *Ahmed* to quit *Tauris*, and retire to *Bâghdâd*; and, *Omar* *Recovered by* Abûbekr. A. D. 1405.

[a] See Vol. VI. p. 103, & ſeq. [b] D'Herb. bibl. orient. p. 20. & 693. art. Aboubekr & Omar Mirza.

(A) This ſeems to be Sheykh *Ibrâhîm*, king of *Shîrwân*, ſpoken of lower down: but indeed there is ſo great defectiveneſs and confuſion either in the original authors, or thoſe who have given us the abſtracts, that 'tis ſcarce poſſible to make the hiſtory of any of theſe princes conſiſtent either with that of the reſt, or with itſelf.

(B) Perhaps *Ibrâhîm* is put here, by miſtake, for *Abûbekr*; or was an aſſiſtant to the latter, who, we find, but a little before beſieged the ſame city.

2. Shâh Rûkh.

being ſoon after ſlain in *Khoraſſân*, by the troops of *Shâh Rûkh*, *Abûbekr*, by his death, remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of *Tauris*. But this prince, though brave, was unfortunate, and did not long enjoy either his own or his brother *Omar*'s territories: for *Kara Yûſef* (who, as ſoon as he was freed from his *Egyptian* bondage, had, with his *Turkmâns*, ſeized great part of *Arabian Irâk*, and *Al Jazîreh*, or *Meſopotamia*), taking advantage of theſe diviſions which reigned among thoſe princes, entered *Azerbejân* with freſh and warlike troops, in order to conquer it. *Abûbekr* hereupon advanced with his forces to repel the invader; and, in 810, fought two battles with the *Turkmâns*, on the banks of the *Euphrates* (C): both which he loſt; and, in the firſt, his father *Mirân Shâh*, who accompanied him in that expedition, was ſlain.

A. D. 1407.

Conquered by Kara Yûſef;

AFTER the laſt defeat, *Abûbekr* fled to the province of *Kermân*, and from thence to that of *Sajeſtân*, or *Siſtân*; where having raiſed forces, he ſet out to return, with deſign to make head againſt the *Turkmâns*, and drive them out of *Azerbejân*: but, in his way back, he was killed [c] (D). Mean time *Kara Yûſef* went on with his conqueſts; and, in two or three years, made himſelf maſter of that province. Then, leaving *Tauris* in a good poſture of defence, he marched againſt *Kara Ozmân Bayandûri* (of the *White Sheep* dynaſty), who was then poſſeſſed of *Diyârbekr*; which, on the other's approach, he abandoned [d]. During his abſence, Soltân *Ahmed*, not able to bear the loſs of *Azerbejân*, which he conſidered as his patrimony, in 812 he ſet forwards; and, the next year, ſurpriſed *Tauris*, without meeting any reſiſtance. *Kara Yûſef* no ſooner received advice of this ill turn which the ſoltân had done him, than he marched againſt him with a puiſſant army, and overthrew him two leagues from *Tauris*; in ſuch a manner, that

[c] Mirkond & Kondamir ap. D'Herbel. p. 20. & 150. art. Aboubekr and Avis; alſo Texeira, p. 321. 324. [d] Ibid.

(C) Probably in the neighbourhood of *Bâghdâd*, or *Hella*: yet *Texeira* (from *Mirkond*) p. 324. mentions a battle fought near *Nakhſhivân* (near the river *Arrâs*), which *Abûbekr* loſt; whereupon the city of *Tauris* fell into the hands of *Kara Yûſef*.

(D) This is according to *Texeira*, who has given an abſtract of *Mirkond*'s hiſtory: but *D'Herbelot*, who quotes both *Mirkond* and *Kondamir*, in the article of *Abûbekr*, ſays, he died in *Sajeſtân*, after having raiſed forces to no purpoſe: yet, in that of *Cara Joſef*, relates, that the *Turkmâns* firſt ſlew *Abûbekr* near *Nakhſhivân*, and afterwards his father *Mirân Shâh*. This diſagreement muſt proceed from inadvertence in the extracter.

Ahmed

Ahmed had scarce time to hide himself in a garden: where, being discovered, he was put to death, at the instigation of the lords of *Irâk*, who were incensed against him, in the same year 813. 2. Shâh Rûkh.

After this, in 815, *Kara Yûsef*, entering *Georgia*, slew *Constantine* the king; and brought Sheykh *Ibrâhîm*, king of *Shirwân*, prisoner to *Tauris* [e]. From what has been said, it appears, that this *Turkmân* made himself master of great part of the countries which *Timûr* had given to his grandchildren *Omar Mirza* and *Kalîl Soltân*; who seems to have abandoned his, to secure the succession at *Samarkant*. And it may be presumed that the rest of them returned in subjection to their former lords; as *Syria* to the soltân of *Egypt*, and *Rûm* (or *Anatolia*) to the *Othmân* emperors; or else were seized by the neighbouring princes. However that was, *Kara Yûsef*, extending his conquests eastward, took *Soltânîya*, *Kasbîn*, and other cities in *Persian Irâk*: while *Shâh Rûkh*, tho' desirous to resent this injury, as well as revenge the death of his brother *Mirân Shâh*; yet, being employed about other affairs, was not at leisure to oppose him, till the year 821; when he set out with a powerful army, to attack his dominions. As soon as this news was brought to *Kara Yûsef*, who was then marched toward *Antâb*, a city of *Syria*, near *Hâlep*, he desisted from that enterprise, and turned back to meet the soltân: but died on the way, at *Ojân*, or *Ujân*, near *Tauris* [f]. Others say, that he defeated the *Turkmân* in three battles [g]. After his death, in 824, Amîr *Eskânder*, son of *Kara Yûsef*, continued the war against *Shâh Rûkh*; by whom being overthrown in *Diyârbekr*, he retired towards the *Euphrates*, while the victor marched to *Tauris*: but, being denied entrance by the inhabitants, and thinking his stay would be to no purpose, returned to *Khoraſſân*; upon which *Eskânder* came back to his capital.

with other countries.

Opposed by Shâh Rûkh.

A. D. 1418.

In 828 this prince advanced to *Soltânîya*, and took it; of which *Shâh Rûkh* being informed, he marched again to *Tauris*, where he routed *Eskânder*, who retired towards *Rûmestân* (or *Anatolia*). For all this, *Shâh Rûkh* could not make himself master of that city. Hereupon he returned to *Khoraſſân*, to recruit his army; and then marched back to *Ray* in *Irâk*, which he took. There *Jehân Shâh*, brother of *Eskânder*, coming to wait on, was reconciled to, him, and received the investiture of *Azerbejân*, for which he became his tributary. On this grant, he armed against *Eskânder*; and defeated him; who, flying to *Alenjâk*, was there killed by his own son in 841. Altho' the

The soltân's victories, Hej. 828. A. D. 1424.

A. D. 1437.

[e] D'Herbel. p. 150, & seq. art. Avis. [f] Texeira, p. 321. [g] D'Herb. art. Shâh Rûkh, p. 770.

reign

2. Shâh Rûkh.

reign of *Shâh Rûkh* has been written in great detail by the oriental historians (E), and is full of great events; yet little more relating to that prince has yet come to our knowlege.

and other acts.

NOTWITHSTANDING *Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr* was appointed *Timûr*'s succeſſor, and *Kalil Soltân* actually poſſeſſed the capital of his empire, with the provinces north of the *Jihûn*, for four years together; yet Shâh *Rûkh* is by hiſtorians reckoned the immediate ſucceſſor of that conqueror, and the beginning of his reign put in 807. The year after, he rebuilt the famous fortreſs or caſtle of *Herât*, where he then reigned, named *Ektiâro'ddîn*, which his father had deſtroyed, and employed 7000 men about that work: he likewiſe re-edified the walls of the city itſelf, and thoſe of *Marû*, which had lain in ruins ever ſince the time of *Jenghîz Khân*.

A. D. 1404.

Whence named.

THIS prince is called by hiſtorians Mîrza *Shâh Rûkh*, or *Shâh Rûkh Mîrza*; alſo *Shâh Rûkh Bahâdr*, or *the valiant*. He was named *Shâh Rûkh* by his father *Timûr*, becauſe he received the news of the birth of this prince at the time when he was playing at cheſs; and had made the ſtroke which the *Perſians* call *Shâh Rûkh*, that is, when the *Rûkh*, which we call the *Tower*, and ſome the *Knight*, has given *Chec* to the king.

His death, Hej. 850. A. D. 1446. *and ſons.*

SHAH Rûkh died in the year 850, in the city of *Ray*, or *Rey* (in *Perſian Irâk*), after he had lived ſeventy-one years, or thereabouts, and reigned forty. He had five ſons; *Ulug Beg*, who ſucceeded him, *Abû'l Fetah Ibrâhîm*, *Bayſankar*, *Soyûrgatmîſh*, and *Mohammed Jûki*. All theſe princes, excepting the eldeſt, died during the life-time of their father. *Abû'l Fetah Ibrâhîm* governed *Pârs* (or *Proper Perſia*), for the ſpace of twenty years, and died in 838. This prince left in *Shîrâz*, the capital, ſeveral monuments, which have preſerved his memory: among others, a famous madraſſah, or college, which bears the name of *Dâr al Sâfu*, that is, *the houſe of joy* and *pleaſure*. There are extant ſeveral little poems, as well as inſcriptions, of this prince's compoſing; and it was to him that *Shârifo'ddîn Ali Yezdi*, who is reckoned the moſt elegant of all the *Perſian* hiſtorians, dedicated the hiſtory of *Timûr*, intituled, *Dhâffer* or *Zâffer Nâmeh*, that is, the *Book of Victories*, which was written by his order, in the year 828, of which we have given the abſtract.

(E) His hiſtory was written at large by *Sharîfo'ddîn Ali*, author of the hiſtory of *Timûr Bek*. (See Vol. II. p. 428.); alſo by *Abd'olrazzak ebn Jalâlo'ddîn Iſhâk al Samarkandi*; a tranſlation of which was expected from the hands of the late M. *Galland*, but never appeared. See *D'Herbel.* bibl. orient. p. 770. art. Schah Rokh.

MIRZA

MIRZA *Bayſankar*, or *Bayſangor*, who died the year before his brother *Ibrâhîm*, left three ſons; Mîrza *Alâo'ddawlet*, Soltân *Mohammed Mîrza*, father of *Yadighiar*, and Mîrza *Babr Abû'l Kaſſem*. *Soyûrgatmûſh* commanded in the country of *Gâznah* and the *Indies*. He died before his two elder brothers, in the year 830. 2. Shâh Rûkh.

MIRZA *Mohammed Jûki*, the fifth and laſt ſon of *Shâh Rûkh* mentioned by hiſtorians, died in 848, two years only before the death of his father[b].

The Reign of Ulug Beg, *his Son* Abdo'llatîf, *and Soltân* Abdo'llah.

UPON the death of *Shâh Rûkh*, in 851, the empire of *Timûr* fell again into diviſion: for his three grandchildren, the ſons of *Bayſankar*, his third ſon, ſeized each a ſhare. *Alâo'ddawlet*, the eldeſt, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Khoraſſân*; *Mohammed*, the ſecond, kept *Perſian Irâk* and *Pârs*, of which he was governor; and *Abû'l Kaſſem Bâbr* did the like by *Jorjân* and *Mazânderân*: ſo that nothing remained to Mirza *Mohammed Jûki*, ſurnamed *Ulug Beg*, or *the great lord*, eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor of *Shâh Rûkh*, excepting the countries to the north of the river *Jihûn* (or *Amû*) and *Turkeſtân*; which he had governed for near forty years before, that is, during the whole reign of his father in thoſe countries. 3. Ulug Beg. Hej. 851. A. D. 1447.

As ſoon as *Alâo'ddawlet* heard of the death of his grandfather, he ſeized on *Herât*, the capital of *Khoraſſân*, under pretence of commanding there in behalf of his uncle *Ulug Beg*. He there found great treaſures, which he plundered; and detained as priſoner the perſon of *Abdo'llatîf*, *Ulug Beg*'s eldeſt ſon, who was yet very young. Hereupon *Ulug Beg* ſent ambaſſadors to his nephew, to treat of peace, and get *Abdo'llatîf* out of his hands. But this peace laſted but a ſhort ſpace: for *Ulug Beg*, not being able to ſuffer *Alâo'ddawlet* to remain in poſſeſſion of *Khoraſſân*, to which he had better pretenſions himſelf, advanced the year following, with his two ſons, *Abdo'llatîf* and *Abdo'lazîz*, at the head of a powerful army, to attack him; and, meeting him at *Morgâb*, fourteen paraſangs from *Herât*, gave him battle. *Alâo'ddawlet*, not able to withſtand the ſhock of his uncle's arms, was defeated, and retired to his brother *Bâbr*; while *Ulug Beg* entered triumphantly into *Herât*, and aſcended the throne of his father *Shâh Rûkh*.

HOWEVER, he did not remain long in peace there: for the two brothers, *Alâo'ddawlet* and *Bâbr*, having aſſembled a conſiderable *Defeats the brothers.*

[b] D'HERBEL. p. 770. art. Schah Rukh.

3. Ulug Beg.

siderable army, resolved, if possible, to drive him out of *Khoraſſân*. *Ulug Beg*, on this advice, marched from *Herât* against them, and forced them to abandon *Aſtarabâd*, which they had already mastered; and obliged them to take shelter with their other brother, Soltân *Mohammed*, who reigned in *Persian Irâk*. *Ulug Beg*, content with having put them to flight, returned also to *Herât*, where his presence was very necessary: for, in his absence, the inhabitants of the suburbs of that great city had revolted, and placed at their head *Yar Ali*, the *Turkmân*, son of *Eſkânder*, and grandson of *Kara Yûſef*, mentioned in the reign of *Shâh Rûkh*, with a design to make themselves masters of *Herât*: but the victorious prince returned time enough to chastise them for their rebellion, and gave the pillage of the suburbs to his troops. This was in the year 852; after which, he returned to his royal city of *Samarkant*.

Hej. 852. A. D. 1448.

Slain by his son.

THE absence of *Ulug Beg* soon gave Mîrza *Bâbr* an opportunity to come again to *Aſtarabâd*, and from thence to *Herât*; whose inhabitants, in resentment for the plundering of their suburbs, opened their gates to him. This misfortune was succeeded by a greater: for, not long after, *Abdo'llatîf* rebelled against his father, and marched to reduce *Bâlk*. *Ulug Beg*, willing to bring his son to reason, advanced, with his troops, towards that city: but *Abdo'llatîf*, instead of submitting himself, went, at the head of an army, to meet his father, and give him battle. *Ulug Beg* was defeated; and, being taken prisoner, was put into the hands of *Abbâs*, who, after some formal proceedings against him, at length put him to death, in the year 857.

A learned prince.

THIS prince, whose end was so unhappy, was yet endowed with great qualities. For, besides being very courageous, he applied himself to study the sciences, and particularly astronomy. It is under his name and authority, that the tables, intituled, *Zîj Ulug Beg*, were composed, at *Samarkant*, by *Ali Ebn Gayâtho'ddîn Mohammed Jamſhid*, surnamed *Al Kuſhji*, and by *Salâho'ddin Kâzi Zâdeh al Rûmi*, the greatest astronomers of their time. This latter, who had been *Ulug Beg*'s master, dying before the work was finished, the whole burden fell upon the former. The work, intituled (A), *Mârifat al Tawârîk*, which makes a part of the astronomical tables, calls this prince *Soltân al Hind wa al Sind*, that is, *king of the two* Indies (B), and gives him forty-one years of reign; al-

(A) It has been published by Mr. *John Geaves*, with a *Latin* version, under the title of *Epochæ Celebriores*.

(B) Rather, literally, of *Al Hind* and *Al Sind*; which are two different parts of *India*.

though

though he properly reigned no more than two years after the death of *Shâh Rûkh*. *Kondamîr*, *Al Jannâbi*, and *Ebn Yûsef*, qualify this prince with the surnames, or titles, of *Al Mâlek al Saïd*, *Kurkhân*, and *Sâheb Kerân*; all which *Timûr* bore, and left them as hereditary in his family [a]. 3. Ulug Beg.

ULUG Beg was succeeded by his unnatural son *Abdo'llatîf*; who, to his parricide added fratricide; having also caused his brother *Abdo'lazîz* to be put to death, in order to secure himself on the throne: which yet he did not enjoy longer than six months; at the end whereof, his own soldiers shot him to death with their arrows [b]. 4. Abdo'llatîf.

AFTER the death of *Abdo'llatîf*, *Abdo'llah*, son of *Ibrâhîm* (C), son of *Shâh Rûkh*, took possession of his dominions. This prince succeeded his father *Ibrâhîm* in the sovereignty of *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, in the year 1438, with the consent of his uncle *Shâh Rûkh*: but being, at length, driven out of his dominions, by his cousin-german *Mohammed Mîrza*, son of *Bay Sangor*, son of *Shâh Rûkh*, he fled to his uncle *Ulug Beg*, at *Samarkant*; who received him very well, and gave him his daughter in marriage. He seems to have continued in that city during the remainder of the lives both of *Ulug Beg* and *Abdo'llatîf*; which gave him an opportunity, on the death of the latter, to seize the throne: but he possessed it no more than one year; for, being twice attacked by *Abûsaïd Mîrza*, he was the last time overthrown in battle, and slain, in the year 855; as will be more distinctly set forth in the following reign [c]. 5. Abdo'llah. A. D. 1451.

CHAP. VIII.

The Reign of Abûsaïd Mîrza.

ABUSAID Mîrza, the son of *Mohammed* (A), the son of *Mîrân Shâh*, son of *Timûr*, was in the army of *Ulug Beg*, when he made war on his son *Abdo'llatîf*, on the banks of the 6. *Soltân* Abûsaïd Mîrza.

[a] TEXEIRA, p. 317. D'HERBEL. p. 83. 414. art. Alaeddin & Ulug Beg. [b] Id. ibid. [c] TEX. p. 318. D'HERBEL. p. 8. art. Abdallah.

(C) He is elsewhere said to be the son of *Ulug Beg*. See *D'Herbelot*, art. *Abûsaïd Mîrza*, p. 34; and *Texeira*, hist. *Pers.* p. 318.

(A) If he was the son of *Mirân Shâh*, he must have been born after the death of *Timûr*: for *Mirân Shâh* had no son named *Mohammed* at that juncture. But the oriental historians commit frequent mistakes in giving the genealogies of princes, as has been observed with regard to *Abdo'llah*, the predecessor of *Abûsaïd*.

river

6. Abûsaïd Mirza. river *Amû*, and seemed to be in very good understanding with that prince. But, having an ambitious mind, and enterprising head, he took the occasion of that war, and the troubles which ensued in the city of *Samarkant*, to discover the design which he had, for a long time, nourished, of making himself the chief of a new party, and master of some provinces. With this view, he joined his forces to those of *Il Argûn*, one of the most powerful lords of the country, and marched with him to *Samarkant*; where *Abdo'lazîz*, another son of Soltân *Ulug Beg*, commanded for his father: but this latter, not thinking himself strong enough to oppose such considerable troops, abandoned the city, and retired to *Jahar*, or *Chaar Divar*, that is, *the four walls*; where he judged himself in more security.

Secures Bokhâra. As soon as *Ulug Beg* received this advice, he immediately quitted the *Amû*, to go and relieve his capital; and, by that means, left the way open to his rebel son *Abdo'llatîf*, who did not fail to pass the river, and follow at his father's heels. That prince, having become master of *Samarkant*, after his parricide, in 854, *Abûsaïd* was no longer in a condition to undertake any thing; and therefore was obliged to retire to the camp of *Il Argûn*. But *Abdo'llatîf*, considering him as a thorn in his foot, found means to draw him out of that post, and take him prisoner. However, his confinement did not continue long: for he made a shift, soon after, to escape to *Bokhâra*; where, being informed that *Abdo'llatîf* was dead, and *Abdo'llah* had succeeded him, he managed matters so well, by his intrigues, that he made himself master of *Bokhâra*, and of the country belonging to it. After which, he began to declare war openly against *Abdo'llah*, and marched towards *Samarkant*: but, being met by the soltan, he was defeated, and A. D. 1450. constrained to fly at a great distance into *Turkestân*. This happened in the year 854.

Ascends the throne. THE year following, *Abûsaïd*, strengthened by the powerful assistance of *Uzbek Khân* (of *Kipjâk*), returned, to attack *Abdo'llah*, from whom he took several castles; and, at length, came to a bloody battle, in which the soltân being slain, *Abûsaïd* became the peaceable possessor of all the provinces to the north of the *Amû*, which belonged to *Ulug Beg*. However, this victory cost *Samarkant* very dear: for the *Uzbeks*, or soldiers of *Uzbek Khân*, having entered the city, treated the inhabitants very roughly, and behaved as masters. Hereupon *Abûsaïd* made use of artifice to drive them out: for going alone, and in a plain dress, to the gate, he there discovered himself to the burghers, (who guarded it), unknown to the *Uzbeks*; and entering the city, presently made himself master of the principal posts: which done, he obliged the unruly

guests,

gueſts, partly by force, and partly by preſents, to quit the place, and retire home with their leader [a].

6. Abûsaïd Mîrza.

A. D. 1456.

In the year 862, Soltân *Bâbr*, one of *Timûr*'s grandſons, who reigned in *Khoraſſân*, being dead, and his ſon *Mahmûd* on the throne; *Abûſaïd*, who had, for a long time, meditated the reduction not only of that province, but of all *Irân*, or *Perſia* at large, without delay put himſelf in a condition to accompliſh his deſign. He intruſted part of the execution to the care of Sheykh *Mîr Haji*, governor of *Bâlk*, and advanced with his army towards *Herât*. *Ahmed Yeſſawl*, who commanded there in behalf of Soltân *Ibrâhîm Mîrza*, having conſidered, for ſome time, whether he ſhould defend the city, or retire into the citadel, called *Ektiâro'ddîn*, at length reſolved on the latter. *Abûſaïd*, having thus become maſter of the city, and in vain ſummoned *Ahmed* to ſurrender, gave ſeveral aſſaults upon the caſtle; but was always repulſed, and made no progreſs in the ſiege.

Enters Khoraſſân.

At this juncture, ſome evil-minded perſons having informed him, that Soltân *Ibrâhîm Mîrza* had ſent couriers to the Soltâna *Jaurſhâd*, his mother, and held a ſecret correſpondence with her; he, in a tranſport of anger, haſtily gave orders to put her to death. Immediately after this, *Shîr* (or *Mîr*) *Hâji* arrived in the camp, having left one he confided in to guard the ſtrong caſtle of *Niretû*. But there happened an accident in his abſence, which made him repent the having quitted it: for a bold daring fellow coming one evening to the gate of this fortreſs, with a flock of ſheep, ſo far gained upon the guard, by his talk, that they permitted him to enter, and lie that night in the place. But the firſt watch was no ſooner paſt, than the man, who was furniſhed with ropes and hooks, enabled ſeveral of his aſſociates to mount the walls. Theſe ſoldiers immediately ran to attack the governor, whom they wounded in ſeveral places; and having, at the ſame time, ſeized on the guard-houſe, became, at length, maſters of the caſtle.

Niretû *fortreſs loſt.*

ABUSAID having received this ill piece of news, and apprehending withal that the children of Soltân *Abdo'llatîf* were preparing for war, in order to recover their father's dominions, quitted, at length, the city of *Herât*, and took the road to *Bâlk*. He ſent, however, one of his generals before him, with the beſt part of his army, to diſperſe the troops which thoſe young princes had aſſembled in the neighbourhood of that city. As theſe princes, named *Ahmed* and *Jûghi*, were raſh enough, with their new-raiſed troops, to hazard a battle againſt well

Retires to Bâlk.

[a] D'Herbel. p. 34, & ſeq. art. Abouſaïd Mîrza.

diſciplined

6. Abûsaïd Mîrza. disciplined forces, they suffered for their ill conduct: for *Ahmed* was killed in the action, and *Jûghi* had much ado to escape.

Turkmân *ravages.* THIS expedition being finished, *Abûsa'id* went to pass the winter at *Bâlk*. But he was not long there in repose: for *Alâo'ddawlet*, and Mîrza *Ibrâhîm*, his relations, cut out new work for him; and *Jehân Shâh*, the *Turkmân*, son of *Kara Yûsef*, advanced, from *Azerbejân*, into *Khoraſſân*, committing horrible ravages all the way he went. *Abûsa'id* was obliged, in those unlucky conjunctures, to quit *Herât*; which most of the inhabitants, not thinking themselves secure against the fury of the *Turkmâns*, had already abandoned, on the news of their approach. They had now encamped six months about that city, when *Abûsa'id*, having assembled all the forces of his dominions, marched to fall upon them at the river *Morgâb*. *Jehân Shâh*, surprised at this motion, sent *Pîr Budak*, the bravest of his sons, with a body of troops, to reconnoitre the soltân's army; but he was repulsed vigorously, to the very camp of his father. The *Turkmân*, having at the same time received news from *Azerbejân*, which made him very uneasy, resolved to return to that province. Accordingly, he sent away his heavy baggage before, and then dispatched Sayd *Ashûra* to the soltân, with propoſals of peace [b].

Makes peace. *ABUSAID* insisted, at first, that *Jehân Shâh* should rest content with *Azerbejân*, and yield up to him all which he possessed in *Persian Irâk* and *Khoraſſân*: but, after several negotiations, it was agreed, that the *Turkmân* should remain master of *Irâk*, and not enter into *Khoraſſân*, beyond the city of *Semnân* (in *Komes*), which was to serve as a frontier to both dominions. After the conclusion of this treaty, made in 863, the enemy took their route for *Irâk*: but committed such cruel ravages where-ever they passed, that they scarce left a house standing. Upon their retreat, *Abûsa'id* made his entrance into *Herât*; where commerce was again restored, the want of which had caused a great scarcity in that city. To ease the inhabitants, therefore, both of that capital and the province, which had suffered extremely during the stay of the *Turkmâns*, he sent his army into *Great Bukhâria*, keeping with him no more than 2000 horse for his guard.

Hej. 863. A. D. 1458.

Defeats the princes. THE princes *Alao'ddawlet*, Mîrza *Ibrâhîm*, and Mîrza *Sanjar*, his relations, who had territories bordering on his, the limits of which they were desirous to extend, seeing the soltân in a disarmed state, entered into a confederacy among themselves, to attack him. However, unprovided with troops as

[b] D'HERBEL. p. 35. art. Abousaïd Mîrza.

he

he was, he made no difficulty to meet them, with the few men he had, between *Saraks* and *Marû*. But his courage was luckily ſeconded by fortune: for, when he was upon the point of engaging, two of his commanders arrived, with freſh forces; and, by their aſſiſtances, the confederate princes were defeated, in ſo ſignal a manner, that ſome of the runaways never ſtopped till they got to *Samarkant*. *Sanjar* was taken priſoner, and put to death; the other two princes eſcaped; and *Abûſaïd* returned triumphantly to *Herât*: where, having no weighty affair upon his hands, he reſolved to retake the ſtrong caſtle of *Niretû*, which had been loſt by ſurpriſe, as hath been before related; and this he very eaſily accompliſhed, by means of the intelligence which he had in the place. 6. Abûſaïd Mîrza.

About the ſame time, Mîrza *Ibrâhîm*, who, after his defeat, had fled to *Damegân*, having gathered freſh troops, marched towards *Tûs* (or *Maſhhâd*), in hopes to repair the loſs he had lately ſuſtained, and take that city by ſtealth: but death, which ſurpriſed him on the road, rendered all his deſigns abortive, and delivered the ſoltân from a competitor, who, for a long time, diſputed with him the empire of *Timûr Bek*. In the ſame year, *Abûſaïd* had a ſon by his queen, the daughter of *Alâo'ddawlet*, whom he named *Shâh Rûkh*; and, towards the end of it, Shah *Mahmûd*, ſon of Soltân *Bâhr*, whom the *Turkmâns* had obliged to fly into the province of *Sejeſtân*, was killed in a battle, which he fought in *Hindûſtân* [c]. Ibrâhîm *dies*.

In 864, *Abûſaïd*, receiving advice, that Soltân *Huſſayn*, ſon of *Manſûr*, ſon of *Baykâra*, ſon of *Omar Sheykh*, ſon of *Timûr Bek*, was advanced as far as *Sebzwâr*, pillaging and ravaging all before him; ſent a body of forces, under the conduct of the Amîr *Ali Pârſi* and *Haſſan Sheykh*, towards *Mazânderân*, which belonged to *Huſſayn*, and followed himſelf, with the reſt of his army. In fine, a cruel battle was fought between theſe two monarchs, in which *Huſſayn* having been intirely defeated, *Abûſaïd* was received into *Aſtarabâd*, capital of the country, and proclaimed ſoltân. This prince, after he had paſſed ſome time feaſting in that city, gave the government to his ſon *Mahmûd*, and ſet out for his imperial reſidence of *Herât*: but, before he got thither, he met with a great alarm; for *Kalîl Hendûgha*, who commanded in *Sajeſtân*, in the time of Soltân *Babr*, took the occaſion of the ſoltân's abſence to preſent himſelf before *Herât*, which he imagined would yield to him, without ſtriking a ſtroke: but the inhabitants putting the city in a poſture of defence, formed a *Routs Soltân* Huſſayn. Hej. 864. A. D. 1459.

[c] D'Herbel. p. 36. art. Abouſaïd Mîrza.

6. Abûfaïd Mîrza.

body of troops, with which they vigorously repulsed *Khalîl*, and made him return to his own country.

Khalîl Hendûgha submits.

ABUSAID, who was informed, while in *Mazânderân*, of *Khalîl*'s enterprise, made great marches, in order to relieve his capital: but finding the city in as good condition at his arrival, as when he left it, rewarded the fidelity of the inhabitants; and then marched towards the province of *Sajestân*, to punish the rashness of *Khalîl*: who not having forces sufficient to resist so powerful an enemy, had recourse to his clemency; and, having sworn obedience to him, the soltân pardoned his offence, without taking from him his government: however, he made him dependent on Shâh *Yahia*, who was descended from the antient kings of the country. In 865, Mîrza *Alâo'ddawlet*, who, after losing the battle before-mentioned, had retired towards the coast of the *Caspian* sea, to *Mâlek Yanshûr*, died a natural death; and his corps was conveyed from thence to *Herât*, where it was interred in the college built by his mother the Soltâna *Jawhershâd*.

Hej. 865. A. D. 1460.

At the same time, *Abûsaïd* being informed, that Mîrza *Mohammed Jûghi*, son of Soltân *Abdo'llatîf*, ravaged the plains of *Great Bukhâria*, he marched with his army, and passed the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*), to reduce this young prince to his duty: but he was no sooner arrived at *Samarkant*, than *Jûghi*, unable to keep the field against him, went and shut himself up in the city of *Shâh Rûkhîya* (B), where *Abûsaïd* proposed to besiege him; and must needs have forced him to surrender, if the war, which Soltân *Hûssayn* had declared in *Mazanderân*, had not obliged him to abandon his enterprise, and make peace with *Jûghi*. *Hussayn* had taken the field a second time, and besieged *Astarabâd*, capital of *Jorjân* (C), where *Abûsaïd* had left his son *Mahmûd* governor. This prince sallied out of the city, with all his forces, and gave the enemy battle, which, although it cost *Hûssayn* much blood, was not fortunate to him; for he lost the victory, and was obliged to fly into *Khorassân*, from whence his father had already sent to his generals, to guard that frontier. Soltân *Hûssayn* entered triumphing into the city of *Astarabâd*, where, for a time, he enjoyed the fruits of his conquest in repose: but, imagining that the wars of *Great Bukhâria*, in which *Abûsaïd* was engaged, would afford him time enough to make himself master of *Khorassân*, he marched with his

Peace with Jûghi.

(B) Our readers will find some farther account of this war, in the history of the *Uzbek Khâns*, inserted hereafter.

(C) 'Tis before said to be the capital of *Mazânderân*: so that it must be considered as the chief city of *Mazanderân* in general, and of *Jorjân* in particular, which may be supposed a part of *Mazanderân* at that time.

army

army into that province, leaving *Abdo'rrahmân Argûn* to govern *Mazânderân* and *Jorjân*, which then compoſed one ſtate [d]. 6 Abûſaïd Mîrzà.

THE generals of *Abûſaïd*, on advice of this motion of the enemy, judging that they were not able to withſtand him in the field, reſolved to fortify *Herât*, and defend that city. Soltân *Huſſayn* did not fail to appear before it with his army; but not with deſign to beſiege it: for he did not believe that the inhabitants either would or could defend themſelves. However, finding, after he had waited eleven days, encamped at *Bâghzagun*, that there was no likelihood of their ſurrendering, he laid ſiege to *Herât* in form. He then battered the walls, and attacked the place with his beſt troops, for twenty days: but was always repulſed, by the bravery of the garriſon. Mean time, *Abûſaïd* being on his way to relieve the city, *Huſſayn* was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and marched to the river *Morgâb*, to diſpute the ſoltân's paſſage. Yet, his troops being diſperſed for ſake of ſpoil, and his officers divided in their opinions, he did not think fit to wait there, but turned back for *Aſtarabâd*, by the way of *Sarkas*, or *Sarakhs*. Hûſſayn *attacks* Herât.

THIS retreat, though made without any loſs on the part of *Hûſſayn*, proved a great victory to *Abûſaïd*, who, driving his enemy continually before him, obliged him to quit *Aſtarabâd*, to avoid being beſieged; and, conſequently, to abandon the provinces *Mazânderân* and *Jorjân*, whoſe inhabitants, already half revolted, went out to meet the victor. *Abûſaïd*, having thus a ſecond time become maſter of theſe provinces, put to death *Hendâgha*; and his ſons, whoſe diſloyalty he had often experienced; and committed the government of *Aſtarabâd* to his ſon *Mahmûd*, whom *Hûſſayn* had expelled. He returned afterwards to *Herât*, in 866; where he puniſhed with death *Moezo'ddîn*, preſident of the diwân, or council of that city, who had not obeyed his orders during his abſence. *Expelled his kingdom.*

AND now, having no enemy to divert him, he, in 867, ſet forward to reduce *Mohammed Jûghi*; who, during his abſence, had fortified *Shâhrûkhîya* to ſuch a degree, that it was looked on as impregnable. He paſſed the *Jihân*, after ſome ſtay at *Bâlk*; and, being arrived at *Samarkant*, made great preparations for the ſiege of *Shâhrûkhiya*; which reſiſted a whole year, againſt all his forces. At length, *Mohammed*, unable to hold out any longer, ſent a perſon of great authority to the ſoltân's camp, to obtain honourable conditions for him: but *Abûſaïd* obliged him to ſurrender at diſcretion, and ſent him priſoner to *Ekhtiâro'ddîn*, the caſtle of *Herât*, where he remained till his death A. D. 1462. Jûghi *reduced.*

[d] D'HERBEL. art. Abouſaïd.

6. Abûsaïd Mirza.

death. The soltân entered *Shâhrûkhîya* in 868; and soon after returned to *Herât*, which suffered greatly by the plague that same year [e].

Hej. 868. A. D. 1463.

Hûssayn's *new attempt.*

He had not been long in this city, before he received advice, that Soltân *Hussayn* had made a second irruption into *Khorassân*. Against this prince he sent a powerful army, under the conduct of his principal generals; but they were intirely defeated in battle: so that had not *Hussayn* been deserted by his best troops, and principal officers, who revolted from him, which obliged him to return to *Karazm*, he would have pursued his victory very far, and involved *Abûsaïd* in no small difficulties. But this unexpected retreat of his enemy restoring his affairs to a settled state, he, the next year, went to winter at *Marû*; and, finding himself in profound peace, in 870, he celebrated the circumcision of the princes his sons, with great magnificence, and diversions, which continued for five months. But the next year, while he passed the winter at *Marû*, he received advice of the death of *Jehân Shâh*, the *Turkmân*, which was the occasion of a new war: for this soltân, who was of the family of *the Black Sheep*, having been slain in battle against *Hassan Beg*, or *Uzun Hassan*, soltân of the dynasty of *the White Sheep* [f], his son *Hassan Ali*, who succeeded him, implored the assistance of *Abûsaïd*.

Hej. 870. A. D. 1465.

Abûsaïd *makes war on* Hassan Beg.

This prince, led by ambition no less than generosity, thought he ought not to lose so fair an opportunity of opening a way to the conquest of *Irâk* and *Azerbejân*. However, being willing to consult *Nâsro'ddîn Obeydo'llah*, who was reckoned the ablest man of his time for advising in great affairs, he sent for him from *Samarkant* to *Marû*, where he then was in winter quarters; and, after a conference with him, resolved to undertake the war against *Hassan Beg*. Pursuant to this resolution, he, in the year 872, decamped from before *Marû*, and marched to attack the provinces of *Irâk* and *Azerbejân*. When he arrived on the frontiers of this last province, as he had a very great army, he detached several bodies, who penetrating into *Irâk* and *Pârs*, made themselves masters of all the places through which they passed. Mean time, *Hassan Beg* sent several ambassadors, to demand peace of him: but although *Abûsaïd* received them with great civility, and dismissed them with presents for their master; yet his answer always was, that *Hassan Beg* should come himself to his camp, and that he then would let him know his intentions. At length he entered the country, resolving to pass the summer at *Kara-*

Hej. 872. A. D. 1467.

[e] D'Herbel. p. 37. art. Abousaïd. [f] See Vol. VI. p. 109.

bâgh

bâgh (D): but the *Turkmân* prince knew so well how to cut off his provisions and forage, that his army began to dwindle in a short time. So that, fearing to be besieged all at once, he fled back, with a very few men; for the greater part of his troops were already dispersed, and the rest had gone over to the enemy. When *Hassan Beg*, who watched the soltân's motions, found he was gone, he sent two of his sons in pursuit of him, who took him prisoner, and brought him to their camp [g]. 6. Abûsaïd Mîrza.

HASSAN Beg received *Abûsaïd* with a great deal of humanity, and was disposed to save his life: but, having deliberated in his council what was proper to be done with him, all his officers, particularly the kâdhi, or kâzi, of *Shîrwân*, were for putting him to death; and the rather, as *Hassan Beg* had already acknowleged the Mîrza *Yadighiar*, son of *Mohammed*, son of *Baysankor*, for the lawful emperor and successor of *Timûr*, in the provinces to the south of the *Jihûn*. Thus this powerful prince lost his life, in the year 873, through his own fault, and for refusing to make peace, so often sued for by the enemy. *Hassan Beg*, however, hindered his tent to be plundered, and preserved the honour of all the ladies of his saray; after which, he commanded the officers of *Khorassân* to acknowlege *Yadighiar* for their sovereign (E). *Is put to death.* A. D. 1468.

According to the *Nighiâristân*, and *Al Jannâbi*, this prince extended his dominions, which, at first, consisted of *Khorassân*, and the countries to the north of the river *Jihûn* (or *Great Bukhâria*), from *Kâshgar* in the east, to *Tauris* in the west; and from *Kermân* in *Irân*, and *Multân* in *Hindustân*, to *Karazm* on the east side of the *Caspian* sea. The same authors add, that he was surprised, and slain, in an ambuscade laid for him in the mountains of *Karabâgh*, near *Tauris*, after he had lived forty-two years, and reigned twenty [h]. But according to *Mirkond*, he was put to death by *Yadighar*, to whom he was delivered up [i]. *His dominions.*

Soltan *Abûsaïd* left behind him eleven sons; and, as the fall of the empire of *Timûr* is ascribed to the time of his death, it will be expedient for our readers to know what became of such a numerous posterity. The names of these eleven princes *His sons.*

[g] D'Herbel. p. 37. art. Abousaïd. [h] Ibid, p 34—37.
[i] Tex. p. 318.

(D) Called also *Karabâgh Arrân*, a delightful place, on the river *Arrâs*, in the province of *Arrân*.

(E) This, possibly, was done in resentment of *Abûsaïd*'s assisting *Hassan Ali* against *Hassan Beg*; and this is, probably, what made *Abûsaïd* refuse to make peace with the *Turkmân*.

6. Abusaïd Mîrza. were, Soltân *Ahmed*, Soltân *Mahmûd*, Mîrza *Mohammed*, Mîrza *Shâh Rukh*, Mîrza *Ulug Beg*, Mîrza *Omar Sheykh*, Mîrza *Abûbekr*, Mîrza *Morâd*, Mîrza *Khalîl*, Mîrza *Veled*, Mîrza *Omer*. It must be observed, that all these princes bore the title of soltân, although most of them did not reign as sovereigns.

Mohammed *and* Shâh Rûkh. THE Mîrzas *Mohammed* and *Shâh Rukh* fell into the hands of *Hassan Beg*, and remained a long time prisoners in *Irâk*; from whence at length escaping, they passed some years in the same province, in a miserable state. At the end of which, in 899 of the Hejrah, of Christ 1493, departing to go into *Khorassan*, *Shâh Rukh* died, in the country of *Sâri*, and was interred at *Herât*: but his brother *Mohammed* was taken prisoner by Soltân *Hussayn*.

Soltân Ahmed. SOLTAN *Mahmûd*, when the *Turkmâns* became masters of *Abûsaïd*'s camp, made his escape to *Herât*. But could not stay there long: for Soltân *Hussayn*, son of *Mansûr*, having reduced *Khorassân* under his obedience, in a short space of time, *Mahmûd* was obliged to take refuge with his brother *Ahmed*, who reigned at *Samarkant*, in *Great Bukhâria*. There he was very well received, and lived for a while in great harmony with his brother: till, by the sollicitations of those he conversed with, he went out one day, under pretence of hunting, and made all the haste he could, with those of his party, towards the springs of the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*); where he seized the province of *Badagshân*, and the adjacent country.

Soltân Mahmûd. *AHMED* dying in the year 899, Soltân *Mahmûd* joined the dominions of his brother to his own: but he did not enjoy them long; for he died the same year, and left four sons; *viz.* *His sons.* *Massûd*, *Baysankor*, *Ali*, and *Vëis*.

Massûd. SOLTAN *Massûd* succeeded his father: but his brothers, *Baysankor* (who was governor of *Samarkant*) and *Ali*, rebelling against him, he seized the latter, and caused a hot iron to be passed before his eyes: however, as the operation did not take away his sight, he fled to *Bokhâra*, and, having gathered some troops, retired for shelter to Soltân *Hussayn*, in *Khorassân*. On the other side, *Baysankor*, unable to hold out longer against *Massûd*, left *Samarkant* in disguise, and fled to *Kondûz*, a city on the *Jihân*, and belonging to *Badagshân*, accompanied by the Amîr *Khosrû Shâh*, who was one of Soltân *Massûd*'s enemies. This prince, being thus delivered from his two brothers, enjoyed the sovereignty of *Great Bukhâria* peaceably, at *Samarkant*, till the year 905.

Hej. 905. A. D. 1499. Ali. MEAN time, Soltân *Ali* continued at the court of Soltân *Hussayn*; who took so great an affection for him, that he gave him his daughter in marriage, with a very considerable portion. After this, he furnished him with an army, to dispute the patrimony

patrimony of his anceſtors with his brothers *Maſſûd* and *Bayſankor*. *Alî* accordingly entered *Great Bukhâria*, and made conſiderable advances: but, when he was on the point of ſucceeding in his enterpriſe, he unhappily gave ear to the envoys of *Khoſrû Shâh*: who, pretending to obey him in every thing, deluded him ſo much with his fair ſpeeches, that he fell into the ſnare, which fruſtrated all his deſigns: ſo that he was obliged to return to his father-in-law Soltan *Huſſayn*. 6. Abûſaïd Mirza.

When *Khoſrû Shâh* had ruined the affairs of Soltân *Alî*, by his artifices, he determined to get rid of *Bayſankor*, who continued at *Konduz*, by the ſnares which he laid for him alſo; and having at length compaſſed his deſign, he, by that prince's death, became maſter, not only of *Konduz*, but alſo of *Baklân*, *Heſſar*, and the whole country of *Badakſhân*. Bayſankor.

As for Mîrza *Veïs*, or *Weïs*, fourth ſon of *Mahmûd*, he was all the while in *Turkeſtân*; whither, to avoid theſe troubles, he had, from the beginning, retired to his relations by his mother's ſide. Veïs.

ULUG Beg, the fifth ſon of *Abûſaïd*, obtained from his father the government of *Kâbul* and *Gâzan*, with the *Indies*; which provinces he was maſter of in *Hejrah* 899, A. D. 1493, finiſhed his hiſtory. Ulug Beg.

OMAR Sheykh, ſixth ſon of *Abûſaïd*, became, by his father's death, ſovereign of the country of *Andekân*; which he poſſeſſed till the year 899, when he broke his neck, by a fall from the top of a pigeon-houſe. He reigned with the reputation of a very good prince; and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Bâbor*, or *Bâbr*, founder of the empire of the *Mungls*, who reign at preſent in *Hindûſtân*. Omar Sheykh.

ABUBEKR, ſeventh ſon of *Abûſaïd*, had for his ſhare, during his father's life, the country of *Badakſhân*; which he poſſeſſed alſo after his deceaſe: till, falling out with Soltân *Huſſayn*, he was taken priſoner, in a battle fought between them, and put to death, in the year 884 of the Hejrah, of Chriſt 1479 *. Abûbekr.

Soltan *Morâd*, the eighth ſon, for ſome time governed the provinces of *Kermeſîr* and *Kandakâr*; and, when his father *Abûſaïd* became maſter of *Irâk*, he advanced, by his order, to ſeize the province of *Kermân*: but, receiving advice on the road of his defeat, and death, he returned to his firſt government. After this, *Yûſef Tarkhân* revolting againſt him, he had recourſe to the protection of Soltân *Huſſayn*, who ſent him, under a good eſcort, to his brother *Ahmed*, at *Samarkant*. However, he did not ſtay long there: for, not meeting *Soltân* Morâd.

* D'Herbel. ubi ſup p. 38.

7. *Soltân* Ahmed. with a very favourable reception, he soon after returned to Soltân *Hussayn*'s court, where he received all sorts of good treatment: but at length, in 880, he was accompanied by the officers of that prince to the castle of *Niretû*; and from that time we have no account of him.

A. D. 1475.

Soltân Kalil. MIRZA *Soltân Kalil*, the ninth son of *Abûsaïd Mirza*, remained at *Herât* during his father's unfortunate expedition against *Hassan Beg*: so that Soltân *Hussayn* having, with a great army, subdued *Khorassân*, he was obliged to put himself into the hands of that conqueror, not being in a condition to defend the city against his forces. *Hussayn* sent him into *Great Bukhâria*, where his brother *Ahmed* reigned: but, *Kalil* taking upon him to act as master as soon as he entered the country, *Ahmed* sent one of his generals, with some troops, to curb his insolence; so that he was soon after slain in an engagement on this occasion.

Soltân Veled. SOLTAN *Veled*, tenth son of *Abûsaïd*, passed his days in a private condition, among the oriental *Turks* of the tribe of *Erlat*; till he died at length of poison, infused by one of his domestics in his drink.

Omar Mirza. SOLTAN *Omar Mirza*, youngest son of *Abûsaïd*, was at *Samarkant* at the time of his father's death: but, *Ahmed* being obliged to banish him from his court, on account of some disturbances which he excited there, he retired to his brother *Abûbekr*, who was then encamped near *Marû*, at such time as Soltân *Hussayn* entered with his army into *Khorassân*. *Abûbekr* opposed the invader's progress: but having been defeated and slain, *Omar* retreated toward *Abiurd* or *Bawerd*, and *Nessa*; where being taken by some of *Hussayn*'s officers, he was sent prisoner to *Herât*, and shut up in the castle of *Ekti-âro'ddin*; from whence, in 883, he was conveyed to the castle of *Niretû*; after which, we hear no more of him [k].

The Reign of Soltân Ahmed.

7. *Soltân* Ahmed. AFTER the death of *Abûsaïd*, his eldest son Soltân *Ahmed*, of whom some account has been already given, succeeded him at *Samarkant*, in the country of *Mâwara'lnâhr*, now called *Great Bukhâria*, and reigned twenty years; at the end of which he died, in the year 899 [l], of Christ 1493.

The Reign of Soltân Bâbr.

8. *Soltân* Bâbr. THE Mirzâ *Soltân Bâbor*, or *Bâbr*, was the son of *Omar Sheykh*, sixth son of *Abûsaïd Mirza*, according to *Kondamîr*; but, to others, the fourth. By the death of his fa-

[k] D'HERBELOT, ubi supra, p. 39. [l] TEXEIRA, p. 319.

ther,

ther, in 894, as has been already related, he became ſovereign of the country of *Andekhân*; and, on the death of Soltan *Ahmed*, in 899, aſcended the throne of *Great Bukhâria*: but five years after, *viz.* in 904, *Shay Beg Soltân*, invading that region with an army of *Uzbeks* from beyond the river *Sihûn*, or *Sîr*, drove him out of his kingdom, and took poſſeſſion of it; ſo that afterwards no prince of the race of *Timûr* reigned there. *Bâbr*, after his expulſion, retired to *Gaznen*, or *Gazna*, and thence into *Hindûſtân*, where he made conſiderable conqueſts; over which he reigned till the year 937 of the *Hejrah*, of *Chriſt* 1530 [a]. But, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of his actions more at large, when we come to treat of the race of *Timûr* who reigned in *India* under the name of *Jagatays* and *Great Mogols*, we ſhall ſay no more of them at preſent.

8. *Soltân* Bâbr.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Princes deſcended from Timûr, *who reigned in* Khoraſſân, *and other Parts of* Irân, *after the Death of* Shâh Rukh.

State of Irân.

AS the empire fell into diviſion and confuſion after the death of *Timûr*, the like happened on that of his ſon *Shâh Rûkh*: ſo that, excepting the twelve years during which *Abû-ſa'id* held *Khoraſſân*, that province, with ſome neighbouring countries, was poſſeſſed by other princes deſcended from *Shâh Rûkh*, and not by thoſe who were his immediate ſucceſſors in *Great Bukhâria*.

BAYSANKER, ſon of *Shâh Rûkh*, dying in 837, during his father's life-time, left three ſons; *Rokno'ddîn*, *Alâo'ddawlet*, Soltân *Mohâmmed*, and *Abû'l Kâſſem Bâbr*; who all made a great noiſe in the world. *Shâh Rûkh*, on *Bayſanker*'s death, gave his father's employments to the eldeſt, and only penſions to the other two princes.

Alâo'ddawlet *ſeizes* Herât.

As ſoon as *Alâo'ddawlet* heard of the death of his grandfather *Shâh Rûkh*, he ſeized on the city of *Herât*, capital of *Khoraſſân*; under pretence of commanding there in behalf of his uncle *Ulug Beg*, who reigned at *Samarkant*. He there found great treaſures, which he plundered; and ſeized the perſon of *Abdo'llatîf*, ſon of *Ulug Beg*, whom he kept priſoner for a conſiderable time: but *Ulug Beg*, having paſſed the *Amû* with a powerful army from *Great Bukhâria*, defeated, and obliged him to fly to his brother the Mirza *Bâbr*. Theſe two princes joined their forces, and marched to oppoſe their uncle;

[a] D'HERBELOT, p. 38. 163. art. Abuſaid Mirza & Miran Shah.

who,

8. *Soltân* Bâbr. who, judging the match to be equal, left them in poſſeſſion of *Herât*, and returned to *Bâlk* [a].

Bâbr *poſſeſſed of* Jorjân. A. D. 1446.

SHAH Rûkh being dead in 850, Mîrza *Bâbr*, who then governed the province of *Jorjân*, entered that of *Khoraſſân*; where his brother *Alâo'ddawlet* had already ſeized *Herât*, and encamped with his forces near the city of *Tûs* (or *Maſhhâd*), near the ſepulchre of the Imâm *Ali Rîza*. But, by the mediation of friends, hoſtilities were prevented between the two brothers; and the country of *Kabuſhân* appointed the boundary between their dominions, in 851: after which, *Bâbr* returned to *Aſtarabâd*, the capital of *Jorjân*.

Oppoſes Ulug Beg.

THE year following, *Bâbr*, having received advice that his uncle *Ulug Beg* was in arms on the borders of *Baſtâm* and *Damegân*, and had already paſſed the bridge named *Pul Ibriſhîm*, or *the Bridge of Silk*, to attack his brother *Alâo'ddawlet*, ſent *Kalîl Hendûgha*, one of his generals, to follow the ſoltân; and marched himſelf, with his beſt troops, towards *Herât*, in order to intercept his paſſage to that city. As this march obliged *Ulug Beg* to quit *Khoraſſân*, *Bâbr* ſoon made himſelf maſter of *Herât*, which his brother *Alâo'ddawlet* had already abandoned; where he exerciſed great violences towards the inhabitants. But they were revenged on him ſome time after: for *Yâr Ali*, the *Turkmân*, having advanced to beſiege him, the citizens delivered one of their gates to his enemy, and obliged him to fly to the caſtle of *Ektiâro'ddîn*; which he pillaged, and abandoned not long after. *Yâr Ali*, ſeeing himſelf maſter of ſuch a potent city, imagined the war was intirely over, and thought of nothing but diverting himſelf: when the troops of *Bâbr*, which ſtill hovered near *Herât*, found an opportunity, about three weeks after, to ſeize a gate; and ſurpriſing *Yâr Ali*, in the midſt of his debauch, brought him before *Bâbr*, who ordered his head to be ſtruck off in the public market-place.

Reduces Herât.

Impriſons Alâo'ddawlet.

BABR, being thus become maſter of *Khoraſſân*, gave the city of *Tûn* to his brother *Alâo'ddawlet*, who had not appeared ſince his flight from *Ulug Beg*: but a while after, having conceived ſome jealouſy of him, ſeized him, with his ſon *Ibrâhîm*, and ſent them priſoners to *Herât*. After this, giving himſelf up to pleaſures, and neglecting affairs, his officers committed many diſorders in the city: but the revolt of Shâh *Huſſayn*, in the province of *Sajeſtân* (which depends on *Khoraſſân*), rouſed him out of his ſlothful humour; and, cauſing him to take arms, he marched againſt the rebel with ſuch expedition, that, not being prepared to encounter him, he

[a] D'HERBELOT, p. 83. art. Alaeddoulat

ſubmitted

submitted to pay an annual tribute. Mean time the Amîr *Hendûgha*, dissatisfied with the hasty temper of *Bâbr*, went at the head of several mal-contents, and seized the city of *Asterabâd*. *Bâbr* immediately set forward with his forces, and gave him battle; which at first proved adverse, and fatal to Soltân *Abûsaïd*, who commanded his army: but at length *Ali Behâdr*, his second general, slew *Hindûgha*, and obtained a complete victory [b]. S. *Soltân* Bâbr.

At this time *Alâo'ddawlet* escaped from prison, and fled to *Irâk*, to his brother *Mohammed*; who, on the death of their uncle *Shâh Rûkh*, seized on that province, together with *Pârs* (or *Proper Persia*); and, still gaining ground every day, was advanced as far as the borders of *Khoraſſân*. *Bâbr* met him with a considerable army; but was intirely defeated by his two brothers, and obliged to take shelter in the castle of *Omâd*; while *Mohammed* entered into *Herât*, and delivered the Mîrza *Ibrâhîm* to his father *Alâo'ddawlet*. *Bâbr* some time after quitted *Omâd*; and, by the way of *Abiurd*, or *Bawerd*, marched towards *Asterabâd*, knowing that the inhabitants were discontented with the Amîr *Hâji Janaſhîrîn*, whom *Mohammed* had made governor. The latter met him at *Tûs*, and fought an obstinate battle, but lost it; and, being taken prisoner, with several officers, all were put to the sword. Soltân *Mohammed*, who had advice of this march, hasted to support his general: but hearing, by the way, that he was defeated, made such expedition with three hundred horse only, that he surprised *Bâbr* in his camp, and obliged him to fly back to the castle of *Omâd*. *Flies to* Mohammed.

The victor, however, that the enemy might not perceive the fewness of his troops, retired also to his former camp; where he was astonished not to find one of his soldiers, who, on a false report of his defeat, had all dispersed themselves. At the same time he was informed, that his brother *Alâo'ddawlet*, whom he had sent to *Kermasîr* (in *Kermân*) before the battle, taking advantage of *Bâbr*'s second retreat to *Omâd*, had repaired to *Herât*, and been admitted by the inhabitants. This news much surprised *Mohammed*; who, seeing that all the advantages he had gained by the war, served only to exalt *Alâo'ddawlet*, quitted *Khoraſſân* in disgust, and returned to *Irâk*. *Bâbr* no sooner heard of his brother *Mohammed*'s retreat, than he left *Omâd*, and marched to attack *Herât*; which *Alâo'ddawlet* quitting on his approach, he for the second time entered that city: but, not content with this conquest, he marched to *Balk*, whither his brother had fled; and, driving *Recovers* Herât. *Flies again.*

[b] D'Herbelot, p. 160, art. Babor.

him

8. *Soltân* Bâbr. him out of that city also, pursued him into the mountains of *Badakshân*, till he was able to proceed no farther for the snow. Thus he became master of *Bâlk*, *Konduz*, and *Baklân*; where having left governors, he returned to *Herât*: but was greatly surprised, at his arrival, to find that *Avîs Beg*, whom he intrusted to guard the castle of *Ektiâro'ddîn*, had revolted [c].

Bâbr *recovers* Herât. As this fortress is so situated, that there is no entering the city without passing through a corridor which communicates with it; the soltân, instead of undertaking to force a place which was capable of making great resistance, thought of a stratagem, which succeeded to his wish. For he sent an order to the governor, forbidding him to stir out of the castle when he should make his entrance into the city: then sending forward his whole band of music in the evening, he mixed with them some of his bravest officers. These men, being arrived near the city, gave out that the soltân was come. On this news, *Avîs* immediately sent his son into the corridor, to receive him, and followed close himself, having left his brother in the fortress, which he kept shut up: but Sheykh *Mansûr*, one of the pretended musicians, fell first upon the son of *Avis Beg*, whom he stabbed, and his companions did the like by the father; after which, *Bâbr* found no difficulty to get the castle surrendered to him. At the same time being informed, that his brother *Alae'ddawlet* lay concealed in the tent of *Eskânder Beg*, which was in the rear of his camp, he had him taken from thence, and put under a strong guard.

Defeats Moham-med. Hej. 855. A. D. 1451. In 855 Soltân *Bâbr* went to pass the winter at *Astarabâd*, and made some stay afterwards at *Bastâm*; where being informed that his brother *Mohammed* prepared to make war upon him afresh, he sent an ambassador to obtain a peace at any rate. Soltân *Mohammed* seemed not inclined to grant it him: for he pretended that part of *Khorassân* belonged to *Irâk*: that the money which was coined there ought to bear his impress; and that his name should be mentioned in the public prayers. However, *Bâbr* consented to all these demands, rather than incur a war; and, quitting *Bastâm*, went into the country of *Mazânderân*. Mean time *Mohammed*, disregarding the treaty which he had made with his brother, marched with his army towards *Khorassân*, and advanced as far as the city of *Esferayn*. *Bâbr* was extremely troubled at this violation of the treaty; and, gathering what troops he could in haste, marched towards his brother; who met him at *Kaburân*, where was fought one of the most bloody battles that ever was recorded. The two soltâns performed prodigies

[c] D'Herbelot, p. 161.

of

of valour; and victory for a long time seemed doubtful on which side to declare. But at length *Mohammed*, being carried too far by his courage, found himself on a sudden surrounded, and taken prisoner [d]. 8. *Soltân* Bâbr.

BABR, having by this means gained this important victory, caused *Mohammed* to be put to death without remorse: and, having thus gotten rid of his youngest brother, he ordered the eyes of *Alâo'ddawlet*, the eldest, whom he kept prisoner, to be put out: but the persons who were appointed to do that work, in pity to this prince, moved the hot iron before his eyes in such a manner, as not to deprive him of sight. After this, *Bâbr* believed he should have no more disturbance from his brothers; and marched towards the province of *Pârs*, to take possession of it, as belonging to him by the death of *Mohammed*. The great lords of the country came to pay him homage; and he entered triumphantly into the city of *Shîrâz*. But he was scarce arrived, when he received advice that *Jehân Shâh*, the *Turkmân*, son of *Kara Yûsef*, had entered *Persian Irâk* with considerable forces, and already laid siege to the city of *Kom*. This news made him leave *Shîrâz*, the government of which he gave to Mîrza *Sanjar* (A), one of his relations, to discharge his fury on the *Turkmân*, when he was stopped by more unwelcome tidings from *Herât*; *viz.* that his brother *Alâo'ddawlet*, assisted by the Amîr *Yadighiar Shâh*, and several of his near relations, was in the field in quest of him. *Puts him to death.*

On this advice, judging it of more importance to preserve *Khorassân* than *Irâk*, he returned to *Herât*, by the way of *Yezd*, where he left the Mîrza *Kalîl*, son of *Jehân Ghîr*, to command: but, before he arrived, the Amîr *Pîr Darwîsh*, and his other generals in *Khorassân*, had pacified the troubles, by obliging *Alâoddawlet* to retire to *Ray* (in *Kuhestân*, of *Persian Irâk*). *Bâbr*, having thus restored peace to his dominions, thought of nothing but taking his pleasure; when, in 857 (B), A. D. 1453. *Defeats* Alao'ddawlet.

[d] D'Herbelot, p. 161.

(A) We are told by *D'Herbelot*, in the article of *Sanjar Mirza*, that he was the son of *Ahmed*, son of *Baycra*, son of *Omar Sheykh*: but as *Baycra*, or *Baykara*, was the grandson of *Omar Sheykh*, by *Ali Eskânder*, possibly *Baycra* may be a mistake of the press for *Boycra*, who was the seventh son of *Omar Sheykh*.

(B) This same year, we are told that Sheykh *Bahao'l Haquo'ddin Omar* died at the city of *Hafara*, in great reputation for sanctity; and that *Babr* immediately went to visit his children, gave orders for his funeral, and even carried the coffin on his shoulders part of the way.

Sanjar

8. *Soltân* Bâbr.

Sanjar, and the other lords whom he had left at *Shîrâz*, being put to flight by *Jehân Shâh*, arrived at *Herât*. Hereupon he set out to carry the war into *Irâk* and *Azerbejân*, which the *Tûrkmâns* had made themselves masters of. Being come to *Aſtarabâd*, he ſtaid the time of *Ramazân* faſt: but, when he was ready to march forward, he received advice from *Bâlk*, that Soltân *Abûſaïd*, who reigned in *Great Bukhâria*, had paſſed the *Jihûn*; and, having defeated and ſlain his generals, was encamped near that city.

Marches againſt Abûſaïd.

BABR, reflecting on this occaſion, as he did before, that it was of more importance to preſerve *Khoraſſân* than ſubdue *Irâk*, left the *Turkmâns* at liberty to purſue their conqueſts, and marched back to *Herât*.

When he arrived at *Morgâb*, news was brought that *Abûſaïd* had repaſſed the *Jihûn*: but this did not hinder him to proceed towards *Great Bukhâria*; which he entered, by fording that river at *Kondûz* and *Baklân*. *Abûſaïd*, finding himſelf thus preſſed, ſent ambaſſadors to him with propoſals of peace: but, without hearing them, he continued his march till within a league of *Samarkant*; where ſeveral conſiderable perſons waiting on him, to diſpoſe him to an accommodation, he gave them no other anſwer, than *that he had come too far to return ſo haſtily*. For all this, after loſing a great number of officers as well as ſoldiers, without gaining any advantage in forty days ſiege, he hearkened to terms of peace: the chief conditions of which were, that the *Jihûn* (or *Amû*) ſhould ſeparate the two dominions, and priſoners be exchanged.

Pacifies Sajeſtân. Hej. 859. A. D. 1454.

After this agreement, *Bâbr* returned to *Herât*, where he took his repoſe till 859; when finding that Shâh *Huſſayn*, who had become his tributary, did not act well either by him, or the officers whom he ſent into the province of *Sejeſtân*, ordered the Amîr *Kalîl Hindûgha* to reduce that prince to reaſon. *Kalîl* ordered matters ſo well, that *Huſſayn* was obliged to take flight, in which he loſt his life by the ſnares which one of his own domeſtics laid for him; and thus *Kalîl* became maſter of all the country which bears the name of *Nimrûz*, that is, *the South*, as well as that of *Roſtam*, from the famous commander *Roſtam* (B), who was a native, and the governor thereof. At the ſame time *Bâbr* gave to the Mîrza *Sanjar* the government of *Marû* and *Mokhân*. Soon after ſome lords of

(B) By the country of *Nimrûz*, is to be underſtood the provinces of *Sejeſtân*, or *Siſtân*, and *Makrân*, which bear that name alſo; and, by the country of *Roſtam*, ſeems to be meant the province of *Zableſtân*, where *Roſtâm* was born, and of which he was governor. He is the great champion of the *Perſians*, in the times which they reckon fabulous.

Mazânderân, whom he had impriſoned in the caſtle of *Omâd*, ſlew the governor, and took the field: but were quickly reduced to obedience by *Jalâlo'ddin Mahmûd*, governor of *Tûs*. 8. *Sultân* Bâbr.

In 860 *Bâbr*, having recovered from a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, retired to this laſt city for change of air; and went to viſit the tomb of imam *Riza*, from whom *Tûs* has taken the name of *Maſhhâd Mokeddes*, that is, *the holy Sepulchre* (C). Here he made preſents worthy of a great prince; and, beſides his devotion, ſpending whole days in the moſk, abſtained from wine. But next year, 861, forgetting his reſolution, he fell to drink wine, as formerly; ſo that, falling in a paſſion with an officer one day, while taking the air in a chair after a debauch, his health changed all on a ſudden, and he died next morning in the apartment of his women. This prince was much regretted by all his ſubjects; and interred under a dome by the ſide of Imam *Rîza*. The phyſicians, having examined his body, had ſome ſuſpicion that poiſon had been given him: but good men judged that his death might have been cauſed by a particular miracle wrought by their imâm. They aſcribe to this prince ten years of reign, from his beginning to bear ſway in *Jorjân*: but properly he reigned no more than ſeven years in *Khoraſſân*, *Mazânderân*, and *Tokhareſtân*. Bâbr *dies*. Hej. 860. A. D. 1455.

He was ſucceeded in his dominions by his ſon the Mîrza *Shâh Mahmûd*; who (in 862), being obliged by the *Turkmâns* to fly into *Sajeſtân*, was the next year killed in a battle which he fought in *Hindowſtân*, as hath been before related in the reign of *Abûſaïd*; who by this means became maſter of *Khoraſſan*, which held till his death[e]. Mahmûd Mîrza.

The race of *Bâbr* being thus extinct, as well as that of *Allâo'ddawlet*, there remained only the Mîrza *Yadighiar*, or *Yadighar*, ſon of their brother *Mohammed*, late ſoltan of *Perſian Irâk* and *Pârs*. It does not appear where this prince retired to immediately on the death of his father: but, in 873, we find him at the court of *Haſſan Beg*, or *Uzun Haſſan*, prince of the dynaſty of *the White Sheep*, who had the year before put an end to that of *the Black Sheep*, by the death of *Jehân Shâh*. *Haſſan Ali*, ſon of *Jehan Shâh*, having prevailed on *Abûſa'id* to make war in his favour againſt *Haſſan Beg*, the ſoltan, in the year above-mentioned, marched towards *Kara-* Yadighiar Mîrza. Hej. 873. A. D. 1468.

[e] D'Herbelot, p. 162.

(C) Rather, the holy place of martyrdom; which *Maſhhâd* ſignifies, Riza having been ſlain there.—We omit two or three ſuperſtitious paſſages related by the *Mohammedans*, who are no leſs viſionaries than other people.

bâgh;

Yadighiar Mîrza. *bâgh*; where being overthrown by the joint forces of the *Turkmân* and *Yadighiar Mîrza*, *Haſſan Beg* cauſed the officers of *Khoraſſân*, who were in *Abûſaïd*'s army, to acknowlege *Yadighiar* for the lawful emperor, and ſucceſſor of *Timûr*, as he had himſelf done before, probably in reſentment of *Abûſaïd*'s aſſiſting his rival *Haſſan Ali*.

Reduces Khoraſſân. *YADIGHIAR*, after this, the ſame year, went and beſieged *Aſtarabâd*: but he was oppoſed in his enterpriſe by Soltân *Huſſayn*, already poſſeſſed of *Khoraſſân*, who relieved that city, and defeated his troops. *Yadighiar*, on this repulſe, retreated to *Haſſan Beg* at *Tauris*, who the next year aſſiſted him the ſecond time, and gave him troops, with which he routed *Huſſayn*, obliging him to fly towards *Fariâb* and *Bâlk*. By this victory *Yadighiar* became maſter of *Khoraſſân*: but he gave himſelf up ſo intirely to his pleaſures, that he quite neglected his affairs, and took no more precautions than if he had no competitor to his dominions. This inſenſibility furniſhed *Huſſayn* with leiſure to wait an opportunity to attack him unexpectedly; which he found ſoon after: for, ſurpriſing him in the midſt of his debauches, with only a thouſand horſe, he ſlew him in the year 875; and this prince was the laſt of the family of *Shâh Rûkh*[f], who reigned in *Khoraſſân*.

Soltân Huſſayn. *HUSSAYN Mîrza* was the ſon of *Manſûr*, or *Almanſûr*, ſon of *Baykarah*, ſon of *Omar Sheykh*, ſecond ſon of *Timûr*. He was ſurnamed *Abû'lghâzi*, on account of his victories: but we have little more to add concerning them, than what has been already related in the foregoing reigns. After the defeat and death of *Yadighiar Mîrza*, his near relation, in 875, he aſcended the throne of *Khoraſſân*, in its capital *Herât*. But this conqueſt did not procure him a ſettled repoſe: for he was engaged in ſeveral wars with the *Uzbek Tatars*, who made frequent incurſions upon his territories; and had already driven Mîrza *Bâbr* out of *Great Bukhâria*, of which they were become maſters. Againſt theſe new-comers, he obtained ſome ſignal victories, and deſigned to have expelled them: but he died by the way at *Wadekîs* (D), in 911, after a reign of thirty-ſix years over all *Khoraſſân*. This prince, who was a lover of virtue and the ſciences, left ſeveral children behind him[g].

Hej. 875. A. D. 1470.

Hej. 911. A. D. 1505.

BADIO'ZZAMAN (E) and *Mozaffer*, two of *Huſſayn*'s ſons

[f] D'Herbelot, p. 470.

[g] Texeira, p. 320. D'Herbelot, p. 464.

(D) A miſtake, perhaps, for *Badekis*.

(E) *Badia al zamân*, or, as it is pronounced, *Badio'zzamân*, ſignifies *the wonder of the age*.

sons, reigned both together at *Herât*, after their father's death, but did not long enjoy his dominions: for, being invaded by *Shaybeg*, khân of the *Uzbeks*, and not able to oppose him, they abandoned the country to their enemy. *Bâdio'zzamân* went first to *Kandahâr*, and thence to *Trushîs*; from whence he returned, with what forces he could gather, to attack the *Uzbeks*. But, being overthrown, he fled to Shâh *Ismael Sofi*, who then reigned in *Persia*; who gave him lands about *Tauris* for his support, besides ten sharîfins in gold every day for his table. *Bâdi* continued in this situation for seven years, till 920; when Soltân *Selîm*, emperor of the *Turks*, having taken *Tauris* from the shâh, he was carried to *Constantinople*, where he died, in 923 [h]. As for *Mozaffer*, he died in 915, in the mountains of *Khorassân*, whither he had fled for fear of *Shaybeg* [i]. Bâdio'zzamân.

THERE still remained two of *Timûr*'s posterity, *Abû'l Mahân Mîrza* and *Ghîl Mîrza*. These princes joined themselves with *Dhu'l Nun Argûn*, prince of *Kandahâr*; who, marching against the *Uzbeks*, in support of their right to the empire of *Timûr*, carried them along with him: but he was slain in battle; and the two princes being taken, and put to death, an end was thus given to the empire of *Timûr*'s descendants in *Khorassân*, after they had reigned there for the space of fourscore years [k]. Abû'l Mâhan.

BOOK VII.

The History of the Shâhs reigning in Persia.

INTRODUCTION.

Of the Sofian *Family, and Origin of the Shâhs.*

THE founder of this dynasty in *Persia* was *Ismael*, surnamed *Sûfi*, or *Sofi*; of whose family, or descent, it will be proper to give some previous account. The father of this remarkable person was Sheykh *Hayder*, or *Haydr*, the son of Soltân *Juneyd*, the son of Sheykh *Ibrâhîm*, the son of Sheykh *Ali* (A), the son of Sheykh *Mûsa*, or *Mûssa* (B), the son of Sheykh *Sefi* (C), who was the thirteenth descendant in *Family of* Ismael.

[h] TEXEIRA, p. 321. D'HERB. p. 464. [i] AL JANNABI ap. Poc. Supp. ad hist. dynast. p. 57. [k] Ibid.

(A) He is called also *Khowajeh* or *Khojeh Ali*.

(B) Named also *Shâdro'ddîn*.

(C) Also *Safio'ddîn*.

Introduction. a right male line from *Ali* (D), the ſon-in-law of the prophet *Mohammed*; if the *Perſians* may be believed, who have the greateſt veneration for this family (E).

Sheykh Safi. When *Timûr Beg*, or *Tamerlan*, returned into *Perſia*, after the victory obtained over *Ilderîm Bâyezîd*, he carried with him a multitude of people out of *Karamania*, and other parts of *Anatolia*, all whom he intended to put to death on ſome remarkable occaſion; and, with this reſolution, he entered *Ardevîl*, or *Ardebîl*, a city of *Azerbejân*, about twenty-five miles to the eaſt of *Tabrîz*, or *Taurîs*, where he continued for ſome days. At this time there dwelt in that city a perſon named Sheykh *Safi*, or *Sefi* (F), reputed by the inhabitants a ſaint, and, as ſuch, much reverenced by them. The fame of *Safi*'s holy life and virtue moved *Timûr* to covet his friendſhip; and, with that deſign, he viſited him often in perſon. When he was about to depart from *Ardevîl*, he went to take leave of the ſheykh; and, as a token of his eſteem, offered to grant him whatever favour he ſhould aſk.

A glorious action. Sheykh *Safi*, who had been informed of the conqueror's deſign to put the captives to death, laying hold of this occaſion, made it his requeſt that he would ſpare the lives of thoſe unfortunate men. *Timûr*, deſirous to oblige him, not only granted their lives, but delivered them up to him, to diſpoſe of as he thought fit. The ſheykh, when he had them in his poſſeſſion, made the beſt proviſion of clothes, and other neceſſaries, that he was able, and then diſmiſſed them, to return into their reſpective countries. This great inſtance of univerſal benevolence ſo far gained the hearts of thoſe people, and their compatriots, that, in token of gratitude, they repaired in great numbers to ſee *Safi*, bringing him preſents; and this ſo frequently, that few days paſſed on which he was not viſited by many [a].

Soltân Juneyd. Nor did this reſpect ceaſe with the life of thoſe who had received it from him: but their poſterity continued to pay the ſame acknowlegement to the race of *Safi*, till the days of Sol-

[a] Texeira, c. 48. p. 337. D'Herbel. p. 503. art. Iſmail Schah.

(D) By the branch of *Huſſeyn*, ſecond ſon of *Ali*; which is that of the twelve imâms, according to the *Perſians*. *D'Herb.* art. *Haidar*.

(E) See, on this occaſion, Sir *John Chardin*'s voyages to *Perſia*, &c. tome ii. p. 227. We make uſe of the *Paris* quarto edition, in three volumes.

(F) *Safi*, or *Sefi*, ſignifies *choſen*: and hence *Moſtafa* is derived. Some call it, from hence, the *Safevi* race, or family.

tân *Juneyd* (G), his third grandſon; who lived in the days of *Jehân Shâh*, the ſon of *Kara Yûſef*, third prince of the *Kara Koyunlu* dynaſty. This prince, growing jealous of the great authority which *Juneyd* was arrived at, by the vaſt number of ſuch attendants, both horſe and foot, who continually waited on him, ordered him not to receive the viſits of ſuch multitudes of people. *Juneyd* reſented this injunction heinouſly; and, to avoid a ſecond more diſagreeable meſſage, went away with his devotees from *Ardebîl* to *Dîyârbekr*: where *Uzun Haſſan Beg*, who then reigned there, received him very kindly, and gave him to wife his ſiſter *Kadîja Katûn*, who bore him a ſon named *Hayder*, or *Haydr*. *Introduction.*

JUNEYD was very ſerviceable to *Uzun Haſſan* for ſeveral years, particularly in his incurſion into *Gurjeſtân*, which he frequently made under pretence of religion; compelling thoſe whom he made priſoners to embrace it. At length, entering the kingdom of *Trabizond*, and killing the king, he ſome years after placed his ſon *Haydr* on the throne, who held it after his father's death. *Juneyd*, having enriched himſelf with the plunder which he had taken, in his ſeveral expeditions, from the *Georgians* and *Armenians*, went and ſettled in the province of *Shîrwân*. But his great wealth, added to the number of his adherents, with whom he was fortified on all ſides, gave the people of the country ſo great a diſtruſt, that they formed a conſpiracy againſt him, in which he periſhed, with moſt of his followers [b]. *Conquers Shîrwân.*

AFTER *Uzun Haſſan* had ſlain *Jehân Shâh*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of his dominions, *Haydr* (H) removed to *Ardebîl*; where he married *Alemſhâh* (I), the daughter of *Haſſan*, his own couſin-german, by whom he had *Ali Pâtſhâh*, and *Iſmael*, who was born in the year 892. The next year *Haſſan* gave *Haydr* ſome forces to make war on *Ferokzâd*, or *Farrokyâzar*, king of *Shîrwân*, who had killed *Juneyd* in battle, by the *Sheykh* Haydr. Hej. 892. A. D. 1486.

[b] TEXEIRA, p. 338. D'HERB. p. 406. art. Giuneid.

(G) Called alſo *Abû'l Kaſſem al Kaqvarini*.

(H) *Hayder*, or *Haydr*, is one of the *Arab* names for a lion, and one of the ſurnames or titles of *Ali*; who is alſo called *Aſſad Allah*, or *the lion of God*. Hence the name of *Haydr* is frequently found among his deſcendants.

(I) The Chriſtian travellers and hiſtorians ſay her name was *Martha*; and that *Uzun Haſſan* had her by *Deſpina*, daughter of *Kalo Joannes*, emperor of *Trebizond*, who gave her to him for a wife, as is hereafter related, Vol. VI. p. 113. *Kæmpfer*, among others, ſays, that her name was *Martha*; but mentions not his authority. *Amœnitates exoticæ*, p. 9.

Introduction.

Slain in battle.

assistance of *Yâkûb Beg*, the *Turkmân*'s general: but, in attempting to revenge his father's death, he lost his life; and occasioned the destruction of almost the whole *Sofian* family (K), which was very numerous. All his sons were killed, excepting *Yûr Ali* and *Ismael*, who were taken. *Ali* was afterwards put to death by *Rostam Beg*, as elsewhere is related [c]; and *Ismael*, being set at liberty, fled to *Ghilân*, or *Khilân*, where he continued six years under the protection of the king (L), who was a friend to his father Sheykh *Haydr* [d]: after which, leaving that country and his benefactor, he began to appear in the world on the following occasion.

CHAP. I.

The Reign of Shâh Ismael Sofi.

1. *Shâh* Ismael Sofi.

THERE was at this time, among the *Mohammedans*, an infinite number of people dispersed over *Asia*, who publicly professed the sect of *Ali*; and among these, a particular party who followed that of *Haydr*, which Sheykh *Safi*, one of his ancestors, had brought into great reputation. *Ismael*, who had assumed the surname of *Sofi* (A), finding *Persia* was all

[c] See Vol. VI. p. 115.

[d] Texeira, p. 339. D'Herb. p. 421. art. Haidar; & Pocock Suppl. p. 63.

(K) *Haydr* was called also *Al Sûfi*, and Sheykh *Sûfiyat*: hence his descendants, who assumed the name of *Sûfi*, were called *Sûfiyat* and *Hâyaariyat*, that is, *Sûfian* and *Haydarian*. The *Persians* say *Haydar* invented a new covering for the head, of a red colour, with twelve plaits round a cap, which he ordered his followers to wear. This is what is called in *Persia* the *Tâj*, or *Haydarian* crown; on which account the *Persians* are called *Kezil-bâsh*, or *Red-heads*. See *D'Herb.* bibl. orient. art. Haydar, & *Pocock* Suppl. hist. dynast. p. 63. However, *Mirkond* says, *Ismael* instituted the *Tâj*, after he had taken *Tauris* from *Alwand* in 907 of the Hejrah, according both to *Texeira* and *D'Herbelot*, in the life of *Ismael*; by which may be understood, that he brought it more generally in use among all his subjects.

(L) *Olearius* calls him *Pir-Khâlem*, l. vi. p. 343.

(A) *Sofi* signifies properly, in *Arabic*, *a man cloathed in woolen*, from *Sof*, or *Sûf*, which signifies *wool*. But there is more reason to believe that the word comes from the *Greek Sofos*: for the *Musulmans* denote by it a sage, or philosopher, who lives separate and retired from the world, by a kind of religious profession. *Sofi*, therefore, signifies a religious *Mohammedan*, who is called also *Dervîsh*, or *Darwîsh*, both in *Turkish* and *Persian*: and, in *Arabic*, *Fakir*. *Shâh Ismael*, from his

all in confusion, with the troubles occasioned by those of the *Ak Koyunlû* family; and hearing that there was a great number of the *Hayderian* sect in *Karamania*, a province of *Anatolia*, removed thither. There, having gathered 7000 of that party (B), all devoted to his family, in 906, when he was but fourteen years of age, he invaded *Shîrwân*; and engageing *Ferokzad*, whom he considered as his father's murderer, with that handful of men, overthrew, killed, and became master of his kingdom (C). Next year, marching from *Nakhshivân* with his army to *Tauris*, where *Alwand* resided, that prince abandoned the country, and fled. A. D. 1498. *Subdues* Shîrwân, Hej. 906. A. D. 1500. *and* Azerbejân,

After this, *Ismael* went to *Arzenjân*, and marched his army into the kingdom of *Zulkâder* (D): but had no sooner turned his back, than *Alwand* returned to *Tauris*; to the relief whereof *Ismael* hasting, the other fled to *Bâghdâd*, and thence to *Diyârbekr*, where he died two years after, that is, in 908. *Ismael* staid at *Tauris*, but sent his forces into *Persia*, against *Morâd Beg*, the remaining *Turkmân* prince; who, being defeated, with the loss of 10,000 men, next year abandoned to him *Pârs* and *Kermân*. After this, *Ismael* went to pass the winter at *Kom*, in *Persian Irâk*; and from thence sent *Elias Beg* with an army against the city of *Ray*, or *Rey*, formerly its capital: but *Husseyn Beg Jelohi*, who lay in the way to meet him, coming to a battle, defeated and killed him. *Ismael*, on the news of this overthrow, set out immediately in quest of *Husseyn*, who thereupon retired to the strong fortress of *Firûzkûh*. This place the shâh besieged; and, by cutting off the water, which was conveyed from without by aqueducts, obliged the enemy to surrender within the space of one month. *also* Persian Irâk. Hej. 908. A. D. 1502.

This war being over, in which, tho' it lasted so short a while, above 30,000 men perished, *Ismael* set out for *Khorassân*. But he had not advanced far, when *Reysh Mohammed Karrahi*, with some forces, possessed himself of *Yazd* in *Pârs*. *Conquers* Pârs,

his ancestors, took the appellation of *Sofi*; whence many of our historians and travellers call the kings of *Persia* in general the *Sofi*, or *Great Sofi*. *D'Herb.* art. Sofi, p. 816. The *Turks*, in enmity and contempt, call him *Sheykh Ogli*, *the Sheykh's son*.

(B) These, according to *Texeira*'s extract, were the tribes of *Estayalu*, *Shambu*, *Takalu*, *Verfathu*, *Rowbu*, *Zulkaderlu*, *Avukshâhr*, *Kayâr*, *Sûfiyah*, *Karayalak*, and many others.

(C) According to the *Persian* historians, after he had subdued *Azerbejân* and *Armenia*, he made war on the *Georgians*, whom he obliged to pay tribute. *Chard.* voy. en Perse, tome i. p. 125.

(D) Or *Dhulgâder* and *Alaedeulet*, in *Asia Minor*; 'tis part of *Kappadocia* and *Cilicia*.

A. D. 1502. *Ismael* turned back upon him; and, after a brave defence, took both the city and *Karrahi*, whom he caused to be burnt alive. This happened in the year 911: after which, *Ismael*, marching Hej. 911. A. D. 1505. to *Shîrâz*, ordered by proclamation, that every man, who had been in the war against his father *Haydr*, should be put to death: on which occasion, between 30 and 40,000 persons A. D. 1508. perished (*). In 914, while he wintered at *Turon*, Soltân *Husseyn Mirza*, king of *Khoraſſân*, died; and *Shaybek Khân*, the *Uzbek*, made himself master of his dominions, driving out his son *Bâdi Azzaman*, who fled to *Irâk* for protection.

Bâghdâd, and Irâk. *ISMAEL*, after this, marched his army into the country of *Rûmeſtân*, or the *Turks* (E); and, having given the govern- Hej. 916. ment of *Diyârbekr* to *Mohammed Khân Eſtayalu*, in 916 (F) A. D. 1510. advanced to *Bâghdâd*, where *Bâribeg* commanded; who, on his approach, left the city, and fled along with *Morâd Beg*, the last of the *Ak Koyunlû Turkmâns*, into *Anatolia*, as elsewhere related [a]. Thus that capital of *Arabian Irâk* fell into the hands of *Ismael*, altho' he lost a great number of men in passing the *Tigris* (G). Hence turning towards the province of *Khûzeſtân*, he took the city of *Shuſter*, which is the capital; and, altho' it was the depth of winter, he afterwards marched his forces into *Shîrwân*, where he reduced the cities of *Bâkû* and *Dârbend* (H).

Defeats Shaybek. Hej. 917. A. D. 1511. AT length, in the year 917, he marched into *Khoraſſân*, against *Shaybek Soltân Khân*, who, after the death of Soltân *Husseyn*, son of *Baykâra*, grandson of *Timûr*, had seized on that province. On his approach, the *Uzbek* retired to *Mârû*, or *Marwo*: but, being at last provoked to come to a battle, he therein lost it, with his life; the consequence of which was, the possession of *Khoraſſân* and *Mâwarâ'lnâhr*. Two years after was born his son *Tahmâsp* (or *Thamas*); and, in Hej. 920. A. D. 1514. 920, *Selim* I. soltân of the *Turks*, went and attacked *Arzenjân* on the *Euphrates*. *Ismael*, who was then at *Ispâhân*, the capital of *Persian Irâk*, to stop the progress of the *Othmâns*, set forward with his forces; and was met by *Selim* in the plains

[a] Vol. VI. p. 117.

(*) Unjust and bloody monster, unlike his ancestor Sheykh *Sefi!*

(E) Because the *Turks* are now possessed of the country of the *Romans*, or *Roman* empire, which *Rûmeſtân* signifies.

(F) *D'Herbelot*, in the article *Bâghdâd*, says it was taken in 1508, which is two years earlier.

(G) According to *Texeira*, he lost 12,000 horse, out of 16,000, in swimming over the river; and, with the remaining 4000, took the city. Hist. Pers. part i. ch. 21. p. 85.

(H) Both situate on the shore of the *Caspian* sea; the last is commonly written *Derbent*.

of

of *Chalderon* (I) (near *Koy*): where *Ismael* being defeated, with the loss of 5000 men, retired to *Tauris*, and thence to *Kasbîn*. *Selim*, pursuing his good fortune, made himself master of *Tauris*; where having staid a fortnight, he returned to *Amasia* in *Anatolia*. This year the *Kezilbâsh* slew *Morâd Beg* in *Diyârbekr*, and brought his head to Shâh *Ismael*. Next year *Selim* took the important fortress of *Kemâk* (K): he likewise subdued the country of *Alâedeulet* and *Zulkâder*, with the territories of *Hâlep*, or *Aleppo*, in *Syria*. In 922 the soltân possessed himself of *Diyârbekr* (L); after which, thinking the conquest of *Egypt* of more importance than that of *Persia*, he turned his arms on that side next year, and left *Ismael* in quiet: who, from the time of his defeat, never undertook any thing of consequence till his death, which happened in 930 (M); after he had lived thirty-eight years, and reigned twenty-four, reckoning from the defeat of *Ferokzâd*, king of *Shirwân*.

A. D. 1514. *Defeated by* Selim I. *who takes* Tauris, A. D. 1515. A. D. 1518. *and* Diyârbekr. Hej. 930. A. D. 1523.

This prince was endowed with an unparalleled courage, and intrepid in the greatest dangers: terrible to his enemies, and a severe exacter of military discipline. Rather harsh and cruel, than mild of disposition. Ambitious to such excess, that he used often to say, *As there is but one God in heaven, so there ought to be but one king on earth.* As he took the name of *Sofi*, or *Religious* (N), so he was exceedingly honoured by his subjects, whose enthusiasm or frenzy made them think him something more than man: nay, his soldiers would have ascribed to him some sort of divinity; but, as haughty as he was, he always rejected it (O), of which he once gave a signal instance: for, after gaining an important victory, when some saluted him by the title of prophet, others of angel, and

Ismael's *character.* — *Greatly reverenced.*

(I) *D'Herbelot* has *Gialderan*. (that is *Jalderan*), which, says he, our authors name *Chalderon*.

(K) On the west side of the *Euphrates*, twenty-one miles south of *Arzenjân*, or *Arzengân*.

(L) For the particulars of this conquest, see the reign of *Selim* I. in the *Othmân* history.

(M) According to *Olearius*, he died at *Kâsbin*, and was buried at *Ardebîl*.

(N) *D'Herbelot* says, he affected to be thought a prophet, and even divine; seemingly with design to throw an odium on him on account of his religion: yet relates the story of the pit, bringing it in very incoherently. In which he seems to be less sincere than *Texeira*: who, being a *Romanist*, would doubtless have been as willing as the other to have told *Ismael*'s impiety, had he seen any foundation for it in his author.

(O) *Olearius* says, that he was reputed to have been a great observer of justice; but to have made no difficulty to drink wine, and eat swines-flesh: nay, that, in derision of the *Turkish* religion, he kept a hog in his court, which he named *Bâyezid*.

A. D. 1523. others of God, finding he was not able to dissuade them from paying him such impious homage, he commanded a pit of great depth and extent to be dug; and, throwing one of his shoes into it, ordered the man who loved him best to go fetch it out. No sooner was the word spoken, than some thousands, to shew their zeal, leaped in; and, the moment they were down, all the earth which had been dug out of it, was thrown upon them, thus chastising their impious folly by burying them alive.

His sons. *ISMAEL* had four sons; Shâh *Tahmâsp*, *Alcâs* or *Elias Mirzah*, *Sam Mirza*, and *Bahrâm Mirza* [b]. The *European* historians give a most confused and erroneous account (P) of the original of the family and empire of the shâhs. What they have written concerning *Ismael*, and his successors, taken from the travellers, is no less incorrect and imperfect; the latter having only related what they had observed themselves during their travels, or received from the natives, without consulting the *Persian* authors, at least sufficiently for the purpose, altho' some of them (Q) might have been capable of doing it. *Defect of authors.* *Olearius* has given us a brief account of the shâhs, from their original, down to his own time; but it is so superficial and uncertain with regard to all of them, till Shâh *Abbâs*, as to be of very little service to us. Concerning *Ismael*, he informs us, that, after he had subdued some provinces of *Persia*, he marched into *Turky*, and defeated the soltân: that afterwards he conquered *Arabian Irâk*, *Kûrdestân*, *Diyârbekr*, and *Armenia*, to the *Euphrates*: then, having secured his frontiers against the *Turks*, turned his arms eastward, and took *Kandakâr*, with the adjoining province, from the king of the *Indies*: that, after this, he went to *Kaswîn* (or *Kasbîn*) to be crowned: but, without staying longer than the ceremony required, proceeded to *Georgia*; and, having defeated the king, called *Simon Pâdishâh*, obliged him to pay yearly 100 bales of silk, by way of tribute.

[b] Texeira, D'Herbelot, & Pocock, ubi supra.

(P) See *Byzarrus* Rerum Persicarum Historia; the editor of *Krusinsky*'s late revolution in *Persia*, &c.

(Q) As *Della Valle*, *Herbert*, *Olearius*, *Thevenot*, *Tavernier*, *Chardin*, *Kæmpfer*, and a few more.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Reigns of Tahmâsp I. *and* Ismael II.

TAHMASP (A), the eldest son of *Ismael*, succeeded his father. He had several wars in *Khoraſſan* against the *Uzbeks*; who, having seized *Karazm* and *Great Bukhâria*, which bound *Perſia* on the north, became very troubleſome neighbours: but that which he carried on against *Soleyman* [a], the *Othmân* emperor, was more conſiderable. *Soleymân*, having advanced with his forces to attack him in 941, at ſuch time as he had another war upon his hands in *Khoraſſan*, he was obliged to return with his army to oppoſe the *Turks*: however, he avoided coming to a battle, on account of the great artillery which *Soleymân* had brought along with him. The ſoltân, having entered *Perſia*, laid ſiege to *Tauris*, and took it; but afterwards, without penetrating farther into the country, withdrew, and retired to *Kâra Amid* (or *Diyârbekr*). 2. *Shâh* Tahmâsp. Hej. 941. A. D. 1543.

As ſoon as Shâh *Tahmâsp* was informed of this, he attacked his dundar, or rear-guard, conſiſting of 17,000 men, which had been left, according to the cuſtom of the *Turks*, to prevent their being ſurpriſed. In effect, he defeated this body of troops, and retook *Tauris*: but, *Soleymân* having marched back upon this news, the ſhâh fled before him, and ruined his own country, to avoid being purſued [b]. *Actions and death.*

TAHMASP began his reign in the year 930; and died in 983, after he had reigned fifty-three (B). He was poiſoned by one of his wives, the mother of prince *Haydr*, out of an eager deſire to ſet him on the throne after his father's death: but her deſign was fruſtrated by his ſiſter, who bribed one of the officers belonging to the treaſury to kill him, when he went to inquire what money his father had left behind him [c]. Hej. 983. A. D. 1575.

He had two ſons more, *Iſmael* and *Mohammed*, who both reigned after him.

[a] See, in a ſubſequent vol. the hiſtory of *Soleymân*.

[b] Turkiſh Annals ap. D'Herbelot, p. 1016. art. Thahamaſb.

[c] Ebn Yusef. ap. Pocok. Suppl. ad Hiſt. Dynaſt. p. 65.

(A) The *Perſians* write *Tahmâſp*, and the *Arabs Tahmâſh*; which is corruptly named *Tamas*, and *Thamas*, in the *European* authors.

(B) *Olearius* ſays, he died 11th *May* 1576, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and forty-ſecond of his reign, which is eleven years ſhort. *Minadoi* alſo ſays, he died the 11th of *May* 1576.

This

A. D. 1575. THIS is all the account, relating to Shâh *Tahmâsp*, which has been transmitted to us from the oriental authors (C). *Olearius* says, that Soltân *Soleymân*, taking advantage of the weakness of Shâh *Tahmâsp*, who did not inherit the virtues and great endowments of his father *Ismael*, recovered from the *Persians*, by his generals, all which they had taken from the *Turks*, excepting *Bâghdâd* and *Wân*: that, two years after, he entered *Persia* in person, took *Tauris*, and besieged *Soltânîyah*; while *Tahmâsp*, who was at *Kasvîn*, had not courage enough to attempt raising the siege, which yet, by accident, was effected: for, in *March*, some few days before their *Newrûz*, or new-year's day, there fell such abundance of rain, accompanied with a violent storm, and the snow of the neighbouring mountains dissolving at the same time, all the valleys were overflowed, and the *Othmân* camp greatly incommoded thereby. This sudden inundation, joined to the colour of the water (which, probably, from the nature of the ground thro' which it passed, was reddish), so frighted *Soleymân*, that he forthwith broke up his camp, and returned home. In his retreat, he destroyed all before him: but, being engaged by the *Persians* near *Betlis*, or *Bedlis*, was absolutely defeated.

Invaded by Soleymân,

who retreats.

ACCORDING to the same author, the *Persians* spoke slightly both of his conduct and valour (D). They charge him with neglecting to administer justice to his subjects, and leaving the whole management of affairs to his ministers. They blame him for giving protection to *Humayûn*, son of Soltân *Babr*, the *Mogol* of *Industân* (E), who was driven out of his kingdom; nor would deliver him up, when demanded by the usurper. But, in this, he did rather a commendable than blameable action[d].

[d] OLEARIUS's Travels, l. 6. p. 345.

(C) *D'Herbelot* seems to have taken the whole article of *Thamasp* from *Gaudier*'s translation of the *Turkish* annals, and Dr. *Pocock*'s supplement to *Abû'l-faraj*. Several of those relating to the *Turkmân* dynasties are in like manner transcribed from *Pocock* and *Texeira*; yet he could not have been without good originals, if he had consulted them.

(D) Yet *Chardin*, from the *Persian* historians, says, he was a prince of great courage and success. Voy. en Perse, tom. i. p. 125.

(E) *Olearius* makes sad work here, saying, he was the son of *Selim*; and that he fled to avoid the attempts of his uncle *Jelâl-o'ddin Akbar*; whereas *Akbar* was his son, from whom he received no injury. He was driven out by the usurper *Shîr Khân*, the *Afghân*, or *Awgvân*, who was his wazîr, and restored by the help of *Tahmâsp*.

In

A. D. 1575.

IT has been already mentioned in the reign of *Ismael*, that *Georgia* was reduced to pay tribute by Shah *Ismael*. That country, besides the kingdoms of *Kaket* and *Karthuel* (or *Karduel*), was then divided among several feudatory princes, who were continually at war among themselves, which contributed most to the ruin of the whole. In the time of *Tahmâsp*, *Karduel* (or the *Eastern Georgia*) was possessed by *Luarzab* (F); who left two sons, *Simon* and *David*, between whom he divided his dominions: but, as neither was content with his share, they went to war together, and both craved assistance of *Tahmâsp*. The youngest happening to apply first, *Tahmâsp* answered, that he would give him all his father's territories, provided he would turn *Mohammedan*. *David* consents; and joins the *Persian* army, consisting of 30,000 horse, which had already entered the country. From thence he is sent to *Kasbîn*; and, as soon as *Tahmâsp* has him in his power, he makes the same offer to *Simon*; who, finding himself pressed by the *Persian* arms, surrenders himself, but without renouncing his faith. The shâh, being now master both of the princes and their country, sends the elder prisoner to *Jenghà* (G), near the *Caspian* sea; and makes the other governor of *Georgia*, changing his name from *David* to *Dawd Khân*; at the same time he made him and the *Georgian* lords take an oath of fidelity, and send him their sons for hostages [e].

Reduces Georgia, *and its princes.*

SHAH *Tahmâsp* had, by several wives, eleven sons (H) and three daughters. Among the sons, there were three who survived the rest; *Mohammed* (who, on account of his weak sight, had given up thoughts of governing, and embraced a devout life, was called *Khodâbandeh*, that is, *servant of God*), *Ismael*, and *Haydr*. As *Tahmâsp* had a particular affection for *Haydr*, it was his design to make him his successor; and, for that end, gave him a share in the government during his life. When the shâh was near his end, the great lords sent to *Mohammed*, whose right it was by birth, to accept of the crown:

Haydr *usurps*.

[e] CHARDIN voy. en Perse, tom. i. p. 125. OLEARIUS, p. 345. MINADOI wars between Turks and Pers. p. 4.

(F) *Minadoi*, and, after him, *Olearius*, calls him *Lavassap*.

(G) *Minadoi* says, the castle of *Kahaka*, between *Kasbîn* and *Tauris*. *Minad.* wars between Turks and Pers. p. 4.

(H) *Herbert* says twelve, and gives the names; *Mahomet*, *Ismael*, *Ayder Cawn*, *Solyman*, *Emangoly*, *Mamut Ally*, *Mustapha*, *Ally Cawn*, *Amet Cawn*, *Ebrahym*, *Hamze* and *Izena Cawn*. *Herb.* Trav. p. 198.

and,

A. D. 1575. and, on his refusal, gave notice to *Ismael* (I), who was then a prisoner in the castle of *Kâhâk*, where he had been confined by his father, for having of his own head made incursions into the *Othmân* dominions, altho' he professed the *Turkish*, and hated the *Persian* sect. Mean time *Haydr*, who was but seventeen years of age, impatient to get into the throne, had the presumption to put the crown on his head, and appear in that posture before his dying father.

Put to death. MORE effectually to carry his point, during *Ismael*'s absence, he solicited his sister *Peria-konkonma*, who was older than any of her brothers, to make use of the interest which she had with the grandees, in his behalf.

THE princess had already declared herself in favour of the elder brother: yet, fearing *Haydr* should proceed to violences, which might prevent her securing the crown for *Ismael*, if she opposed his pretensions, suffered him to assume the title of king; and, as such, he was acknowleged all over the palace. However, she had all the avenues so well guarded, that it was impossible for *Haydr*'s friends to carry any tidings of it to the city: so that the young prince, beginning to distrust his sister's carriage, and apprehending their design was to sacrifice him to his brother's resentment, concealed himself among the women; till *Shamal* (K), a *Georgian*, his uncle by the mother's side, discovered him, and cut off his head[f].

The Reign of Ismael II.

3. *Shâh* Ismael II. *ISMAEL*, being thus raised to the throne from a prison (where he had been confined for twenty-five years) by the management of his sister, to reward her for the favour, put her to death. However, he did not long survive his parricide; Hej. 985. for he died the 13th of *Ramazân*, in the year 985 (A), aged A. D. 1577. above fifty. His death was thought to be procured by poison infused in treacle, which he took often, and in great quantity.

[f] OLEARIUS, ubi sup. HERBERT Travels, p. 198. MINAD. p. 6.

(I) *Minadoi*, p. 1. says, *Tahmosp* appointed *Ismael* for his successor, who had been imprisoned for the fierceness of his courage.

(K) *Herbert* calls him *Sahamal Khân*; and says, *Haydar* enjoyed the crown but four days: that *Peria-konkonna* was a martial lady, and encouraged him to ascend the throne; yet, on his death, invited *Ismael*. *Herbert* Trav. p. 198, & seq.

(A) *Olearius* puts his death on the 24th *November* 1577, which is near the mark; and postpones that of his sister to *Mohammed*'s reign.

Others

Others say, that he was slain by some of the great lords, who went in to him dressed in women's clothes [a]. He reigned one year and ten months. A. D. 1577.

ISMÂ'IL confirmed the proverb, that *the reign of a prince, who returns from exile, is always cruel and bloody:* for he began his reign with the execution of all the kindred and friends of *Haydr* (B), as well as of those who had advised his father to imprison him; pursuing such as he could not get apprehended, even as far as the frontiers of *Türky*, the religion of which he openly professed. To find out how the grandees were affected towards him, he caused a report to be spread of his death: but he appeared again too soon for those who had been so imprudent as to discover an aversion to his government; for he took away the lives of all such as he had the least jealousy of; and exercised so great cruelty, that his sister *Peria-konkonna*, not thinking herself secure while he lived, took care to make away with him: but this was done so secretly, that, when our author was in *Persia*, it was not known in what manner the inhabitants came to get rid of such a tyrant [b]. According to *Minadoi* and *Herbert*, his sister, and four lords (C) dressed in women's apparel, entered his apartment one night, as if on a party of gallantry, and strangled him with a silken cord, on the 24th of *November* 1577 [c]. His great cruelty. He is slain.

CHAP. III.

The Reign of Mohammed Khodâbandeh, Hamzeh, *and* Ismael III.

ON the death of *Ismael*, *Mohammed Khodâbandeh* was sent for from *Khoraſſân*, of which he was governor; and, coming to *Kaswîn*, there ascended the throne. Beside the appellation of *Khodâbandeh*, which he obtained on account of his devotion, as has been already mentioned, he had also that of *Alzarir*, or *the Blind*, given him, because he wanted his sight (A); and it was for this reason that *Ismael*, who put to death 4. *Shâh* Mohammed.

[a] Pocock. Suppl. p. 65. D'Herb. p. 505. art. Ismail ben Thahmasp. [b] Olearius, ubi sup. Herbert, p. 199. Minad. p. 10. [c] Minad. p. 12. Herbert, ibid.

(B) *Herbert* says, he put to death eight of his brothers also. Tavels, p. 199. *Minadoi* says the same; from whom both *Herbert* and *Olearius* seem to have taken their memoirs.

(C) *Khalil Khân*, *Amir Khân*, *Mohammed Khân*, and *Kurchi Khân*.

(A) But it is not to be understood that he was stone-blind, tho' he is commonly by authors reckoned

A. D. 1577. death all his other brothers, had spared him. *Ahmed ebn Yusef* says he reigned a good many years; *Texeira*, *Minadoi*, and *Olearius*, but seven [a].

Periakonkonna *slain.*

According to the two last authors, they had a good deal of difficulty to prevail on him to accept of the crown (B); till he was made sensible, that both his person, and the kingdom, would be exposed to great danger, in case it passed to a strange family. However, he resolved not to assume it, but on condition that, before he made his entrance into *Kasvîn*, they brought him the head of *Peria-konkonna* (C); who, having imbrued her hands in the blood of two of his brothers, might otherwise have it in her power to dispose of the kingdom to another: for this princess had prostituted herself to several lords of the court, particularly to *Amîr Khân*, whom she had filled with hopes of ascending the throne.

His character. Hej. 986.

As soon as *Mohammed* took on him the reins of government, which was in the year 1578, he seemed studious to imitate those of his predecessors who had contributed most to preserve and exalt the glory of the state. This is what *Bizarrus* says of him: but the *Persians* affirm, that never any prince managed a sceptre with greater negligence and pusillanimity; insomuch that, finding himself unfit for carrying on any military design, he spent all his time within the palace gaming, and diverting himself with the ladies: that his enemies, the *Turks* on one side, and *Uzbek Tatars* on the other, taking advantage of his effeminacy, invaded *Persia*; and possessed themselves of several provinces, which continued in their hands so long as he lived [b].

Defeats the Turks.

For all this, at first the *Persians*, under this prince, gained some considerable advantages against the *Turks*. *Minadoi* relates, that, in the year above-mentioned, their general *Tokomak*, with only 20,000 men, in the *Kalderan* plains, defeated 100,000

[a] Pocock Suppl. p. 65. D'Herb. p. 613. art. Mohammed Khod. [b] Olearius, l. vi. p. 346. Herbert, p. 199. Minad. p. 15.

reckoned so: for we do not find, that his eyes were put out; and it is only said before, that his sight was very weak or bad; which is confirmed by *Herbert*, in his Travels, p. 198, who calls him the purblind king of *Persia*.

(B) *Herbert* says, that, on the murder of his eight brothers, *Mohammed* began to stir to secure himself, and the people to flock to him. *Ibid.*

(C) As this seems to be the same princess said to be slain by *Ismael*, there must be some mistake, or great uncertainty, in this particular, among the *Persian* historians. *Peria-konkonna* may not improperly be rendered *the Fairy Queen*.

thmâns

Othmâns under *Moſtafa Pâſhâ*; and killed 30,000, with the loſs of 8000 *Kizîlbâſh*, of whoſe heads he made a monument, to ſcare their countrymen. *Minadoi* ſays, three thouſand of them were the heads of priſoners; and that, ordering them to be laid in a heap, he ſat on it while he gave audience to a young *Georgian* lord, who paid him a viſit. But this inſult was retaliated on the *Turks* more ſeverely ſtill the ſame year: for, being met a ſecond time by *Arez Beg* and Imâm *Kûli Khân*, as they paſſed the *Konak* (in *Georgia*), 30,000 of them parted with their heads, to raiſe a higher monument to the *Perſian* valour. After this, *Arez Beg*, with 10,000 men, ſurpriſing the *Tatars*, in their way from *Mazânderân*, where they had done great miſchief, to join *Ozmân Pâſhâ*, left by *Moſtafa* (in *Shirwân*), he attacked and routed a great part of their army. But *Abdo'l Gheray*, the *Tatar* general (D), with ſome ſelect troops, coming unexpectedly upon the backs of the *Perſians*, turned the fortune of the day: for the latter, who were already half-tired, taking them for the *Turks* under *Ozmân Paſhâ*, were preſently defeated; and their general *Arez Beg*, being taken, was afterwards hanged at *Shamakîya* [c]. A. D. 1578. *His general taken.*

MOHAMMED Khodâbandeh, quickly informed of the ſhameful death inflicted on *Arez Beg*, orders his ſon Amîr *Hamzeh Mîrza* (the wonder of his age), to revenge the injury. The prince ſets out forthwith from *Kaſvîn* with 12,000 men; and, in nineteen days, comes up with *Abdo'l Gheray*, and his *Tatars*, on whom he falls with ſuch fury, that, in two hours, they are put to the rout. This done, he enters *Erez*, puts the garriſon to the ſword, and hangs *Kaytas Pâſhâ*, to atone for *Arez Beg*. Here likewiſe he recovered 200 pieces of cannon, which his grandfather *Tahmâſp* had loſt to Soltân *Soleymân*. After this, hearing where the *Tatars* were encamped again, he comes on them ſuddenly with his nimble troops, cuts moſt of them in pieces; and, unhorſing *Abdo'l Gheray* himſelf, ſends him priſoner to *Erez*, where the queen-mother lay. Mean time *Ozmân Pâſhâ*, with his forces, enters *Shamakîya*: but the *Perſian* prince haſtes thither with ſuch fury, that the amazed *Pâſhâ* flies by night, and leaves the city to his mercy; vengeance, we ſhould have termed it: for he ſet the houſes on fire, and may be ſaid to have quenched it with the blood of the inhabitants, to puniſh their treachery [d]. *His death revenged by* Hamzeh Mîrza.

[c] Minadoi, p. 31. Herbert, p. 200. [d] Herbert, p. 201.

(D) A young man, and brother to the khân of *Krim*. *Herbert* relates of him the ſubſtance of what the reader will find in the reign of Soltân *Morâd*, emperor of the *Otéman Turks*.

A. D. 1578.

Affairs of Georgia.

THE *Georgians* shook off the *Persian* yoke after the death of *Tahmâsp*; as did most of the provinces of *Persia* during the reign of *Ismael* II. and the four first years of *Mohammed Khodâbandeh*, who sent an army into their country, to reduce it to his obedience. On the news of its approach, *David Khân* fled; and his brother *Simon*, who was in prison, taking that occasion to recover his possessions, turned *Mohammedan*, and was made governor of *Tiflis*, under the name of *Simon Khân* [e]. This is the account given by the *Persian* historians, which is reconcileable enough with what *Minadoi* relates from report. According to this author, *Simon* was confined in the same prison with *Ismael*, who afterwards reigned the second of that name, where he continued for some time: but his reputation for courage and experience bringing him acquainted with *Ismael*, that prince, who afterwards contracted an intimacy with him, prevailed on him at last to change his faith; with a promise to get him released, and restored to his territories. Accordingly, on his ascending the throne, he released *Simon*: but was cut off before he had time to restore him.

Prince Simon *released.*

However, *Mohammed Khodâbandeh*, on *Simon*'s application to him, made him khân of *Georgia*; and forthwith sent him into that country, accompanied by *Ali Kûli Khân*, and 5000 horse, to oppose the designs of the *Turks*, which he frustrated on many occasions [g].

THE war with the *Turks* continued almost all the reign of *Mohammed*, who was much distressed for want of sufficient forces to encounter the enemy both in *Georgia* and *Persia*: so that, altho' his eldest son *Hamzeh Mîrza* performed wonderful actions, defeating great armies of *Othmâns* with a handful of men, yet, prevailing by numbers, they gained many advantages; and at length, mastering *Tauris*, built a strong fortress in the middle of it, which was not recovered during this reign. But, as we have given the detail of these matters in the reign of *Morâd*, soltân of the *Othmân Turks* [h], we refer the reader thither for farther information.

The Reign of Hamzeh, *or* Hamza.

5. *Shâh* Hamzeh. Hej. 993. A. D. 1584.

MOHAMMED *Khodâbandeh* died in the year of the *Hejrah* 993, and of *Christ* 1584, leaving three sons; Amîr *Hamzeh*, *Ismael*, and *Abbâs*. *Hamzeh*, as being the eldest, was crowned king of *Persia*; yet *Ismael*, envying the advancement of his brother, had the address to prevail on the chief lords

[e] CHARDIN, tom. i. p. 125. [f] MINADOI, l. iv. p. 135. OLEAR. p. 345. [g] See the *Othmân* hist. [h] See a subseq. vol.

of

of the kingdom to conſpire his death; which was effected in the eighth month of his reign, in the following manner. He procured ſome aſſaſſins, who, dreſſed in women's cloaths, and covered with veils, according to the cuſtom of the eaſt, went one morning to the ſhâh's chamber-door; and, pretending to the guards, that they were the wives of ſome khâns, whom the king had ſent for, readily obtained admittance to the apartment, where they murdered (A) the unſuſpecting prince: but his death was ſoon after revenged upon the contriver of it[a]. A. D. 1584.

Is aſſaſſinated.

ACCORDING to *Minadoi*, *Hamzeh* was aſſaſſinated during his father's life-time, and in another manner. He relates that this mîrza, in *July* 1586, came to *Tauris*: but, inſtead of attacking the fort built there by the *Turks*, marched to *Salmâs*, againſt *Zeynel Bey*, the *Kûrd*, whom he defeated, as he did preſently after the pâſhâ of *Rivân*: then, returning to *Tauris*, he gets together an army of 40,000 men, with deſign to attack the *Turks*, then advancing to the city; but that, by the treachery of *Ali Kûli Khân*, the enemy got into *Tauris*, and reinforced the garriſon: that, at the ſame time, prince *Hamzeh* being informed of a conſpiracy of ſeveral ſoltâns to betray him into the hands of the *Othmân* general, he was obliged to abandon his deſign, in order to take care of his own ſafety: that, however, having driven *Ali Kûli Khân* out of the country about *Tauris*, he began to look upon himſelf pretty ſecure againſt his ſecret enemies; and repaired to *Ganjeh*, a city of *Arrân*, of which *Imâm Kûli Khân*, his friend, was governor, deſigning to march from thence to intercept the *Turkiſh* forces in their way to *Teflis*: but that, while he ſtaid there to prepare for his expedition, he was ſtabbed by one of his eunuchs who guarded him, ſet on, as ſome ſuppoſed, by his brother *Abbâs Mîrza*, governor of *Heri*, or *Herât*, in *Khoraſſân*; others ſuppoſed by his father *Mohammed*. *Minadoi*, on ſeveral occaſions, ſuggeſts the enmity and attempts of *Abbâs* againſt *Hamzeh*, by miſtake, perhaps, for *Iſmael*, whom he does not once mention: beſides, as that author, tho' a very curious and intelligent hiſtorian, was not in *Perſia* at the time of *Hamzeh*'s death, his authority muſt give way to that of travellers who were in the country, and wrote after him.

Various reports.

[a] OLEAR. Trav. l. vi. p. 347. [b] MINADOI, l. 9. 380. 387.

(A) The *Turks* ſay, he was killed bravely fighting near *Salmâs*, in the year 993 of the *Hejrah*, which anſwers to 1585 of *Chriſt*: but this is contradicted by other hiſtorians. See hereafter, in the reign of *Morâd* III. ſoltân of the *Othmâns*.

The Reign of Ismael III.

A. D. 1584. 6. *Shâh* Ismael II.

WHILE *Ismael* was employed in this fratricide, *Abbâs Mirza*, who had the government of *Khorassân*, was set out from *Herât*, capital of that province, in order to visit his brother *Hamzeh*: but hearing, on the road, of his murder, thought it more advisable to return to his place of residence, than put himself in the power of the author of it. The year following, while *Ismael* was in the province of *Kârabâgh*, *Abbâs* advanced as far as *Kasvîn*; where the frequent disputes, which happened between the people belonging to the two brothers, heightened the distrust they had of each other. *Abbâs* had with him, at this time, *Murshîd Kûli Khân*, whom, for his prudence and courage, *Mohammed Khodabândeh* had appointed that prince's tutor. *Murshîd*, knowing that *Ismael* would never pardon *Abbâs*, against whom he had spoken with great animosity, and that his own life depended on the safety of his master's, was resolved, if possible, to prevent the king, now actually on the march against his brother. To effect this, he drew over some of the great court-lords; who, in hopes of gaining the favour of *Abbâs*, bribed one of *Ismael*'s barbers, named *Khûdi*, to cut his throat while he was shaving him. The lords, who were present when the fact was committed, to justify themselves, cut the assassin in pieces, and burnt him to ashes. Thus died Shâh *Ismael* III. after he had reigned eight months [c].

CHAP. IV.

The Reign of Shâh Abbâs I. *surnamed* the Great.

7. *Shâh* Abbâs I.

THE two preceding princes are, by some *European* historians and travellers, put in the number of the *Persian* kings; by others, not. The case may possibly be the same with the oriental historians; but the misfortune is, our extracts from them here fail us: for *Mîrkond*, of whom *Texeira* has given an abridgment, so far as relates to the *Persian* kings, does not reach so low down. *Ahmed ebn Yûsef*, made use of by Dr. *Pocock*, in his supplement to *Abû'lfaraj*, wrote in the time of Shâh *Abbâs* the first (A): and *D'Herbelot*, as if, in them, his sources for the history of the *Sofian* family had failed him, under the title of *Abbâs*, says only, that there

[c] Olear. p. 347.

(A) Whom he made the immediate successor of *Mohammed Khodabândeh*, according to Dr. *Pocock*.

were two kings in *Perſia* of that name, both well known to *Europeans*, by the relations of modern travellers. So that we are turned over to them, as the funds from whence we are to draw our materials for the reigns of Shah *Abbâs* and his ſucceſſors. A. D. 1584.

ABBAS had already, by his ſpirit and moderation, ſo far gained the affections of the *Perſians*, that he aſcended the throne with a general ſatisfaction. But the favour of *Murſhid Kûli Khân*, who had moſt contributed to his advancement, did not continue long: for, aſſuming the ſame authority over the king, as he had done before while only mîrza, or prince, he created a reſentment in *Abbâs*, which proved his ruin. One day, when the ſhah was going to give his opinion with relation to an important affair, which had been propoſed; that lord had the inſolence to tell him, before all the council, that he was not fit to ſpeak about points of ſuch a nature, as being above the reach of his years and underſtanding. *Abbâs* diſſembled his reſentment at that time; but conſidering, that, if ſuch liberties were borne with, it would bring him in contempt with his ſubjects, he reſolved to rid his governor out of the way. *His tutor's inſolence*

He diſcloſed his intention to three lords of his council, *Mahadi Kûli Khân*, *Mohammed Uſtad Shâhi*, and *Ali Kûli Khân*: but as this was a matter of the greateſt conſequence to them, and they doubted even the reality of the ſhah's deſign, they endeavoured to diſſuade him from it. He told them, it was his will that *Murſhid Kûli Khân* ſhould die by their hands; and that, if they ſcrupled to give him that teſtimony of their zeal for his ſervice, he ſhould find means to be obeyed. Thoſe grandees finding it would be dangerous to ſtand out any longer, followed the king into his favourite's chamber; who lying aſleep on his back, *Abbâs* gave him the firſt blow with his ſword, acroſs his mouth; and the others ſeconded it, with each a ſtab: but *Murſhid Kûli Khân*, who was a very ſtout man, riſing off his bed, put himſelf in ſuch a poſture of defence, as made them all afraid; and, doubtleſs, would have diſpatched ſome of his murderers, had it not been for one of his grooms, who, coming in at the noiſe, with a battle-ax in his hand, the ſhah ſaid to him: *I would have the life of* Murſhid Kûli Khân, *who is become my enemy; go, diſpatch him, and I will make thee a khân.* The groom obeying the king's command, went up to his maſter, and killed him. Next day, *Abbâs* put to death all the relations and friends of the deceaſed, to prevent any diſturbances which their diſcontent might have raiſed againſt him; and, beſides rewarding the groom with the *ſeverely puniſhed.*

A D. 1584. dignity of khân, made him governor of *Herât*, the capital of *Khoraſſân*.

Repulſes the Uzbeks.

THIS happened in the firſt year of his reign. This monarch's firſt actions diſcovered his abilities for governing his kingdom, and that he had no occaſion for a director. His thoughts were wholly bent on recovering the large provinces which the *Turks* and *Tatars* had taken from his predeceſſors. He began by declaring war againſt the latter, who had ſeized the fineſt part of *Khoraſſân* during his father's reign. Accordingly, having raiſed a powerful army, he entered that province, where he was met by *Abdâllah*, khan of the *Uzbeks* (B); who, at firſt, obtained ſome advantage over him, by reaſon the plague, and bad weather, kept the ſhâh's forces from action. The two armies lay near ſix months in ſight of each other: but, at laſt, *Abbâs* attacked *Abdâllah Khân*, and forced him to retreat to *Maſhhâd*. The ſhâh continued three years in *Khoraſſân*; in all which time, the *Uzbek* was in no condition to diſturb him in his conqueſts; and, when he attempted it, was ſo unfortunate as not only to be defeated, but taken, with his brother, and three ſons, whoſe heads were all cut off (C), by the ſhâh's orders [a].

Removes to Iſpâhân.

ABBAS, on his return from *Khoraſſân*, went to *Iſpâhân*, the capital of *Perſian Irâk*, with whoſe pleaſant ſituation, and fertile ſoil, he was ſo delighted, that he transferred the ſeat of his empire thither. His next expedition was againſt the *Othmân Turks*. Underſtanding, by his ſpies, that the garriſon of *Tabrîs*, or *Tauris*, were under no apprehenſion of an attack, he privately aſſembled a few forces; and, in ſix days, marched thither from *Iſpâhân*, though it is uſually eighteen days journey of the karawâns. Being come to the paſs of *Shibli*, within four leagues of *Tabrîs*, where the *Turks* kept a party of ſoldiers, rather to receive the cuſtoms on commodities, than hinder the entrance of the *Perſians*, he, with ſome officers, left the army, and advanced as far as the turnpike. The ſecretary of the cuſtom-houſe, imagining them to be merchants, addreſſed himſelf, for the duties, to Shâh *Abbâs*: who told him, that the perſon with the purſe was coming behind; and calling to

[a] OLEAR. Trav. into Perſia, l. vi. p. 347.

(B) Then poſſeſſed of *Great Bukhâria*, of which *Samarkant* is the capital, where *Abdâllah* reigned. See Vol. VI. p. 127; and general collect. of voy. and trav. 4to. Vol. IV. p. 524.

(C) This muſt be a miſtake; for *Abdallah Khân* lived till the year 1597. ſubduing *Karazm*, after his expedition into *Khoraſſân* againſt Shâh *Abbâs*. See the places cited in the former note.

Dulfikar

Dulfikar Khân, bade him give the officer ſome money. But, while the ſecretary was telling it, he ordered one of his followers to diſpatch him: then, obliging the ſoldiers who kept that poſt to ſubmit, entered the paſs with his army. A. D. 1584.

ALI Pâſhâ, governor of *Tauris*, on this news, gathered what troops he could in the time, and went to meet the ſhâh: but his forces, being much inferior to the *Perſians*, were defeated, and himſelf taken. The citadel, built in the midſt of the city by *Haſſan Pâdſhâh*, otherwiſe called *Uzun Haſſan* (D), held out a month longer; and was then taken by ſome intelligence from within. From hence *Abbâs* proceeded to *Nakhjuan* (E), the garriſon of which retired to *Irvân*, as ſoon as they heard of his being on the road: having demoliſhed the citadel of that city, called *Kilſhikalaban*, he followed them to *Irvân* (F), which he took, after a ſiege of nine months. This conqueſt facilitated the reduction of all the neighbouring cities and provinces, excepting *Orûmi* (G), which, being ſtrongly ſituated on the point of a rock, he beſieged eight months in vain. Finding therefore no hopes of becoming maſter of it by force, and that the *Kûrds* did him more injury than the *Turks* themſelves, he fought the friendſhip of their chiefs by preſents; and, among other advantages, promiſed them the plunder of the place, in caſe by their means it ſhould be taken. *Takes* Tabrîz.

THE *Kûrds*, who were a free independent people, and lived ſolely by rapine, embracing the offer, went over to the ſhâh; and, by their aſſiſtance, the city was taken. *Abbâs*, having gained his ends, ſent to invite them to dinner with him, with a deſign to cut them all off, fearing they might, another time, do the *Turks* the like piece of ſervice they had done him. For this purpoſe, a tent was ſet up, whoſe entrance had ſeveral turnings; ſo that thoſe who went foremoſt were ſoon out of ſight of thoſe who followed; and a little way within were placed two executioners, who diſpatched the gueſts as faſt as they entered. *Perfidy to the* Kûrds.

FROM this fortreſs marching on, he became maſter of all the country between the rivers *Kûr* and *Arrâs* (H). Thence proceeding into *Shîrwân*, he reduced *Shamakîya*, its capital, in ſeven weeks, with the whole province; the government Shîrwân *and* Kiân *ſubdued.*

(D) In *Olearius*, *Uſſum Kaſſan*.

(E) *Nakhchuan*, or *Nakſhivan*, as others ſpell it.

(F) Called alſo *Irivan*, *Erivan*, *Revan*, and *Rivan*, a noted city of *Arrân*, near the river *Arrâs*.

(G) Called alſo *Ormîya*, a city at the ſouth-weſt end of the lake *Shâhi*, in *Azerbejân*, about ſixty miles to the ſouth-weſt of *Salmâs*, on the ſame lake.

(H) The antient *Cyrus* and *Araxis*. The intermediate country is called *Arân*, or *Arrân*, a fine and fruitful province.

A. D. 1584. 1594. whereof he bestowed on *Julfakar Khân*, his brother-in-law. The people of *Dârbend*, on this news, killed the *Turkish* garrison, and submitted to the conqueror. After this, he entered *Kîlân* (I), and reduced the inhabitants, who, in the time of Shah *Tahmâsp*, had thrown off their subjection: and, as near *Lankerân* there was a vast fen, or morass, which in a manner covered the whole province, and rendered the entrance very difficult; he ordered a road, or bank of sand, to be made through it, from that town, and built khans, or inns, for the accommodation of travellers, in several parts (K) of the country [b].

Turks *enter* Persia.

It was the intention of Shah *Abbâs* to sit still with the acquisitions he had made: but, about a year after, advice arriving, that the *Turks* were hasting, with an army of 500,000 men, towards the *Persian* borders, he assembles all the forces he could at *Tabrîs*; and orders the inhabitants of the frontiers to retire, with their cattle, into the walled towns, laying waste the country, that the enemy might find no subsistence. Mean time, the *Turks* having advanced, and encamped near *Tabrîs*, *Abbâs* caused it to be published through his army, that such as were willing to serve as volunteers, should list themselves apart, and receive for every *Turk*'s head they brought him, fifty crowns. On this encouragement, above 5000 *Persians* listed themselves, who every day made a prize of some heads, which were presented him, as soon as he rose: among the rest, a soldier, named *Bahrâm Tekel*, brought him one morning five together; for which piece of service he was made a khân.

Are overthrown.

At the end of three months, *Chakal Ogli*, the *Turkish* general, sent a kind of challenge to Shah *Abbâs*, giving him to understand; that, if he had as much confidence in God, and the justice of his cause, as he would have the world believe, he should not be afraid of accepting a general engagement,

[b] Olear. Trav. into Persia, l. vi. p. 347.

(I) *Mazânderân* also, having combined with some parts of *Kilân*, or *Gheylân*, in 1593, rebelled against *Abbâs*, who, the next year, marched thither with 20,000 horse; and, in passing a river by swiming, lost 4000 men, and was in danger himself. *Texeira*, p. 84. In his return from this conquest (which he soon effected, with the slaughter of 60,000 inhabitants), his general, by stratagem, drew *Malek Bahaman*, and his two sons, out of their impregnable fortress, seated on a rock, in the mountains bounding that province, at or near a village called *Rina*. *Herbert*'s trav. p. 187.

(K) As *Baindura Khân*, at the city of *Astâra*; *Mortûza Kûli Khân*, at *Kesker*; *Hayder Khân*, at *Tunkabun*; *Vizir Khân*, at *Rosht*, or *Resht*; *Adam Soltân*, in the province of *Mesândcrân*; and *Hussein Khân*, at *Astarabâd*.

which

which he thereby offered him. *Abbâs*, ſcorning to be braved by his enemies, gave him battle; which having laſted the whole day, the *Turks*, who had loſt a great number of men, retreated in the night. When word was brought of this next morning, *Abbâs*, judging it might be a ſtratagem of the enemy, kept his army on a continual duty, for three days together, without ſo much as entering his tent himſelf in all that time. At length, being ſatisfied by the ſcouts, that the *Turks* were retired towards the frontiers, he advanced to the mountain *Sahend*: where *Mohammed Khân Kafak*, *Shâhirûkh Khân*, *Eſkhar*, and *Yiſkhân*, *Kurchibaſhi*, were all cut to pieces, for having given poiſon to the ſhah; who yet received no harm, by means of an antidote, which he took immediately. A. D. 1594.

Two years after this, the *Turks* made another invaſion, with 300,000 men, and beſieged the fortreſs of *Irvân*, in the province of the ſame name: but were forced to raiſe the ſiege, and retreat. About two years after that, they beſieged and took *Tabrîs*, under the conduct of *Morâd Pâſhâ*, and kept it four months: within which time, there happened five pitched battles between the two nations, with little advantage to the *Perſians*: yet, at length, Shâh *Abbâs* defeated the enemy, and recovered the city. On his return from this expedition, at *Ardebil* he ordered *Julfâkar*, khân of *Shamâkhî*, to be killed; and gave his government to *Yûſef Khân*, an *Armenian* ſlave, who had long ſerved him as a footman [c]. *Again defeated.*

After this, *Perſia* enjoyed peace for twenty years ſucceſſively: at the end whereof, the *Turks* entered the country again, with a powerful army, under the command of *Khalîl Pâſhâ*, who was joined by ſeveral parties of *Krim Tatars*. The ſhah ſent againſt them *Karchûkay Khân* (L), the moſt valiant and fortunate of all his generals, who wearied them out, and forced them to retreat, after ſeveral engagements; wherein he took priſoners, *Omerſe Beg*, and *Shahin Keray Khân*, two *Tatar* princes, beſides the paſhâs of *Egypt*, *Hâlep*, *Arzerûm*, and *Wân*. The king, inſtead of treating them ill, not only preſented each with a veſt and excellent horſe, but ſent them back, without demanding any ranſom. *A third overthrow.*

This war being over, Shâh *Abbâs* went into *Georgia*, where *Tamûras Khân*, ſon of *Simon* (M), had the confidence to en- *War in Georgia.*

[c] Olear. Trav into Perſia, l. vi. p. 347.

(L) In the original, ſpelled *Kartz Schuckai Chan*. *Herbert* calls him *Kurchiki Cawn*.

(M) This is, poſſibly, a miſtake for *Alexander*; for ſo *Chardin* names his father, as will be ſeen lower down.

A. D. 1594.

ter the province of *Segghen* (N), situate in the midst of that country, and give him battle: but was forced to retreat, with great loss. While he staid in those parts, which was nine months, he paid his army nine musters together; and hearing that his soldiers spent most of their money in tobacco, he forbade the use of it, with such severity, that he ordered the noses and lips of those to be cut off, who were found to disobey his prohibition. A merchant, who, ignorant of that order, had brought several bags of tobacco into the camp, to sell there, was, by his command, set upon a heap of faggots, with his bags about him, and consumed to ashes.

The shâh's sons.

After the *Georgian* expedition, Shâh *Abbâs* went into *Kilân*, where he put to death his eldest son, through jealousy, raised by a trifling occasion. Besides 4 or 500 concubines, he had three wives, by whom he had as many sons, *Safi*, or *Sefi Mîrza*, *Khodabândeh Mîrza*, and *Imâm Kuli Mîrza*. The two latter had their eyes put out with fire (O), by his order, and were confined in the castle of *Alamût* (P), thirty leagues from *Kasvîn*. The eldest son, whose mother was a *Georgian*, having fallen in love with a beautiful *Chirkassian* maiden, presented to his father, by a *Shîrwân* merchant, begged her for a wife, and had by her a son, named *Sain Mîrza*, who afterwards reigned, by the name of Shâh *Safi*.

Safi Mîrza

The over-severe, or rather cruel and tyrannical, government of Shâh *Abbâs*, was, by this time, grown so odious and insupportable to the grandees, that some of them had the boldness to cast a note into *Safi Mîrza*'s chamber, importing, that if he would consent to the design they had in hand, he might immediately ascend the throne. *Safi*, abhorring to be an accomplice in his father's death, carried the billet to him; at the same time protesting his detestation of the proposal, and absolute dependence on his will. The shâh, who dearly loved this son, expressed great satisfaction at the discovery, and commended his affection and piety: but he afterwards fell into such frights, as deprived him of all rest, and obliged him to change his bed-chamber twice or thrice a night. While his mind was possessed with such continual uneasiness, that he conceived he should never be free from it, so long as his son

(N) Perhaps the same with *Zaghen*, whose capital, situate to the north of *Tekis*, is of the same name.

(O) By drawing a red-hot basin before them.

(P) Or *Al Mût*, that is, *the castle of death*, in the province of *Mazânderân*. It formerly belonged to the assassin princes, who reigned there, as before-mentioned.

lived

lived (Q); his fears were heightened, when he was at *Reſht* in *Kilân*; by the falſe ſuggeſtions of a flatterer, that the prince, in conjunction with ſeveral great lords, had formed a new conſpiracy againſt him [d]. A. D. 1594.

ABBAS reſolving, on this new alarm, to put his ſon to death, would have had his general *Karchûkay Khân* to undertake the execution: but that brave old man, falling at the king's feet, ſaid, he choſe rather to be put to death himſelf, than imbrue his hands in the royal blood. The ſhâh hereupon propoſed the ſame to *Bebût Beg*; who, not being ſo ſcrupulous as the other lord, went immediately, and, meeting the prince on a mule, juſt come from a bath, accompanied only by a ſingle page, lays hold on the bridle, and ſaying, Alight, *Safi Mirza!* it is the pleaſure of the king thy father, that thou ſhouldſt die; thereupon throws him down. The unfortunate prince, joining his hands, and lifting his eyes, cries out, *O God! what have I done to deſerve this diſgrace? Curſed be the traitor who is the occaſion of it. But, ſince tis God's pleaſure thus to diſpoſe of me, his will, and the king's, be done.* He had ſcarce time to utter the words, before *Bebut* gave him two ſtabs with a dagger, and laid him dead on the place. The body was dragged to a fen not far off, where it continued above four hours. *put to death.*

WHEN the news of this murder was brought to the city, the people ran in multitudes to the palace, threatening to force the gates, unleſs the authors of it are delivered to them. The prince's mother, underſtanding that he had been ſlain by the ſhah's order, ran to his apartment; and, regardleſs of his furious diſpoſition, not only reproached him, in ſevere terms, with inhumanity, but flew upon, and beat him with her fiſts. *Abbâs*, inſtead of being angry with her, was at a loſs what to ſay for himſelf. But, at laſt, with tears in his eyes, ſpoke thus: *What would you have had me do? news was brought me, that he had a deſign upon my life. There is now no remedy: what is done cannot be recalled.* In effect, Shâh *Abbâs* himſelf had no ſooner heard of the execution, than he repented of his *Diſtractions thereupon.*

[d] OLEAR. Trav. into Perſia, l. vi. p. 351.

(Q) *Tavernier* calls this prince *Sofi Mirza*; and ſays, that the people's love gave his father jealouſy; which was augmented, by his drawing the firſt arrow at a boar; it being a capital crime to ſhoot before the king: that, being his only ſon, *Abbâs* concealed his diſpleaſure; but that, as ſoon as he had a ſon by a ſlave, he ordered firſt his eyes to be put out, and then his head to be cut off; which he afterwards lamented. *Tavernier's Perſian* travels, l. v. ch. 1.

raſhneſs,

A. D. 1594. raſhneſs. He ſhut himſelf up for ten days, with a handkerchief over his eyes, that he might not ſee the light; lived a whole month on very ſpare diet; went in mourning a whole year; and ever after wore no clothes which might diſtinguiſh him from the meaneſt of his ſubjects (R). He likewiſe cauſed the place where the prince was killed to be made a ſanctuary [e].

Lords poiſoned. THE firſt ten days of his mourning being over, he removed from *Reſht* to *Kaſvin*; where he invited the khans, whom he any ways ſuſpected, to a feaſt, with the flatterer who had made him jealous of his ſon: and cauſing poiſon to be mixed with their wine, ſaw them all die in his preſence (S). The action of *Bebût Beg* was indeed rewarded with the office of *Darûga* of *Kaſvin*, and, ſome time after, with that of khân of *Keſker*; but the next journey which the ſhah made to *Kaſvîn*, he ordered *Bebût* to cut off his own ſon's head, and bring it him. The khan was forced to obey; and coming back ſoon after, with his ſon's head in his hands, *Abbâs* aſked him, How he did? *Alas! my lord*, anſwered *Bebût*, *I think I need not tell you: I have been forced to kill my only ſon, whom I loved above all things in the world; the grief of which, I fear, will bring me to my grave.* The ſhah replied, *Go thy ways*, Bebût, *and conſider how great muſt have been my affliction, when thou broughteſt me the news of my ſon's death, whom I ordered thee to deſtroy. But comfort thyſelf, my ſon and thine are no more; and reflect, that, in this reſpect, thou art equal with the king thy maſter.*

Bebût *murdered.* NOT long after this, *Bebût* ended his life, on the following occaſion. It happened that one of his domeſtics giving him water to waſh after dinner, according to cuſtom, poured it on ſo hot, that it ſcalded his hands. This ſo incenſed the new khan, that he threatened to have the offender cut in pieces. The ſlave, conſidering that he had no quarter to expect from a maſter, who had made no ſcruple to murder his prince, and his own ſon, conſpired with ſome of his fellow-ſervants, and killed him, the night following, in his drink. Shah *Abbâs* was not troubled at the loſs of ſo hateful an object; and reſolved

[e] OLEAR. ubi ſupra, p. 352.

(R) This agrees with what *Herbert* obſerves, that, in 1628, when he gave audience to the *Engliſh* ambaſſador; he was dreſſed in a plain red calico coat, quilted with cotton.

(S) *Chardin* mentions, that being in a paſſion with *Ali Mirza Beg*, he ſlew him with his own hand, and confiſcated his eſtate, giving his palace, which was a very fine one, to the *Dutch*. Voy. tom. III. p. 35.

not

not to have punished the murderers, had not the other lords represented, that, if they were not made examples of, none of them could think himself safe, after once giving his servants any threatening language [f]. A. D. 1594.

HERBERT, who travelled into *Persia* in the reign of Shâh-Abbâs, *Abbâs*, gives a different account of this affair. He says, that *Abbâs* had four sons, the eldest *Ismael*, *Sofi Mirza*, *Kodabinda Soltân*, and *Emangoli*. The two first born of *Gordina*, daughter of *Simon Khân*: the two latter of *Martha*, daughter of *Skander Mirza*, both *Georgian* Christians. *Ismael*, giving jealousy by his delighting in arms, was poisoned. *Sofi Mirza* (who is the *Safi*, or *Sofi*, of *Olearius*), although extolled, at first, for revealing a conspiracy, was at length thrown down, and crushed to death by a kapiji. *Emangoli* (or *Imâm Kûli*), upon being told by a witch, that he should not live long, grew fearful of his father's temper, and died of melancholy. *Kodabânda Soltân*, surnamed *Sofi*, now the only son living, was a prince of great endowments; and had signalized himself so much in the wars, that his father doated on him, and the people admired him: but this popularity made *Abbâs* resolve to destroy him. *his cruelty*

He was then on an expedition against the *Arabs*; at what time, falling in love with a princess of the same nation, he married her, and had by her, in a few years, two children, *Soffi* and *Fâtima*. Now *Abbâs* contrives to put his design in execution against his son. He begins, by putting to death *Magar*, an *Arab*, the prince's tutor, under pretence that he infused ambitious notions into him. On this news, the prince, who was then at war against the *Uzbeks*, leaves the camp, to know his father's reason for this execution; and is surprised to hear him say, It was for thy rebellion. *Soffi* protests his innocence: but *Abbâs*, to provoke him, aggravates the accusation. The prince, in the heat of his disorder, imagines he saw *Magar* strangling; and, drawing his sword, vows to rescue him. His father, then seeming to relent, bids him lay aside his weapon, and walks him into another apartment; where, after a while, pretending to be indisposed, he leaves him. *towards his sons.*

ABBAS was no sooner gone, than seven men, with bow-strings, enter the room, by a trap-door, and attempt to seize him. But the prince, though unarmed, kills three of them; when, being out of breath, they fasten on him, and fit the string to his neck. At this juncture the shâh coming in, ordered them to bind him, and, before he could recover his Safi's *distraction.*

[f] Olear. ubi supra, p. 353.

senses,

A. D. 1594. senses, deprive him of sight, by drawing a red-hot iron before his eyes. All degrees of people were highly enraged at this act of cruelty. The prince himself grows desperate; and, not knowing how to be revenged on the author of his misery, choaks his own daughter *Fatima*, at a visit she made him in prison; thinking that way to afflict his father, who he knew doated on her. The princess his wife, who was present, imagined he had killed his child, through mistake, for somebody else, till she perceived him groping for young *Soffi*, in order, by destroying him also, to deprive his father of a successor: but the mother got him out of the way. The prince continued furious for two days; and the third, being no longer able to bear his misfortune, he put an end to it, with his life, by a dose of poison [g].

Poisons himself.

We have been the more particular in this article of history, to let our readers see, that natural affection sways not more with the *Persian* than *Turkish* princes; and how little certainty there is in the accounts which are brought from foreign countries by travellers. However, let which will be in the right of the two here cited on this occasion, 'tis certain that *Sain Mirza*, afterwards called *Safi* (whence *Herbert*'s *Soffi*), was the grandson of Shâh *Abbâs*, and succeeded him. To return therefore to *Olearius*:

The shâh's jealousy.

Although the shâh gave so many proofs of sorrow for his son's death, yet the prince's widow could not but believe he had a design to make away with her son *Sain Mirza*. So that, for a long time, she kept him concealed, and would not suffer him to be brought to court, although his grandfather designed him as his successor; as the eyes of his two younger sons being out, they could not ascend the throne. The shâh was reported to have had a great affection for the young prince; and yet, lest the vivacity of his spirit should revive in the people the affection for him which they had for his father, he ordered opium, about the quantity of a pea, to be given him every morning, to dull his senses; but that, instead thereof, his mother made him frequently take treacle, and other antidotes against the poison, which she suspected might be given him [h].

Lâr *subdued.*

Hej. 500. A. D. 1106.

About this time was conquered the kingdom of *Lâr*, comprising a considerable part of the province of *Pârs*, or *Proper Persia*, which had been erected into a sovereignty, in the year of the Hejrah 500, by the *Kûrds*. These took it from the *Arabs*, and held it till the year 1612, when it was subdued by *Abbâs* [i]; who having seized the king, put him to death, for

[g] Herbert's Travels, p. 173, & seqq. [h] Olear. ubi supra. [i] D'Herbel. p. 511, art. Lâr.

offering

offering violence to, and robbing, the karawâns which paſſed that way [k]. A. D. 1594.

WHILE Shâh *Abbâs* was in *Kilân*, *Tamûras Khân*, taking advantage of his abſence, entered again with an army into *Georgia*, and recovered all thoſe places out of which he had been forced. Againſt him were ſent *Ali Kûli Khân*, *Mohammed Khân Kaſak*, *Mortûſa Kûli*, khân of *Talîſh*, and ſeveral other khâns; who brought word back, they found the enemy ſo advantageouſly poſted, that they durſt not ſet upon him. The ſhâh puniſhed their pretended prudence with death; and, next year, marched thither in perſon: proteſting, at his departure, that, if he came back victorious, he would ſell the *Georgians* at an abbâs, or fifteen pence, a head. Accordingly, having met with ſucceſs, and brought off a great number of priſoners, at his return, a ſoldier went to him, with two abbâs's in his hand, and demanded two handſome young maids for them, which the king delivered to him. About this time, many *Georgian* Chriſtians left their country, to ſettle in *Iſpâhân* [l]. *Affairs of Georgia.*

CHARDIN gives a more particular account of this expedition of *Abbâs* into *Georgia*, and the cauſes of it, from the *Perſian* hiſtorians. The king of *Kaket* (T), named *Alexander*, had three ſons, and two daughters. The eldeſt ſon *David*, famous for his courage, and misfortunes, under the name of *Taymûraz* (U) *Khân*, given him by the *Perſians*, was an hoſtage at the court of *Perſia*, and educated along with *Abbâs the Great*, who was nearly of the ſame age. As ſoon as *Alexander* was dead, his widow, a wife and beautiful princeſs, named by the *Georgians Ketavâna*, and *Mariâna* in the hiſtories of *Perſia*, wrote to *Mohammed Kodabândeh*, deſiring him to ſend *Taymûraz*, to ſucceed his father, and accept of his brother, as hoſtage in his room. *Taymûraz* was accordingly diſpatched for *Georgia*, after taking an oath of vaſſalage. *Taymuraz king of Kaket.*

SIMON, king of *Karthuel* (or *Karduel*), died at the beginning of the reign of *Abbâs*, leaving the crown to *Luarzab*, his eldeſt ſon, a minor, under the tuition of his firſt miniſter, named *Mehrû* by the *Gregorians*, and by the *Perſians Morâd*; who one day ſurpriſing the king in private with his beautiful daughter, on ſignifying his concern, *Luarzab* ſwore *Luarzab king of Karthuel.*

[k] TEXEIRA, Hiſt. Perſ. part ii. c. 48. [l] OLEARIUS, ubi ſupra.

(T) *Kaket*, as hath been obſerved before, is one of the two great provinces into which *Georgia* is divided, and *Karduel*, or *Karthuel*, the other.

(U) *Chardin* writes *Taimuras Khân*. In this prince's letters to the pope, inſerted in the *Hiſtoria Armena* of *Galanus*, it is ſpelled *Theimuraz*.

he

A. D. 1594. he would never have any other wife but her. However, the marriage was prevented, by the queen, and ladies of the country, who declared they would never pay the submission of subjects to a person of a mean family, as *Mehrû*'s daughter was. The king alleged this as a reason to the father for not marrying her: but, as the *Georgians* are very vindictive, he was advised to make away with *Mehrû*, to prevent his revenge. The design was to poison him, at a banquet; which being discovered by the page who gave him the cup, he rose up, under pretence of going to the vault, and made his escape to Shah *Abbâs*, who was then at *Ispâhân*, on his return from the conquest of *Shirwân*.

provokes Abbâs. *MEHRU* told the shâh his case, and demanded justice of him, who, he said, was the true sovereign of *Georgia*. As a still surer way to be revenged of *Luarzab*, he used all his art to inflame *Abbâs* with love for that prince's sister, named *Darejân*, celebrated for her beauty by the *Persian* poets, under that of *Pehri*. *Abbâs* sent ambassadors to demand her. Answer was returned, that she had been promised to *Taymûraz*, king of *Kaket*. The shâh, more inflamed by this refusal, sends a third ambassador; to renew the demand, writing, at the same time, to *Taymûraz*, not to espouse *Luarzab*'s sister, and to come to court. *Luarzab*, provoked at these repeated and haughty instances, abused the ambassador, and dismissed him, without

A. D. 1610. further answer. This was about the year 1610; at what time *Abbâs*, not being in a condition to execute his design against *Georgia*, dissembled his resentment; and as he was then sending a *Carmelite* missioner into *Europe*, to excite the Christian princes against the *Turks*, with whom he was at war, he ordered that friar to pass through *Georgia*, and exhort *Taymúraz* not to join with, or, in any sort, assist his enemies.

The shâh's policy. *TAYMURAZ*, either through credulity or fear, did as he was desired; and soon repented of it. For, in

A. D. 1613. 1613, *Abbâs* left *Ispâhân*, with a design to invade *Georgia*: but, as he was full of artifice, he treated this war as an amorous intrigue. He said, that *Luarzab*'s sister loved him, and had written letters to him: that she had even been promised to him: and that her brother was perfidious. At the same time, he had many *Georgians* among his troops; gave pensions to several of the great lords of the country; and corrupted others every day, by means of *Mehrû*. Some of the chief princes of the blood had turned *Mohammedans*, for sake of governments and places. He had in hostage two sons of *Taymûraz*, and a brother and sister of *Luarzab*. All things concurred to render the conquest of *Georgia* easy. He judged it would not be difficult,

ficult, as matters were circumstanced, to sow divisions among the people, and make the kings jealous of each other. With this view, he wrote to *Taymûraz*, that *Luarzab* was ungrateful, a rebel, and a fool: that he was resolved to take the crown from him: and that if he (*Taymûraz*) would either seize or kill him, he should have the kingdom. He wrote in the same strain to *Luarzab*, against *Taymûraz*; and, at the same time, ordered his general *Lalla Beg* to enter *Georgia*, with 30,000 horse, and lay the country waste [m]. A. D. 1613.

THE two kings finding, on an interview, that their ruin was determined, made a strict league; and, to cement it the stronger, *Luarzab*, in earnest, gave the admirable *Darejan* to *Taymûraz*: at which news *Abbâs* was so enraged, that he swore he would kill his hostages; and hastened his march, to be revenged on the kings who had offended him. *Taymûraz*, seeing the *Persian* general approach, and that part of his nobles were inclined to submit, sent his mother *Ketavânch*, or *Mariâna*, to *Abbâs*, who was still at *Ispâhân*, to ask pardon for her son. As this princess was still handsome, though not young, *Abbâs* fell in love with her, or pretended to do so, at first sight, and offered to marry her, if she would turn *Mohammedan*. On her refusal, he imprisoned her, in a private house (X), and made eunuchs of her two grandsons, after forcing them to change their religion. This done, he departed for *Georgia*. *Taymuraz submits.*

ABBAS being entered the country with his army, which daily increased, by the accession of *Georgians*, through hope or fear; *Luarzab* resolved to oppose him, hoping to inclose the *Persians* in the woods, and there destroy them. In effect, the shah having marched twenty-five leagues forward, *Luarzab* divides his troops in two bodies, and shuts up the passage with heaps of wood, in such sort, that the *Persian* army could neither get forward nor backward. *Mehrû*, the general, perceiving the king greatly surprised, as if he thought himself betrayed, promised, in three days, to deliver him out of the embarrass, on forfeiture of his head. Accordingly, he ordered a road to be cut through the wood; and leaving the camp, which was blocked up by the *Georgians*, took only the cavalry. *Abbâs* would lead them himself; and, having crossed the wood, fell on the kingdom of *Kaket*: where he committed *Luarzab opposes.*

[m] CHARD. Voy. en Perse, tom. I. p. 125, & seq.

(X) She continued in confinement several years, and was then removed to *Shirâz*; where, in 1624, she died, as 'tis said, under torments, to oblige her to turn *Mohammedan*, by order of Shâh *Abbâs*.

great

A. D. 1613. great cruelties, so far as to destroy the trees which nourished the silkworms; a damage not to be retrieved.

Ensnared by promises,

LUARZAB, on this news, thinking all lost, fled into *Mingrelia:* but *Abbâs*, knowing his conquest could not be thoroughly secure, while the kings were at liberty, wrote him a soothing letter; in which he told him, that he had no reason to fly, since his resentment was against the perfidious, the rebel *Taymuraz*; and that, if he would come to his camp, he would confirm him in the possession of *Georgia*; threatening otherwise to destroy it intirely, with fire and sword. *Luarzab*, to prevent this ruin, in love to his people, repairs to *Abbâs*; who loads him with favours, and sets him on the throne, with the greatest solemnity. This was to deceive the *Georgians*, and allure them to submit without fighting. Among the presents he made the king, one was a plume of precious stones, which he desired him always to wear on his head, as an ensign of royalty.

is imprisoned.

THE day on which *Abbâs* left *Tiflis*, he asked *Luarzab* to accompany him to the first encampment. *Luarzab*, who mistrusted no harm, went; and going to see the shâh, without his plume, *Abbâs*, who had ordered one of his guards to steal it from him, asked him, where it was? the king answered, Somebody had stolen it. *Abbâs*, seeming provoked that he should say it was stolen in his camp, ordered him to be arrested; but durst not put him to death, for fear of exciting a revolt in *Georgia*. However, he sent him to *Mazânderân*, in hopes the bad air would carry him off. That not having the effect, he was removed to *Shîrâz*. At length *Abbâs*, hearing that an ambassador from the czar of *Russia*, at the instigation of the princes of *Luarzab*'s party, was arrived on the frontiers, to solicit his deliverance; to avoid either setting the king at liberty, or denying the czar's request, ordered the governor of *Shîrâz* to make away with *Luarzab*, as if his death came by accident. It was pretended that he fell into the water, when a fishing; and *Abbâs*, in reporting this affair to the ambassador, seemed much concerned at that king's death.

Taymûraz re-established.

THE brother of *Luarzab*, called *Bagrat Mîrza*, or the prince royal, who had before turned *Mohammedan*, was made governor of *Georgia* in his room; and an army left to oppose *Taymûraz*. This prince, having for a time carried on the war, by means of some small succours from the *Turks*, and neighbouring Christian princes, at length went to *Constantinople*, to solicit more powerful aid, which he obtained. A great army was sent into *Georgia*, which gave the *Persians* several defeats, and re-established *Taymûraz* in his kingdom of *Kaket*.

Kaket. But he did not long remain there (Y): for, as ſoon as the *Othman* forces were withdrawn, *Abbâs* returned to *Georgia*, and changed the face of affairs. He built fortreſſes through the country, which he filled with *Perſians*; and carried away above fourſcore thouſand families, moſt of whom he tranſplanted into the provinces of *Mazânderân*, *Armenia*, *Azerbejân*, and *Pârs*, or *Proper Perſia*; ſettling in their room *Perſians* and *Armenians*. However, to reconcile theſe people, if poſſible, by lenitives, he came to an agreement with them, on oath, for him and his ſucceſſors, *That the country ſhould not be charged with taxes*; *nor their religion changed*. *that their churches ſhould not be demoliſhed, nor meſkûs built there*: *that their viceroy ſhould be a* Georgian, *of the race of their kings, but a* Mohammedan; *and that one of his ſons, ſuch as would change his religion, ſhould have the poſt of governor and grand provôts of* Iſpahân, *till ſuch time as he ſucceeded his father*. After this, the *Georgians* were quiet during the reign of *Abbâs* [n].

A. D. 1613. *Driven out again.*

Much about the ſame juncture, *Abbâs* received letters from *Bikirkeha* (Z), commander of the garriſon of *Bâghdâd*, who, diſſatisfied with the *Othmân* court, for refuſing him the government of that city, on the death of the pâſhâ, whoſe lieutenant he was, proffered to deliver it up to the ſhâh. *Abbâs*, on this propoſal, immediately marched that way, with a good army: but, before he arrived thither, *Bikirkeha*, having changed his mind, ſent him word, that he had only powder and ball at his ſervice. The ſhâh was ſo provoked at the affront, that he vowed not to return without taking *Bâghdâd*, though it ſhould coſt him his life. Accordingly, having paſſed the ditch, after a ſiege of ſix months, and ſprung a mine, at which work the *Perſians* are very expert, he cauſed an aſſault to be given, and took the city by ſtorm. *Bikirkeha*, being found among the priſoners, was ſewn up in a raw ox-hide, and placed near the highway, till the hide ſhrinking with the heat of the ſun, put him to a painful death. But

Bâghdâd taken.

[n] Chard. ubi ſupra, p. 127, & ſeqq.

(Y) In *Galanus* his *Hiſtoria Armenæ*, we have letters from *Theimuraz*, or *Taymuras*, to the pope; in one of which he ſays, that his country had been under the *Perſian* tyranny, grievouſly harraſſed from 1614 to 1628. *Hiſt. Armen.* p. 142. And the miſſioner *Avitabilis* ſays, he at length gave Shâh *Abbâs* his daughter in marriage, and ſubmitted to pay tribute. *Ibid.* p. 168.

(Z) Perhaps *Bikir*, or *Bekr Kyehaya*.

A. D. 1613. his son, making it appear that he was not concerned in his father's offence, had the government of *Shîrâz* bestowed upon him.

The Turks baffled. The year following, the *Othmân* emperor ordered *Hafis Ahmed Pâshâ* to lay siege to *Bâghdâd*: but *Abbâs* forced him to raise it, and continued eight months in sight of the *Turkish* army; till, being much diminished by sickness, as not so able to endure the heats as the *Persians*, *Hafis* was obliged to retreat to *Constantinople*. The shâh, at his return from this expedition, began to build *Ferabâd*, in the province of *Mazânderân*, on occasion of a village named *Tahona*, situated on a pleasant river, which, not far from thence, falls into the *Caspian* sea.

A great overthrow. The above-mentioned victory procured the shâh only two years rest: for the soltân, desirous to recover *Bâghdâd*, sent *Khalîl Pâshâ*, with an army of 500,000 men, to subdue it. *Abbâs* ordered *Karchugay Khân* to march to the relief of the place, with a small but chosen brigade, while he followed himself with the rest of his forces. The *Persian* general, advancing to meet the *Turks*, harrassed them with continual skirmishes for six months together; and, when he had sufficiently tired them, at last gave *Khalîl* battle; and, defeating, forced him to fly as far as *Neched*. On the first news of this victory, Shâh *Abbâs* left *Bâghdâd*, to meet *Karchugay Khân*; and, when near, alighting, said to him, *My dearest aga*, by which name he always called him, *I have, by thy care and conduct, obtained so noble a victory, that I would not have desired a greater of God: come, get upon my horse; 'tis fit I should be thy lackey*. The general was so surprised at this discourse, that he threw himself at his feet, intreating his majesty to look on him as his slave; and not expose him to the derision of every body, by doing him an honour which he could not possibly deserve. However, he was forced to mount, the king and the khâns following on foot only seven paces.

Shah *Abbâs* had many other wars against the *Turks*: but the most signal victory he ever obtained over his enemies, was the reduction of the city of *Ormûs*, which he took from the *Portuguese* six years before his death [o].

Isle of Ormûz. The kingdom of *Ormûz*, or rather *Hormûz*, was formerly a dominion of pretty large extent, situate on the coast of *Kermân* and *Pârs*, where it first began, some time after the year of Christ 1000; and continued under a race of kings for about 600 years, of whom we shall give the history in the next volume [p]: but, by degrees, it fell to decay; so that its

[o] Olear. ubi sup. [p] P. 65.

bounds were reduced to those of the island of *Ormûs*, and some other isles adjacent to it, in 1507, when it was taken from its king by the *Portugueses*; from whom Shâh *Abbâs* took it in 1622, by the assistance of the *English*, who joined them, on the following occasion. A. D. 1621.

THE *Portugueses*, who had always disturbed the *English* trade in the *East Indies* from the time they first sailed thither, were resolved also to obstruct their commerce in the *Persian* gulf; whither some ships arriving in 1621, they were attacked by *Ruy Frera de Andrada*, and forced to return to *India* with the loss of their chief commander *Andrew Shilling*. There having augmented their naval force, from two ships to nine, they set out again for the *Persian* gulf; and, being come to *Kustak*, are informed by their factor, that the king of *Persia* was at war with the *Portugueses*: that his forces had been seven months besieging a castle, which *Ruy Frera*, on hearing of the shâh's design against *Ormûs*, had built on the isle of *Kishmeh*, or *Kishom*, to secure the water with which *Ormûs* was supplied from thence; and that the *Persian* general required the assistance of the *English* against the *Portugueses*, as their common enemy, in case they expected to trade in *Persia*. *taken from the* Portugueses,

THE captains *Waddel*, *Blyth*, and *Woodcock*, finding themselves at this dilemma, and that they could have no safe commerce in the gulf while the *Portuguese* had the dominion there, repaired to the camp of Imâm *Kûli Khân*, viceroy of *Shîrâz*, the chief commander in the expedition; and, having obtained very advantageous conditions for the *English* nation (A), in *January* 1622 sailed to *Kishmeh*; where, besieging the castle by sea, and lending some aid on shore, it was surrendered in six days by *Ruy Frera*, who was sent prisoner to *Surât*, along with three of the fleet. The other six ships went to *Ormûs*, where the *Persians* landed the 9th of *February*, and, with small loss, got possession of the town; while the *English* fleet battered the *Portuguese* galleons, five of which they sank during the siege, which lasted ten weeks. The 17th of *March*, a breach being made, by blowing up part of the castle-wall, the *Persians* made an attack; but were repulsed, with considerable *by the* Persian *army*, *and* English *ships*.

(A) 1. The castle of *Ormûs*, with all the ordnance and ammunition, to go to the *English*. 2. The *Persians* to build another castle in the isle, if they pleased. 3. The spoil to be equally divided. 4. The *Persians* to be at half charges for wages, provision, powder, &c. 5. The *English* to be custom-free for ever in *Bander Gomrûn*. But the *Persians* did not keep their agreement with the *English*, who had no more than 20,000 pounds allowed for their service.

A. D. 1629.

loſs (B). After this, three breaches more being made by mines, on the 18th of *April* the general gave an aſſault with all his forces, and gained part of the caſtle: ſo that the *Portugueſes*, being hard preſſed, ſurrendered the place, with themſelves, to the *Engliſh* on the 21ſt; in all, 2600 men; the cannon, in number an hundred and fourteen, 53 pieces mounted, and 92 of braſs unmounted, were left to the *Perſians*; excepting 10 of the latter, which the *Engliſh* took to ſupply thoſe which were damaged in the expedition. The king of *Ormûs*, Seyd *Mohammed Shâh*, an *Arab* of *Maſkât*, whom the *Portugueſes* had lately raiſed to that poor dignity, with a penſion of 140,000 rials, was delivered up, with all the *Mohammedans*, to the *Perſians*[p].

Abbâs *falls ſick*,

About the end of the year 1629 (rather 1628) *Abbâs* took a journey to *Ferahâd*, in the province of *Mazânderân*, which was the place he moſt delighted in: but he there fell ſo ill, that, ſending for four of the chief lords of his council (C) to his bed-ſide, he told them, that it was his will that his grandſon *Sain Mirza* ſhould ſucceed him in the throne, and aſſume his father's name. When they mentioned the prediction of the aſtrologers, that he ſhould reign but eight months at moſt; the ſhâh made anſwer, *Let him reign as long as he can, though it was but three days: it will be ſome ſatisfaction to me, to be aſſured that he ſhall one day have on his head the crown which was due to the prince his father.*

and dies.

As it was conceived that ſome poiſon had been given him, his phyſician ordered him the hot bath for eight days together, and a bath of cows milk for four days more: but theſe remedies availing nothing, he prepared for death, and appointed where he would be interred; yet, that the people ſhould not know it, he ordered his funeral ceremonies to be performed at three different places at once; *viz. Ardebîl*, *Maſhhâd*, and *Bâghdâd* (D). The general opinion in our author's time was, that his body was conveyed to the laſt city, and thence to the *Nechef* of *Kûfa*, near the ſepulchre of *Ali*:

[p] Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1785. Herbert Trav. p. 115.

(B) *Monoxe*, the *Engliſh* agent, whoſe account of the *Ormûs* affair is given by *Purchas*, vol. ii. p. 1793. repreſents the *Perſians* at that time as wretched ſoldiers, without either courage, diſcipline, or the leaſt notion of the art of war.

(C) *Viz. Iſa Khân*, kurchibâſhi; *Seyol Khân*, tuſhmal, or counſellor of ſtate; *Temûr Beg*, *Ouwogli*, the lord high-ſteward; and *Yuſef Aga*, the chief chamberlain.

(D) *Herbert* ſays, it was reported that his heart, bowels, and body, were ſeparated, and buried at *Masjed Ali*, near *Kufa*, *Kaſhân*, and *Ardevîl*; or, as others ſaid, at *Kom*, for that few knew the certainty. Travels, p. 206.

for

for that, going to *Kûfa*, after the reduction of *Bâghdâd*, and looking at the *Necheſ*, he ſaid, he had never ſeen a more delightful place, and that he ſhould wiſh to be there interred. He ordered that his death ſhould be concealed till his grandchild was ſecured of the ſucceſſion: and, the better to effect it, directed that his body ſhould be expoſed every day in the hall of juſtice, ſeated in a chair of ſtate, with the eyes open, and back to the hangings; behind which ſtood *Yuſef Aga*, who from time to time lift up his arm with a ſilken ſtring, by way of anſwer to the matters propoſed by *Temûr Beg*, on behalf of thoſe who were at the other end of the hall. By this artifice, his death was concealed for the ſpace of ſix weeks [q]. According to *Herbert*, Shâh *Abbâs* died at *Kaſhîn*, in the year 1628, juſt at his departure from the court; after he had lived ſeventy years, and reigned forty-three (E) over *Perſia*, and fifty as king of *Heri* [r] (or *Herât*, capital of *Khoraſſân*). A. D. 1629.

THE *Perſians* have a high veneration for Shah *Abbâs*, and ſpeak of him as the greateſt prince their country has had for many ages paſt: nor can this be denied, if ſuch inſtances of cruelty, as we have mentioned, were ſtruck out of his character. He was wiſe and valiant, famous for great victories, and extending his dominions on all ſides towards the *Indians*, *Turks*, and *Tatars*. He had a great ſenſe of the miſeries of the poor, and took a particular care for their ſubſiſtence. On this occaſion, it was uſual with him, after leaving any city, to return *incognito*; and, going to the market, examine their weights, the goodneſs of the bread, and other proviſions, ſeverely puniſhing fraudulent dealers. At *Ardebil* he ordered a rich baker to be put alive in a red-hot oven, for refuſing to ſell bread to the poor; under pretence that he was obliged to keep it for *Abbâs* and his ſoldiers, who, as he ſaid, could never be ſatisfied. *His character.*

HE commanded a butcher (F) to be faſtened by the back to the hooks on which he hung his meat, for uſing falſe weights. *Care for the poor.*

He

[q] OLEAR. p. 354. [r] HERBERT, p. 206. 177.

(E) *Olearius* ſays, he died in 1629, when he had lived ſixty-three years, and reigned forty-five. But that *Herbert* is right, as to the years of his reign, appears from the chronology; and the year of his death is confirmed by *Chardin*, and others.

(F) *Tavernier* ſays, that, having bought ſix pounds of roaſt meat at a cook's, and finding it wanted forty-three drams of the weight, he ordered him to be roaſted on a ſpit, in the market, near the oven in which the baker was baked, whoſe ſix pound of bread wanted 57 drams. He was going to put to death

A. D. 1629. He took a pleasure in bestowing in alms the sums which arose from public places; because he believed disposing in that manner of the money taken from the people, was not acceptable to the Deity. He could not endure those judges who took bribes; and severely punished such as were guilty of injustice or oppression. Coming to understand that a kâzi of *Ispâhân*, after he had taken presents with both his hands, to the value of about seventy pounds from each party, would have advised them to accommodate the matter between themselves; he ordered the offender to be set on an ass, with his face to the tail, which served him for a bridle, and his robe to be garnished with the intrails of a sheep newly killed; and, in that equipage, to take several turns round the meydan, while an officer cried before him, that such was to be the punishment of a corrupt judge [s].

Severe justice. *ABBAS* was too severe; but generally his executions were the punishments of injustice and oppression. The grand master of the ordnance was a person jealous even to fury: for, if any one in the neighbourhood appeared on the terrace of his house, as is customary during the hot days, that officer's eunuchs, who seemed to be on the watch in all parts of the garden, slew him with a musket, under pretence that he might, from his terrace, look in the women's apartment of their master's palace. Complaints being made of this to the shâh, he bade the grand master take care what he did, and to keep his wives locked up in their chambers in the night as well as day, if he was afraid the eyes of his neighbours would discover them: but this advice was not regarded by the grand master.

The innocent punished. One of the king's officers, who unfortunately lodged near this jealous fury, happening at night to take the air on the terrace, was killed in the manner above-mentioned. His family, upon this, go in a body to Shâh *Abbâs*, to demand justice; and, representing that there were witnesses at his palace-gate, who could prove that more than twenty people in the neighbourhood had been murdered in the same manner, the king was exceedingly enraged; and said to some who were in waiting, *Go, kill that mad dog, his wives, children, and domestics; let not one soul of that accursed brood remain alive.* Which sen-

[s] Olear. ubi supra, p. 356. See also Tavern. Trav. l. v. c 2. p. 203.

the governor of the city, and three or four officers more, for suffering such oppressors of the poor; and indeed that would have been the effectual way to prevent such evils.

tence

tence was executed that inſtant, and all the bodies buried in a ditch at one end of the garden [t]. A. D. 1629.

A ſodomite executed.

To put to death ſo many innocents for the crimes of one guilty perſon, was certainly both cruel and unjuſt: but nobody, we preſume, will think ill of the example which he made of a certain infamous wretch, who uſed to kidnap boys, in order to proſtitute them. His practice was, to ply all day long at a certain ſtone which was ſet in the ground; and, when he ſaw any lad whom he liked, carried him off with a great deal of dexterity. Having kept the boy all night, next morning, at break of day, he carried him back, and left him in ſome bye-place, that he might not diſcover where he had been lodged. *Abbâs*, being informed of this diſorder, and that neither the admonitions nor threats of the people in the neighbourhood were able to put a ſtop to it; ſent ſome of his officers to ſeize the villain, and cut him to pieces on the ſame ſtone whereat he watched for his prey: which ſtone is ſtill to be ſeen at the entrance of the magnificent karawân-ſeray built by that ſhâh at *Iſpâhân* [u].

Lady buried alive.

SCARCE any puniſhment could be too great for ſuch a monſter: but that which follows may ſeem too cruel, for a much worſe occaſion. The ladies of the haràm never go abroad but at night: they are uſually carried in a ſort of long hampers, or cradles, called kajaveh, which is about two feet wide, and three deep, with an arched canopy over it, covered with cloth. A camel carries two of them, one on each ſide: the eunuchs help the ladies to get in; and then, drawing the curtains round about, give the camels to the guides, who faſten them by the tail, one to the other, ſeven in a file, and leads the firſt by the halter. It happened one dark night, while the court was in *Mazânderân*, that *Abbâs*, who travelled with his haràm, took it in his head to go before. In his paſſage, he met with a ſtring of camels ſtopped a little out of the road, and a kajaveh leaning on one ſide; when, coming up to ſet it right again, he found the camel-driver in it, with the lady: at which being enraged as well as ſurpriſed, he commanded them both to be buried alive on the ſpot. Since this time, the ladies of the palace, who were allowed to ſee the public ſpectacles without being ſeen themſelves, have been deprived of that privilege [w].

Attempts of Abbâs

SHAH *Abbâs* ſtudied all ways imaginable to eſtabliſh wealth and good government in his dominions. As he was a prince of great genius, and very enterpriſing, in conſideration that

[t] CHARD. tom. iii. p. 39. [u] Ibid. p. 45. [w] Ibid. p. 57.

A. D. 1629. *Persia* was a barren country, where there was little trade, and consequently little money, he resolved to send his subjects into *Europe* with raw silks, to see what profit might arise from that commodity. His design was, to buy up all which was produced in his dominions, and dispose of it by his factors: at the same time he thought it necessary to engage the *European* princes in an alliance with him against the *Turks*. He first sent to *Henry* IV. of *France*: but he died before the ambassador arrived. Three or four years after, he sent another to the king of *Spain*, accompanied with a *Persian* merchant, putting into their hands a considerable quantity of silk. The merchant would have sold the silk, as was the shâh's order, and bought a present for the king: but the ambassador, over-ruled by a *Portuguese Austin* frier, who was sent with them to be their guide and interpreter, resolved to present him with the bales of silk. The king of *Spain* thereupon asked him, *If his master took him for a woman, and had sent him so much silk to spin?* And Shâh *Abbâs*, on his return, in reward for the ill success of his negotiation, ordered his belly to be ripped up in the public market-place.

to promote commerce. About fifteen years after, he trusted a considerable quantity of silk with a merchant's son, of *Ispâhân*, and sent him to *Venice*. When he came there, he took a stately lodging, and lived at a profuse rate. At length the senate, getting information who he was, thought fit to seize both him and the goods, before all were consumed, and sent notice to the king of *Persia*; who returned a most obliging answer of thanks, with a merchant to receive what silk was left. Shah *Abbâs*, perceiving, by these trials, the little inclination of his subjects to trade, cast his eyes on the *Armenians* (G), who are sober, frugal, and patient to endure long journeys; who likewise, being Christians, were more fit to deal among Christians. Of these, he chose the most judicious; and intrusted with each a good many bales of silk, for which they were to pay, at their return, a reasonable rate, imposed by the shah, who allowed them the surplus-gains for their trouble and expences. These people, in a short time, became so expert in all branches of commerce, that at present they make voyages to *Tong-king*, *Java*, the *Philippine Isles*, and all parts of the east, except *China* and *Japan* [x].

[x] Tavern. Trav. l. iv. c. 6. p. 158.

(G) Chiefly of *Julfa*, near *Ispâhân*, whither he had transplanted them from *Julfa* in *Armenia*, on the *Arrâs*. This was reckoned an act of cruelty in *Abbâs*; but our author says the charge is unjust, for that they were then only poor labouring men; but that the king inriched them by commerce.

This

A. D. 1629.

THIS prince would not suffer any *Indian*, or *Banyan*, to live as a trader in his dominions; and with very good reason: for they are worse usurers than the *Jews*; their custom being to take up money at nine or ten *per cent.* for the year, and lend it out again on pledges at two and half *per cent.* a month. However, they crept in during the reigns of *Sefi* I. and *Abbâs* II.; and, since then, all the money of the kingdom is commonly in the hands of these pawnbrokers, which before was in possession of the *Armenians* of *Julfa*. This shah was not only desirous that all the commerce should be lodged in the hands of his subjects, in order to enrich them, and draw money into the kingdom; but would not suffer it to be transported thence, when it was in. He saw that the annual pilgrimages of his subjects to *Mekka* carried out abundance of his gold ducats; and therefore endeavoured to divert them from it, by establishing one at home at *Tûs*, where is the tomb of Imâm *Rîdha*, or *Rîza*, the last of the twelve imâms, who was murdered there; from whence the place has the name of *Mashhâd*, or *the place of martyrdom*. This was the more easy to be done, as the *Persians* had always a great veneration for *Riza*; and frequently resorted to *Mashhâd*, to pay their devotions at his sepulchre; over which hangs one of the legs of *Mohammed*'s camel, esteemed a great relick. *Abbâs*, to effect his purpose, made the pilgrimage to *Tûs* himself, accompanied by his nobles; and, at his return, caused reports to be spread of great miracles wrought at the imâm's tomb: ever since which time, *Mekka* has been less visited by the *Persians* than it was formerly [y].

Suppresses pawnbrokers,

and foreign pilgrimages.

THIS prince, besides building *Ferhabâd* in *Mazânderân*, as hath been already mentioned, adorned several of his other cities with magnificent structures. Among other noble works at *Ispâhân*, he built the royal mosk and palace. He likewise caused the mountains, thirty leagues from thence, to be cut through at an incredible expence, in order to augment the *Zenderûdh*, which runs thro' that city, by turning the stream of another river into it [z].

Public works.

WHEN *Abbâs* ascended the throne, *Persia* was divided among more than twenty princes, who had usurped their territories, and whom he was obliged to reduce. This shâh, to prevent the like division of the kingdom for the future, by degrees destroyed all the antient families; and, to render himself thoroughly absolute, and free from all restraint, reformed the troops, who were a check upon former kings, more than the

His policy.

[y] TAVERN. Trav. l. v. c. 2. p. 202. [z] CHARDIN, tom. iii. p. 4. 20. 22.

janizaries

A. D. 1629. janizaries are at preſent in *Turky*. Theſe families, as well as the troops, were all of the race of the *Kurchi*, who are thoſe *Turkmâns*, or *Tatars*, ſo famous for their great invaſions and conqueſts; and who were linked together, for their mutual preſervation, in ſuch a manner, that they might be ſaid to have been maſters of the kingdom (H). The method he took to deſtroy their power, was, to fill his court and army with thoſe people inhabiting *Georgia*, and other countries on the north-weſt end of *Perſia*; ſo that, as their power increaſed, that of the *Kurchi* diminiſhed. But he did not put the finiſhing ſtroke to his deſign, by cutting off all the conſiderable men of that ſtock, becauſe he ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance in his wars: that work was reſerved for his ſucceſſor *Safi*, who, during his whole reign, made torrents of blood flow from the chief men both in the government and the army [a].

His perſon. SHAH *Abbâs*, according to *Herbert*, who ſaw him at an audience at *Ferhabâd*, was of a low ſtature, but a giant in policy: his aſpect quick, his eyes ſmall and flaming. He had a low forehead, and brows without hair; a high and hawked noſe, a ſharp chin, and, after the mode of *Perſia*, beardleſs: but his muſtachios were exceeding long and thick, turning downwards [b].

CHAP. V.

The Reign of Sâfi *or* Sefi I.

Shâh Safi I. WHILE the death of *Abbâs* was concealed at *Ferhabâd*, by expoſing his body in the court of juſtice, *Zeynel Khân* made haſte to *Iſpâhân*; and, taking with him *Khoſrew Mîrza Daruga*, of that city, went to the apartment of the princeſs, mother of *Sa'n Mirza* (A), called *Taberik Kala*; and, after notifying to her the death of the ſhâh, intreated her to put the young prince (B) into their hands. The mother, who had ſtill the death of her huſband before her eyes, believing it was only a contrivance, and that they had an order from his grandfather to murder her ſon, locked herſelf up in her chamber;

[a] CHARDIN, tom. i. p. 210. 217. [b] HERB. p. 206.

(H) Theſe were the men, however, to whom his family owed their advancement to the throne of *Perſia*; and who, for their ſervices, were honoured with the red cap, whence they had the name of *Kezil bâſh*.

(A) Rather *Shahin Mirza*, according to *D'Herbelot*, in his biblioth. orient. art. Safi. *Shahîn* ſignifies *Royal*.

(B) Then about ſixteen years of age.

and

and made all the paſſages ſo ſecure, that the two lords, being afraid to loſe the opportunity of executing the king's will, after they had lain three days at the door, ſent the princeſs word, that, unleſs ſhe gave them acceſs, they ſhould be forced to break it open. Upon this meſſage, ſhe yielded; and delivered to them the prince, with theſe words, *Go, child, to the ſame place where thy father is; here are the murderers ready to diſpatch thee.* But, when ſhe ſaw thoſe lords proſtrate themſelves, and kiſſing the prince's feet (C), her fright was changed into raptures of joy [a]. A. D. 1629.

FROM hence the lords conducted the young prince to the royal palace, where they ſeated him in the divân khâneh, on a ſtone table, on which were as many carpets as there had been kings of *Perſia* of his family: for every king, at his coming to the crown, has one of theſe carpets (called kalitſe adalet, or *carpets of juſtice*) made for him; and, having ſent for all the lords who were about *Iſpâhân*, they crowned him, kiſſed his feet, and wiſhed him a long and happy reign. Immediately after his inauguration, he took his father's name of *Safi*, according to the deſire of Shâh *Abbâs*; and beſtowed on *Khoſrew Mîrza* the dignity of khân, with the name of *Ruſtam*, which is that of one of the *Perſian* heroes celebrated in their hiſtories and romances. *His inauguration*;

IT is reported that Shâh *Sefi* (D) came into the world with his hands bloody; and that his grandfather *Abbâs* ſhould ſay on the occaſion, that this prince would often bathe his hands in blood. Accordingly, ſays *Olearius*, till the time of our embaſſy, his reign had been ſo ſanguine, that *Perſia* had not for many ages before ſeen ſo many executions: for, immediately on his coming to the crown, he followed the counſel of the chancellor, and made away with *Ruſtam Khân*, whom he had made generaliſſimo of the armies of *Perſia*, and governor of *Teflis*, with ſeveral other lords. He likewiſe ſlew with his own hands, or ordered to be killed, all his relations, and other perſons whom he had any ſuſpicion of. By this means, he ſo accuſtomed himſelf to killing people, that he made it his practice, on the ſlighteſt occaſions, to take away *bloody diſpoſition.*

[a] OLEAR. Trav. l. vi. p. 356. TAVERN. l. 5. c. 1. p. 197.

(C) At the ſame time they took off his clothes, and tore them, which is a mark of mourning in *Perſia*; and, according to cuſtom, put on him another plain garment, which he wore till midnight; when, putting on his royal robes, they ſet him on the throne, and did him homage. *Tavernier.*

(D) He ſhould have been named *Saffah*, which ſignifies *bloody* in *Arabic*, inſtead of *Safi*, or *Sefi*, *the choſen.*

their

A. D. 1629.

their lives. He began his cruelties by an only brother, tho' by a different mother, whoſe eyes he cauſed to be put out. *Khodabândeh* and Imâm *Kûli Mîrza*, his uncles (younger brothers to *Sefi Mîrza*), whom their father Shâh *Abbâs* had deprived of ſight, and impriſoned in the caſtle of *Almût*, as before related, were, by *Sefi*'s order, caſt headlong from a high rock; for this reaſon, he ſaid, *that, having loſt the benefit of ſeeing, they were of no uſe in the world.* The next inſtance of his barbarity was in the perſon of his uncle *Iſa Khân*, and his three ſons, on the following occaſion:

Deſtroys brothers.

Puts to death

ISA Khân was ſo much in favour with Shâh *Abbâs*, that, to demonſtrate his eſteem for him, he beſtowed on him his daughter, by whom he had the three ſons in queſtion. This princeſs was very handſome; and ſo agreeable in her converſation, that her nephew, Shâh *Safi*, was extremely taken with her company. Being one day with the king, ſhe took the freedom to tell him, "ſhe wondered that he, who was ſo "young and vigorous, and had ſo many great beauties to "command, could get no children; whereas ſhe had three "already by her huſband." *Safi* made anſwer, "that, hav- "ing many years to reign, he hoped, as he was but young, "he ſhould have time enough to get heirs to inherit the "crown after him." His aunt, deſirous to carry on the jeſt, replied, "that ground, not well cultivated, rarely brought "forth any thing;" imprudently adding, "You ſpeak very "well, my liege; but I fear me, that, after your death, "the *Perſians* will be glad to pitch upon one of my ſons "to ſucceed you." The ſhâh was extremely nettled with the boldneſs and poignancy of the repartee; yet made a ſhift to diſſemble it, and get from the room without the princeſs perceiving that he was incenſed againſt her.

his nephews and uncle.

Sefi commanded her three ſons to be brought to him, the eldeſt twenty-two years of age, the ſecond fifteen, and the third nine; and, having conveyed them into a garden, ordered their heads to be cut off. Not content with this butchery, at dinner-time he diſpoſed the heads into one of the covered pots in which victuals are ſerved up; and, ſending for the mother, ordered them to be taken out one after another by the noſe, and ſaid to her, *See the children of a woman who bragged ſo much of her fertility! Go, thou art young enough to bear more of them.* The princeſs was ſo aſtoniſhed at this horrid ſpectacle, that, for a while, ſhe was not able to ſpeak: at laſt, fearing his indignation, which was ſtill in his eyes, might fall alſo on herſelf, ſhe fell at his feet, kiſſed them, and ſaid, *All is well, all is well; God grant the king a long and happy life!*

BUT next day opened a dreadful ſcene to her view: for

This

This forced ſubmiſſion ſaved her own: but, as ſoon as ſhe had left the room, *Sefi* ſent for her huſband *Iſa Khân*; and, pointing to the heads of his children, aſked him, *What he thought of that pleaſant ſpectacle?* The khân, who knew whom he had to deal with, ſmothering the tenderneſs of paternal affection, made anſwer, *That he was ſo far from being diſpleaſed at what was done, that, if his majeſty had commanded him to bring the heads of his ſons, he would have been the executioner himſelf; and that he would have no children at all, in caſe it was the king's pleaſure that it ſhould be ſo.* This abject flattery ſaved the brutiſh father's life at that time: but *Sefi*, reflecting that, after ſuch treatment, *Iſa Khân* could neither love nor be faithful to him, gave order for his head likewiſe to be taken off [b]. A. D. 1632.

'Tis the greateſt crime to be faithful to tyrants; for they hate their benefactors moſt. *Zeynel Khân*, who had contributed no leſs than *Iſa Khân* to this monſter's advancement, in the year 1632 performed an act of fidelity, for which perfidy to the public he deſerved the death he ſuffered. The ſhâh, having forced the *Turks* to raiſe the ſiege which they had laid to *Bâghdâd* in that year, encamped with his army near *Hamadân* (E). At this place, ſeveral lords, who were met together, reflecting on the executions with which the king had commenced his reign, ſaid among themſelves, "that ſince, in "his tenderer age, he could commit ſo many cruelties, it "was to be feared that he would in time extirpate all the "grandees of *Perſia*." *Zeynel Khân*, who was preſent at this diſcourſe, went immediately to the ſhâh, and gave him an account of what had paſſed in that plot; adviſing him to rid himſelf of thoſe who had moſt credit among them, and ſo ſecure his own life. *Zeynel Khân*, *diſcovering a plot.*

SEFI, having received an information to which probably he owed his life, made this anſwer to the bringer of it: "Thy "advice, *Zeynel Khân*, is ſo good, that I will immediately "follow it, and begin with thee; for thou art the perſon of "greateſt age, and moſt authority, among them; conſequently "muſt needs be of the conſpiracy: in that alſo I ſhall follow "the example of the king my grandfather, whoſe reign was "neither ſafe nor happy till he had executed the perſon who "had the ſame poſt of *Kurchi-baſhi*, which thou now enjoyeſt." *Zeynel Khân*, who, on hearing this ungrateful

[b] Olearius, ubi ſupra, p. 357.

(E) The antient *Ametha* and *Ecbatana*, one of the capital cities of *Perſian Irâk*.

ſpeech,

A. D. 1632. speech, it may be presumed, deeply repented of his officious zeal; replied, "that his majesty might reward him, for this "proof of his fidelity, just as he thought fit: that, for his "part, being arrived at the greatest age man could attain to, "it would not *trouble* him much to have his life shortened by "a few days; but that possibly his majesty might one day be "*troubled*, for having put to death one of his most faithful "servants, when he came to reflect on the importance of the "discovery, and the zeal he had shewn for his safety."

Slain for it. This answer respited his execution, which had been resolved on by the king, who immediately went to his mother's tent (for, according to antient custom, she, and the other ladies of the harâm, followed him in his expedition), to acquaint her with what had been told him. Next morning that princess sent for *Zeynel Khân* to her tent-door, to hear from him all the circumstances of the conspiracy: but, as soon as *Sefi* came to understand that the khân had spoken to his mother, he was so incensed, that he went and killed him with his own hand in her presence. *Zeynel Khân* was certainly one of the most eminent men in all *Persia*, who owed his fortune to his good conduct, and the fidelity with which he had served Shâh *Abbâs* in several affairs of great importance; one of which it may not be amiss to mention [c].

An instance of his abilities. *ABBAS*, being to send a solemn embassy to *Lahôr*, to adjust the differences between him and the *Great Mogul*, about the frontiers of *Kandahâr*, employed *Zeynel Khân*, as the person he reposed most confidence in: at his departure, recommending to him the most tender concern for his interest; and that he should take care to do nothing which might be prejudicial either to his reputation or service. *Zeynel* promised to observe his commands; and was as good as his word: for, at his audience, he refused to do Shâh *Jehân* reverence, by putting both hands first to the ground, and then upon his head; but entered the hall with a grave pace, and only saluted the king with his *Sala Mâlek*. The *Mogul* was so concerned at this behaviour, that he sent to intreat him to alter it, and pay him the same respects which former ambassadors from his court had done; backing his request with the offer of considerable presents: but finding *Zeynel Khân* inflexible, he ordered a door to be made in the hall of audience, opposite to the throne, so low, that the ambassador could not enter without stooping, and thus be obliged to do him reverence. However, *Zeynel Khân* eluded this artifice, by going in backwards, so that his posteriors made the first appearance: which piece of disrespect

[c] Olearius, p. 358.

so

so provoked Shâh *Jehân*, that he not only forbore making him the usual presents, which are of great value, but also forbad that he should be supplied with provisions at his expence. By this means *Zeynel Khân* was reduced to such extremities, that he was forced to sell his plate, and even what gold and silver there was on the furniture of his horses, in order to buy necessaries for subsistence. The *Great Mogul* sent likewise to complain of *Zeynel Khân*'s behaviour, to Shâh *Abbâs*; who indeed pretended to disapprove of his ambassador's conduct, but, not long after, shewed his satisfaction, by honouring him with the title of khân, and bestowing on him the government of *Hamadân*, *Terkisin*, *Kulpajân*, and other cities. A. D. 1632.

To return to his barbarous murder: the queen-mother, struck with horror at the action of her son, represented to him how much he was to blame for treating in such a manner one of his grandfather's most antient servants, and who had been a chief instrument in setting him on the throne. *Sefi*, for the present, seemed to be troubled for what he had done: but, if he had in reality any compunction at all, her lecture made no very lasting impression; since, not many days after, the chancellor, the lord high steward, and even his own mother, according to circumstances, found no better treatment from him. *The queen's concern.*

One day, during the aforesaid expedition, when *Sefi* was encamped at the mountain *Sehend*, within a league of *Tauris*, the lord high steward, named *Ugurlu Khân*, being to command the guard about the king, at which the chiefs are obliged to be personally present whenever the shâh is in the field, he happened to go and sup with *Tabûb Khân*, the high chancellor; who had also invited the *Dawâtter*, that is, the *Secretary of the Closet*, named *Hassan Beg*, and a certain poet. Towards the end of supper, the *Kishiji Bâshi*, or captain of the guard, whose name was *Mortûza Kûli Khân*, came to give *Ugûrlu Khân* notice, that it was time to come to the king's tent: but the chancellor, unwilling to dismiss his guests, told the *Kishiji Bâshi*, that *there was no necessity for* Ugurlu Khân's *personal appearance*; *and that the king, being but a child, would take no notice of his absence.* The captain insisted that the guard could not be set without the high steward, and repeated his instances for him to come away; saying, otherwise he should be obliged to complain to the shah. The chancellor, offended with this sort of language, commanded his domestics to thrust *Mortûza Kûli Khân* out of doors; which they did, but so roughly, that he was hurt in the face[d]. *Execution of*

[d] Olearius, p. 359.

MORTUZA,

A. D. 1632.

the great chancellor,

MORTUZA, incensed at this treatment, went, all bloody as he was, to the king, and gave him an account of what had passed at the chancellor's. *Sefi* ordered him to say nothing of it: but next day, being at dinner with the king, sitting in his usual place, the shah ordered him to approach; and said to him, *What does he deserve, who, eating the king's bread, and living by the pure favour of his master, is so far from paying the respect due to him, that he slights him?* The chancellor made answer, *He deserves death.* The king replied, *Thou hast pronounced thy own sentence: thou art the person, who, living solely by my favour, and eating at my table, hast had the insolence to treat me as a child, in the discourse which passed yesterday betwixt thee and* Mortûza Kûli Khân. *Tabûb Khân* would have spoken in his own defence: but *Sefi*, not giving him time to say a word, ran him into the belly with his simitar. The chancellor, as he fell, only cried out, *Ha Padishâh Aymayn.* At the same time the king commanded his rika (F) to cut his head into little bits. *Sefi*, perceiving one of the pages, who, struck with horror, turned aside, not able to behold such an act of cruelty, said to him, *Since thy sight is so tender, it will be of no use to thee* (G); and commanded his eyes to be put out immediately.

lord high steward,

THE execution of *Tabûb Khân* was soon followed by that of *Ugûrlu Khân*; whose head the shah ordered *Ali Kûli Khân*, the *Diwân Beg*, or *President of the Council*, to bring to him. *Ugûrlu Khân* had just stepped out of the bath, and was going to put on his clothes; when, seeing *Ali Kûli* come in, attended by two servants, he was startled, tho' the other's intimate, and said, *Woe is me! dear friend, I fear thou bringest me no good news. Ali Kûli Khân* made answer, *Thy fears are but too true, dear brother: for the king hath commanded me to fetch him thy head; the only way is, to submit.* Hereupon,

(F) They are part of the shâh's guards, who carry pole-axes, and often do the office of executioners: for, properly speaking, they have no executioners in *Persia*, at least at court, where any lord, or other person about the king at the time, is sent on the office.

(G) *Tavernier* says, the words were, *What! art thou afraid to punish the wicked?* on seeing the domestic turn his head when the executioner began to prick the eyes of the lord with the point of a pen knife. Trav. l. v. c. 4. p. 207. *Abbâs* I. observing the *Portuguese* ambassadors turn away their eyes from a malefactor, whose belly he had ordered to be ripped open in his presence, said (by way of apology), that certainly those executions would be too horrible to be practised among Christians, who were rational people; but that they were absolutely necessary among the *Persians*, who were beasts. *Thev.* Trav. part 2. ch. 11. p. 107.

without farther ceremony, he closed with him, cut off his head, made a hole in one of the cheeks, thrust his finger thro' it, and so carried it to *Safi*: who, looking on it, touched it with a little wand, and said, *It must be confessed, thou wert a stout man: it troubles me to see thee in that condition; but it was thine own fault: 'tis pity, if it was only for that goodly beard of thine.* This he said by reason his mustachios were so long, that, going about his head, they met again at his mouth; which is reckoned a great ornament in *Persia*: his post was conferred on *Mortûza Kûli Khân*. *Hassan Beg*, who had also been at the chancellor's entertainment, received the like treatment: but the unhappy poet fared worst of all; for, being some time after falsely accused of putting these executions in verse, and singing them in the meydân, he was carried to that place, where they cut off his nose, ears, tongue, feet, and hands, whereof he died some few days after. A. D. 1632. *and others.*

NOT long after, *Safi* sent for the sons of those lords, and said to them: *You see, I have destroyed your fathers; what say you to it?* The son of *Ugûrlu Khân* answered, without hesitation, *What does a father signify to me? I have no other parent but the shâh.* This unnatural reply restored him to the estate of the deceased (H), which otherwise would have been confiscated: but the chancellor's son was reduced to great misery, and had not any thing allowed him of all his father had possessed; because he expressed more concern for his death, than satisfaction at what the king had done [e]. *Effects of slavery.*

WHEN *Safi* was returned to *Kasvîn*, he summoned all the lords and governors of provinces to court. They all obeyed this order, excepting *Ali Merdan Khân*, governor of *Kandahâr* (I), and *Dawd Khân*, governor of *Kenjeh* (K); who thought it enough to assure the shâh of their fidelity, by sending up one of their wives and children as hostages: but *Safi* did not look on that submission sufficient. Hereupon *Ali Merdan Khân* *Ali Merdan Khân revolts.*

[e] OLEARIUS, p. 359.

(H) *Thevenot*, in his Travels, part ii. ch. 11. p. 98. mentions an instance of a son, who, at the command of this cruel prince, cut off the ears, nose, and then the head, of the aged lord his father; for which parricide the king gave him his estate. Perhaps this is the same fact, told from a different report.

(I) *Safi* was jealous of him on account of his vast riches, which came to him by inheritance, as being descended from the antient kings of *Kandahâr*, who were originally *Tartars*. His plate was all gold, and his palace as magnificently furnished as the king's. *Tavern.* Trav. l. v. c. 1. p. 198.

(K) *Garjeh*, or *Ganja*, a city of *Arrân*.

A. D. 1632. and delivered up the fortress to the *Great Mogul*. *Dawd Khân*, understanding by the akhta, or groom of the king's chamber, who had been sent to him, that it was dangerous for him to repair to court, resolved to retire into the *Turkish* dominions. The better to effect this design, he thought proper to try how his servants stood affected; and, finding that fifteen of them were unwilling to follow him, he caused them to be cut to pieces in his presence. Then wrote a very reproachful letter to *Safi*; and went away with all his wealth to *Taymûraz Khân*, a prince of *Georgia*, his brother-in-law: from whence he removed into *Turky*, where he was received with great friendship by Soltân *Ibrâhîm*. The king, to be revenged of both, sent their wives to the public stews; and exposed the son of *Dawd Khân* to the brutality of the grooms about court: reserving *Ali Merdan*'s son, who was very beautiful, for his own use.

ImâmKûli Khân, SOME time after this, *Safi* sent orders to *Imâm* (L) *Kûli Khân*, governor of *Shîrâz*, and brother to *Dawd Khân*, to come to court. The khân had notice sent him of the king's intention to put him to death: but he made answer, "that "he could not be persuaded he should be so ill requited, "after having done such considerable services for the crown (M); "yet that, whatever might happen, he would rather lose his "life, than be out of favour with his prince, and become a "criminal by his disobedience." Pursuant to this imprudent resolution, he repaired to *Kasvîn*, where the court then was: but was no sooner arrived, than his head was ordered to be taken off. This bloody tyrant, however, did not intend to take away the lives of *Imâm Kûli Khân*'s children: but, while his eldest son, about eighteen years of age, was prostrate at the king's feet, which submission his friends had advised him to, a wicked flatterer told *Safi*, that the youth was not the son of the khân, but of Shâh *Abbâs*, who, after getting one of his women with child, had bestowed her on the father.

and sons, slain. THIS suggestion occasioned the death not only of the young lord, but also of fourteen of his brothers; who, being conducted to the meydân, were all beheaded near their father's body. The mother made a shift to get away, with the six-

(L) His name is commonly written *Iman Culi Kan*. Our *Frier* is the only traveller who has best expressed it, according to the true pronunciation; he writes *Imaum Cooly Caun*. *Herbert*, *Emangoly Chawn*.

(M) He conquered the greater part of the kingdom of *Lâr*, and the kingdom of *Ormûs*, in the reign of *Abbâs* I. with all the coast of the *Persian* gulf, from cape *Jaskes* to *Balsara* (or *Basrah*). *Tavern*. Trav. l. v. c. 3. p. 204.

teenth,

teenth, into *Arabia*, to the prince her father, who reſided at *Helbiſa*, three days journey from *Baſſah*, or *Balſara*. The bodies of *Imâm Kûli Khân*, and his children, remained three days expoſed in the meydân to public view; till *Safi*, fearing that the lamentation, which the khân's mother made there day and night, would occaſion an inſurrection, commanded them to be taken away [f]. A. D. 1632.

THIS affair is related ſomewhat more particularly by a ſubſequent traveller; who informs us, that Shâh *Abbâs* gave one of his own wives, whom he loved extremely, to *Imâm Kûli Khân*; and that, when ſhe left the haràm, it was thought ſhe was three months gone with child: for, ſix months after ſhe was bedded by the khân, ſhe lay-in of a ſon, of whom the king was the reputed father; and who, being born before Shah *Safi*, pretended a right before him to the throne. By virtue of this claim, contrary to the will of Shâh *Abbâs* in favour of *Safi*, this ambitious lord, who only paſſed for the khân's eldeſt ſon, but was of a daring reſolution, earneſtly ſollicited his father to ſeize on the ſhâh, and make himſelf king, at leaſt to open a way for him to the throne: particularly one day, being a hunting with the young king, near *Shîrâz*, he rode up to his father, and ſaid, *See now the opportunity, ſir, that offers you the throne: for I will go inſtantly, and bring you Shah* Safi's *head.* But the khân, holding him by the arm, declared *he would ſuffer any thing, rather than conſent to ſuch a crime: that* Safi *was appointed by* Abbas *to ſucceed him, as being his ſon* Safi's *child, and conſequently his lawful heir: that he had ſworn to ſupport the right of* Safi, *who had been recommended to his care; and that he would die, ſooner than commit a breach of truſt.* *The khân's fidelity.*

THIS generous reſolution of the khân broke the young lord's deſign upon the king's perſon. However, the queen-mother, being not ignorant of the train which was laid for him, thought it the wiſeſt way to prevent the blow, by getting rid of ſuch as had conſpired his death. Two other of the khân's ſons took part with him they called their brother: and altho' the khân himſelf was loyal, yet his power, wealth, and reputation among the ſoldiery, as well as the affection borne him by the people, concurred to render him an object of jealouſy. The queen-mother, therefore, in concert with Mîrza *Takeh*, the prime miniſter, repreſenting to the king, that he was not ſafe ſo long as *Imâm Kûli Khân*, and his three eldeſt ſons, lived, he readily conſented to their deſtruction. And as at this time *Morâd* IV. ſoltân of the *Turks*, had taken *His popularity.*

[f] OLEARIUS, p. 360, & ſeq.

A. D. 1632. *Erivân*, and ruined *Tauris* (N, that invasion afforded a good pretence for summoning all the khâns and governors to attend the shâh with troops under their command.

His resolution, IMAM *Kûli Khân* obeyed the order among the rest: but, as he was on his march to *Kasbîn* with his three sons, the eldest, suspecting the worst, said to him, *Sir, we are making haste to the king, that our heads may the sooner fall at his feet.* To this the khân replied, *Perhaps, my son, thou mayest speak the truth: but, as to this day I have punctually obeyed the king's commands, so, whatever may happen, I will persevere to do my duty till death.* The khân was received by Shâh *Safi* with great appearance of favour; and, three days after, was, with the other lords then assembled at *Kasbîn*, invited to a great feast. His three sons went to the banquet: but, the khân desiring to be excused on account of his great age, the king sent word, that the khân of *Shirâs* was at liberty to do as he thought fit. The third day of the feast, *Safi* rose from his seat; and going out of the hall, half an hour after, three executioners, attended by others, entered with their simeters drawn, seized on the khân's three sons, and cut off their heads.

and death. THE three heads, being put in a gold bason, were presented to the king; who ordered the executioners to carry them to their father, and, as soon as he had seen them, to take off his head also. The khân, who was at prayers when they came, only desired time to say them out; and then, without changeing countenance, or uttering more words than *Let the king's will be done*, he submitted to a death which he might easily have avoided. The four heads were brought back to the king, to be sent into the hâram to his mother; and a courier was dispatched to the khân's lieutenant, to put to death all the rest of his children, only two excepted, who were at nurse, and never could be discovered[g]. The *Persians* for a long time bewailed

[g] TAVERN. l. v. c. 3. p. 204, & seq.

(N) News coming to *Safi*, that the soltân had burnt *Tauris*, and was marching farther into the country with 100,000 men; *Let him come*, said he, *without any opposition: I know how to make the* Turks *pay for their invasion, without any great trouble.* They were then not above fifteen days march from *Ispâhân*, when he turned the course of all the streams both before and behind, which are only cut from certain springs, and brought by canals into the inland parts of *Persia*, where there are no rivers; by which means the whole army perished for want of water. *Tavern.* Trav. p. 20.—*Morâd* IV. was at *Tauris* in 1635; but the *Turkish* historians do not mention this loss of his army. See his reign among the *Othmân* soltâns.

the

the death of *Imâm Kûli Khân*, on account of his liberality. A. D. He was the ſon of *Allawerdi Khân*, who, at his own charge, 1632. built the bridge of *Iſpâhân*; and was as much eſteemed as any lord of his time, for the noble actions he had performed in the wars [h].

THIS khân was prodigiouſly rich (O); and ſo very magnificent, that his expences almoſt equalled thoſe of the king: which occaſioned Shâh *Abbâs* I. who talked with him one day on that ſubject, to tell him, *that he deſired him to ſpend one penny leſs than he every day, that there might be ſome difference between the expences of a ſhâh and a khân.* *Imâm Kûli Khân*'s noble qualities had gained him the affections of all people: for he was liberal as well as magnificent, highly recompenſed brave ſoldiers and learned men: loved ſtrangers, and took a peculiar care to encourage arts and ſciences. For this end, he built a fair college at *Shîrâz*, for the inſtruction of youth; and ſeveral inns, as well in the city as on the road, for the benefit of travellers. He cauſed mountains to be cut through, in order to ſhorten the way; and joined others by bridges, of ſo bold a ſtructure, that it is difficult to conjecture how ſuch prodigious arches could be turned over ſuch vaſt precipices and torrents [i]. *Wealth and liberality.*

THIS tyrant's cruelty favoured the ladies no more than the men: for, about the ſame time, he killed one with his own hand (P), and committed ſeveral other murders. When he intended any execution, he uſually dreſſed in ſcarlet, or ſome red ſtuff; ſo that all trembled when he put on any thing of that colour. As theſe unheard-of cruelties frighted every body, ſome perſons undertook to ſhorten his days by poiſon: but, the doſe which they gave him not proving ſtrong enough, he overcame it, after a ſickneſs of two months. When he recovered, he ordered a ſtrict inquiry to be made; and it was diſcovered, by a ſervant who had been ill treated by her miſtreſs, that the poiſon had been prepared in the apartment of the women; and given him by the direction of his aunt, *Iſa Khân*'s widow. He revenged himſelf ſufficiently the night fol- *Ladies buried alive.*

[h] OLEARIUS, l. vi. p. 361.

[i] TAVERN. ubi ſup.

(O) It muſt be obſerved, that the revenue of *Shirâz*, *Lâr*, *Ormûs*, and the coaſts of the *Perſian* gulf, was ſolely at his diſpoſal, and none of it returned into the king's coffers: inſtead of that, the ſhâh was obliged to ſend him money to pay the army. This was one thing which incenſed the queen-mother and firſt miniſter againſt him. *Tavern.* Trav. l. v. c. 3. p. 204.

(P) Perhaps this was his *Georgian* queen, as related lower down.

A. D. 1632.

lowing: for the palace was filled with dreadful shrieks; and it was found the next day, that he had ordered a great pit to be made in the garden, wherein he had buried forty women alive; some of them ladies of the saray, and others their attendants. Much about the same time a rumour was spread, that his mother had died of the plague; but it is more likely, says our author, that she bore the ladies company who had been buried alive [k].

Apology for Safi's

TAVERNIER seems to excuse the cruel executions of Shâh *Safi*, by laying the blame or cause of them on the queen-mother, and the etemâd addawlet (Q), or prime minister, named Mirza *Tâkeh*, who paid her four hundred gold duckets every day, to dispose of as she thought fit. These two governed the kingdom between them; and held a private council in her hâram, where he had free admission, as being close cut (R): and here they overthrew in the night whatever the lords concluded in the day, by changing at pleasure the king's mind, over which they had the ascendant. It was thought that Shâh *Abbâs* had left a private order with these two, to rid themselves of *Imâm Kûli Khân*, and seven other great lords, at the head of whom was *Jâni Khân*, as soon as *Safi* should be settled in the throne; and fill all places with governors in whom the king might confide. Accordingly the king, by their advice, began at *Kashîn* with *Imâm Kûli Khân*. After this, the other lords, getting some information of the design against them; and judging, on the king's return to *Ispâhân*, that the time for their execution drew near, resolved to prevent the etemâd addawlet (S). With this view, they met

slaying the lords.

[k] Olearius, l. vi. p. 361, & seq.

(Q) That is, *the trust and support of the state*. The contraction is memâd dawlet: this word is corruptly written in our travellers, athemadaulat. He is the first minister, or wazîr ajem, in *Persia*, who has in his hands the direction of all affairs.

(R) When governor of *Ghilân*, in the reign of Shâh *Abbâs*, missing a page whom he had abused, and suspecting he was gone to complain to the king, in order to divert the storm, he deprived himself of the instruments of his crime; and, taking a bye-road, went in a litter, with his surgeon, to court, where he presented the marks of his repentance in a plate of gold to the king: who thereupon sent him back to his government; and recalled the page, whom he had sent to take his employment, and send him the offender's head.

(S) Both the occasion and manner of this minister's death is very differently, and at large, related by *Chardin*, who calls him *Sarût ki*. Voy. en Perse, tome iii. p. 10, & seq.

one

one morning before the palace-gate; and, having killed the porter, entered that minister's bedchamber, and stabbed him before he could rise. As soon as they had effected the business, they went to the king; and *Jâni Khân* told him what they had done. *Safi*, dissembling his anger at so bold an attempt, answered, *that they had done very well, and had only prevented the order which he intended to have given himself.* But a few days after, while those lords were sitting in council, an eunuch entered, which was the signal for the king to withdraw; and, as soon as he was gone, the chamber was filled with eunuchs, who fell upon and slew them. Their bodies were exposed in the meydân; where the people, kicking the heads, said, *These are the heads of those dogs who have opposed the will of the king:* for, generally speaking, in *Persia*, whatever the king does is thought to be right [1]. A. D. 1632.

His severity.

But, for all this traveller makes these executions rather the act of others than of *Safi*, yet he owns that he was very severe, and his punishments often amounted to acts of cruelty. One day, when hunting, a poor peasant appeared from behind a rock, with a paper in his hand, having been deputed by the village to make some complaint to him: but, while the poor man cried for justice, *Safi*, without making any answer, shot two arrows into his body, and killed him. That which moved him to this act of cruelty, was, the rigorous custom which takes place with regard to his women, some of whom were along with him; for, on such occasions, there is no mercy shewn to those who happen to be in the way when they pass by. There is a custom no less tyrannical, and of pernicious consequence to the subject, touching the person of the king; which is, that if any man points at him as he passes along the street, or upon the road, he must lose his hand. One day that Shâh *Safi* was in the country, two merchants of *Constantinople* meeting him with his train upon the road, they stopped to see him; when one of them innocently lifting up his hand, to shew him to the other, who had never seen him, by pointing to the heron feathers by which his cap was distinguished from those of the lords who followed him, two horsemen immediately rode up to him, and cut off his hand with a simeter.

Rigorous customs.

The *Persians*, both men and women, are so addicted to take tobacco, that, should it be prohibited for any long time, the revenue would suffer considerably. However, *Safi* once, in a humour, having forbidden the use of it thro' his dominions, two rich *Banyan* merchants were found smoking in the *Indian* inn at *Ispâhân*; and, being forthwith carried bound before

Two smokers executed.

[1] Tavern. l. v. c. 1. p. 194.

A. D. 1632. the shâh, he ordered melted lead to be poured down their throats in the public meydân. The people imagined that the king pronounced the sentence only to terrify them; and that he would have reprieved them at the place of execution. Mean time four other merchants went to the etemâd addawlet, and offered 2000 tomâns to save the lives of their friends; but, on the chief minister's signifying the same to *Safi*, he fell into a passion; and, asking *whether those* Indian *dogs thought that a king of* Persia *would sell justice?* sent a second order for executing the unhappy smokers without delay[m].

A Swiss in favour. To the foregoing passages we may add the execution of *Ralf Sadler*, a protestant; which, if not to be reckoned as an instance of his cruelty, may well pass for one of his inconstant temper, and want of resolution. This person was a watch-maker of *Zurich*, about thirty-eight years of age; who, putting himself into the service of the emperor's resident at *Constantinople*, was carried by our author *Tavernier* to *Ispâhân*. There he made a small repeating watch, about the bigness of half a crown; which being a neat piece of work, the *English* bought it, at the rate of 200 crowns, to give to *Imâm Kûli Khân*. The khân made a present of it to the king; who was so pleased with it, that he carried it hanging about his neck, under his clothes, in a gold chain. One day, happening to break the fusil, by turning the key the wrong way, he sent for *Sadler* to *Kashîn*; who presently set it in order again. Hereupon the king ordered him a pension of thirty tomâns, with diet for him and a man, and provision for two horses; for which he was obliged every morning to wait on the king at his rising, in order to wind up his watch.

Kills a Persian. This brought him into so great favour with *Safi*, that the *Holstein* ambassadors endeavoured to gain his friendship, and often invited him to entertainments. One night, going from them to his lodging, he found a young *Persian* with a *Nestorian* girl, whom he kept. The young man being brother to one of the king's porters, *Sadler* complained to him of the injury, and desired him to warn his brother to come no more: but a few nights after, *Ralf*, finding him again with his mistress, by help of his slaves, bound him to a tree in the court, and went to-bed. As soon as their master was withdrawn, one of the slaves began to make game with the prisoner; who, having his feet at liberty, killed him with a kick in the belly. *Sadler*, awakened by the cries of the rest, got up; and, taking a pistol in his hand, went and shot the *Persian*

[m] Tavern. l. v. c. 3, 4. p. 206, & seq.

through

through the head (T). Next morning, the king aſking him what news, he told him plainly what he had done, and the reaſon why. The king, on his report, told him that he had done well, according to the cuſtom of the country. But the prime miniſter, who hated *Sadler* on account of an old grudge (U), pretending to the king, that *Sadler* had repreſented the matter very differently from what it was, *Safi* ſent for him; and told him, 'that he muſt either turn *Mohammedan*, or die. On *Sadler*'s refuſing to renounce his faith, the king ordered him to priſon. However, as he had a great affection for him, he ſent for him twice or thrice; and made him very large offers, if he would change his religion. But the *Swiſs* rejected them all; nay, refuſed to conform but for a while, and in appearance: ſo that he was delivered up to the brother of the deceaſed *Perſian*; who put him to death in the meydân, with a poniard, in *October* 1637 [n]. A. D. 1637. *Conſtancy, and death.*

It is commonly obſerved that cruel men are cowards: but Shâh *Safi* expreſſed courage enough when occaſion required it; and it is certain that the beginning of his reign was remarkable for the great victories which he gained over his enemies. He defeated *Karib Shâh*, in the province of *Kilân*: he forced the *Turks* to raiſe the ſiege of *Bâghdâd*; and took by aſſault the fortreſs of *Ervân* (*Rivân*, or *Irivân*). Altho', to ſpeak impartially, ſays *Olearius*, the glory of theſe ſucceſſes was owing to the valour and conduct of his generals, and to fortune, rather than his prudence: for he diſcovered not much in any of his actions, which were for the moſt part raſh, and not of a piece; of which his behaviour at *Ervân* is a proof. *Safi*, finding the ſiege but little advanced in four months, grew ſo impatient, that he would needs aſſault the place in perſon; ſaying, he would rather die in the attempt, than riſe from before a town which the *Turks* had formerly taken in three days. He had already put on the clothes of one of his Safi's victories. *Conduct at* Erivân.

[n] Tavern. p. 207. & Olear. l. v. p. 280.

(T) *Olearius*, who, in ſeveral particulars, tells the ſtory differently, ſays, he was a houſebreaker, who came to rob him: that *Sadler*, after beating, and turning him out of the houſe, repenting he had let him go, followed him, and ſhot him with a piſtol.

(U) The miniſter Mîrza *Takeh* having, by way of gratifying *Sadler* for above thirty watches which he had mended for him, ſent him fifteen or twenty camels load of ſtraw and barley for his horſes, as knowing he kept ſeven or eight, beſides four or five ſervants. *Ralf*, ſlighting ſuch a preſent, ſaid to the ſervant, *Tell thy maſter that I am neither horſe nor aſs, and therefore let him eat his preſent himſelf.*

A. D. 1637. footmen, to prevent being distinguished, and had given orders for a general storm. His mother, set on by the lords, who durst not contradict him, urged the impossibility of taking a place before a breach was made; and that he was only going to destroy himself, and the whole army: but all the answer she got, was a sound box in the ear. In short, he was fully bent to pursue his resolution, and had taken a poll-ax in his hand, in order to lead them on; when the principal lords, finding a necessity to interpose, fell at his feet, and intreated him to grant them but one day more to try their efforts. This request they obtained; and then ordering the whole army, even to the boys, to make an assault, carried the place by storm (X): but they lost in the action 50,000 men.

Did one good action.

THE good success which, till then, attended his designs, soon failed him, after he had put so many great persons to death; of which the taking of *Bâghdâd* (Y) by the *Turks*, after twenty-six years loss, is a remarkable instance. The only good action which he did during his reign, was that of sending back, to their respective countries, those poor people whom Shâh *Abbâs* removed from *Ervân*, *Nakhshivân*, *Khalej*, and *Georgia*, to *Ferhabâd* in *Mazânderân*; where they were employed in great buildings, and lived in miserable slavery: yet but a few of them reaped the advantages of that good order; for, out of 7000, only 300 got home, the rest having perished by hunger and want.

SAFI took great pleasure in drinking wine; and was very kind to those who bore him company. But his chief recreations were women and hunting; not much troubling himself about the affairs of government, or the administration of justice to his subjects. He had three wives. One was the daughter of a colonel, whose first employment was to drive the mules which brought water to the king's kitchen; and came to be known to Shâh *Abbâs*, by helping him to some fair water, one sultry day, while he was hunting, when none else could meet with any. This service was requited by the king bestowing on him the village where he was born; and made him known at court, where he found means to get an office: which is no difficult matter in *Persia*, for such as have money. Some time after, he procured a post in the army, where he proved so fortunate as to obtain the command of a regiment of 1000 men. *Abbâs* thought his daughter so handsome,

His wives.

(X) It was recovered, not long after, by *Morâd* IV. soltân of the *Turks*, in 1634. See his reign, in a subsequent volume. But *Safi* took *Ván* also, in the year 1636.

(Y) This was by Soltân *Morâd* IV. in the year 1638.

that

that he made a preſent of her to the widow of *Safi Mîrza*, appointing her to be brought up, in order for a marriage with his ſon *Sain*; who, at his coming to the crown, accordingly married her. A. D. 1637.

His ſecond wife was a *Georgian*, the daughter of *Taymûraz Khân*, often mentioned in the reign of *Abbâs*, whoſe peace with that prince was confirmed by means of this marriage °.

One day, returning from the kalenter of *Jâlſa*'s houſe, where he had drank to exceſs, he gave order that this queen (Z) ſhould come to him. As ſhe underſtood that he was in liquor, ſhe made no great haſte; ſo that he fell aſleep. But, awaking ſoon after, and not ſeeing her, he called for her a ſecond time; on notice of which, ſhe immediately went to him. When ſhe entered the chamber, ſhe found the king fallen aſleep again; and, in expectation of his awaking, hid herſelf in a nich behind the hangings, where generally the mattreſſes and coverlets are laid by. *Safi* preſently after coming out of his ſlumber, and not yet perceiving the queen, in a great haſte demanded the reaſon of her ſtay. The queen-mother, who was a *Georgian* ſlave, and hated the young queen, becauſe ſhe was a king's daughter, took the occaſion to put her out of favour; and, having firſt ſpoken ill of her, gave the ſhâh to underſtand, by a ſign, that ſhe was hidden in ſuch a place. On this, *Safi*, riſing in a fury, ſtabbed her four or five times in the belly, with a dagger; and, ſcarce knowing what he had done, went to bed again. Next day, forgetful of the fact, he called for the queen: but when they told him what had happened the night before, he became extremely afflicted, and ſent an expreſs mandate through his dominions, that no man ſhould drink wine; with an order, that the governors ſhould ſtave all the caſks, and ſpill the liquor, where-ever they found them P. *Kills his queen.*

The third queen was a *Chirkaſſian* lady, daughter of *Bika*, and ſiſter to prince *Muſſal*. The mother brought her as far as the river *Buſtrow* (A), in 1637; and wrote to Shâh *Safi*, "That ſhe ſent him her daughter, not as a concubine, or "ſlave, but as his lawful wife: that it was her hope he "would look on her as ſuch: and that ſhe ſhould find from "him an affection equal to that which ſhe herſelf had ex- "preſſed towards the princeſs his mother; who, though ſhe "was then her ſlave, and had undreſſed her, even to her "ſtockens, had been treated by her like her own child: that, *An odd letter.*

° Olear. p. 362, & ſeq. P Tavern. l. v. c. 1, p. 198.

(Z) She was the mother of Shâh *Abbâs* II. *Tavern.* p. 172.

(A) Near *Tarki*, between *Aſtrakhân* and *Derbend*, in *Shirwân*.

"as

A. D. 1642. " as to her daughter, who was now on the way to him, she " had rather see her drowned in the river *Bustrow*, with all " the misfortunes which might happen to her, than that she " should be ill-used by him."

His other women. BESIDES these wives, he had 300 women in his saray; for the handsomest virgins all over *Persia* were brought thither. The greatest lords themselves presented him with the maidens whom either they or their relations had brought up. While our author was in *Persia*, the kalenter of *Shamakhîya*, capital of *Shîrwân*, having had some ill offices done him at court, recovered the king's favour; by presenting him with his own niece, one of the greatest beauties in the country, and a sum of money sent to the chancellor. The *Armenians*, to prevent the searches which are often made among them for maids of twelve years old, dispose of them in marriage, if handsome, before that age. By reason of this great number of women, it happens that the king lies but once with some of them; and then bestows them on those lords of the court who are most in his favour.

His death. SHAH *Safi*, or *Sefi*, died in the year 1642, in the twelfth year of his reign, or, to speak more properly, of his tyranny. It was thought his life was shortened by poison (B), as the only remedy to deliver the *Persians* from his cruelties.

His person. As to his person, there was nothing of his bloody disposition to be read in his countenance. On the contrary, his aspect was mild and amiable; and his complexion so good, that none who saw him could imagine he possessed such a barbarous heart. He was of a middle stature, and very well shaped.

His cruel order HE left a son, named *Abbâs*, who succeeded him, in *May* the same year, being then but thirteen years of age [9]. His father, it seems, for what reason none could ever discover, had given orders that he should be deprived of sight with the hot iron: but the eunuch charged with that office, in compassion to the young prince, only moved a cold iron before his eyes, teaching him to counterfeit blindness. When his father was in his last sickness, he became deeply afflicted for having so treated his heir: which the eunuch perceiving, promised to restore the prince to sight; and accordingly, soon after, brought him, with

[9] OLEAR. l. vi. p. 363, & seq.

(B) *Tavernier* says, he died in 1642, of a surfeit, occasioned by excess of drinking, after he had reigned fourteen years. Trav. l. v. c. 1. p. 199.—He was buried at the city of *Kom*, in the northern road to *Ispâhân*; where he has a magnificent sepulchre, of which *Chardin* has given the view, in his Voy. en Perse, tom. ii. p. 211.

the

the uſe of his eyes, to the king's bed-ſide. The joy which *Saſi* conceived, on this occaſion, prolonged his life till next day; and gave him time to command all the grandees to acknowlege him as his rightful ſucceſſor. A. D. 1642.

On this occaſion, it may be obſerved, as a farther proof of the bloody-mindedneſs of this ſhâh, that, before the time of *Saſi*, they were content to blind the royal iſſue by moving a red-hot iron to and fro before their eyes: but this cruel prince, perceiving that his command had been negligently executed, and that the poor unhappy princes had ſome ſight left them, ordered their eyes to be dug out (C) of their heads [r]. *relating to blinding.*

CHAP. VI.

The Reign of Abbâs II.

SHAH *Abbâs* II. aſcended the throne, at *Kaſbîn*, with the uſual ceremonies, at the end of the year 1642; and made his entry into *Iſpâhân* the beginning of the next. On the day of the ſolemnity, all the citizens were ordered to be in arms, and march out of the city; where they were filed off on each ſide of the road. In the ſame manner were all the horſe and foot ranged, for five leagues together. All the road, for two leagues from the city, was covered with tiſſues of gold and ſilver, ſilk, carpets, and other rich ſtuffs. All this is done at the expence of the inhabitants, who are taxed for the purpoſe, by the ſhâh bander, an officer like our mayor. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* alſo, among whom was our author *Tavernier*, went to meet the ſhâh. When they drew near, they alighted; and the king being informed by *Jâni Khân*, general of the horſe, held his leg ſtretched out of the ſtirrup, for them to kiſs his *Shâh* Abbâs II. *his inauguration.*

[r] Tavern. l. v. c. 9. p. 219.

(C) *Chardin*, tom. ii. p. 214, aſcribes this cruel order to *Abbâs* II. but we often find one prince put for another. Thus, in the ſame place, *Cha Iſmael Codabendé* is put inſtead of *Cha Mohammed Codabendé*. And, tom. iii. p. 11, 12. the plot of *Jani Khân* is placed in the reign of the ſame *Abbâs*, although ſaid to be in the year 1645, which can agree only with the reign of *Saſi* I. in which *Tavernier* has rightly inſerted it. According to *Chardin*, only the pupils of the eyes. But *Thevenot* ſays, in his Travels, part. ii. ch. 11, p. 98. that the eyes are taken out whole, with the point of a kanjar, or dagger, and carried to the king, in a baſon. He adds, that, as the king ſends whom he pleaſes to do that cruel office, ſome princes are ſo butchered by unſkilful hands, that it coſts them their lives.

boot,

A. D. 1642. boot. None but the king rode over the tissues, which were laid single, length-ways. On his left was the etemâd addawlet, or prime minister; and on his right, the general of the cavalry: yet they did not ride even with him, but so, that the heads of their horses reached to the crupper of the shâh's. As soon as the king was passed over the stuffs, the people scrambled for them, each carrying away whatever he could lay hold of.

Astrologer consulted. The king stopped at a garden, called *Hezârjerib*, a quarter of a league from *Ispâhân*, thinking to have made his entry into the city. But an astrologer came, and told him, that the fortunate hour was past; and that he must stay three days before the lucky minute would return again. This he complied with; and the third day made his entry. For three days together fire-works were played off in the meydân, whose piazza was illuminated from top to bottom. In the principal inns, the merchants had adorned the doors and windows of their chambers, according to the mode of the country; and our author believes it cost the chief of the *Holland* company above 900 tomans (A) [a].

Visits Jûlfa. As the king of *Persia*'s eldest son comes very raw to the throne, his first recreation is to make short journies into the provinces, by that means to become acquainted with things by degrees. Above all, he never fails to visit the principal church of the *Armenians* at *Jûlfa*, in order to see the women, who are very handsome, as well as to gratify his queens, who are fond of all diversions. On this occasion, there is a kûrûk through the city; at what time all the men must retire to *Ispâhân*, or to their friends at a distance. Shâh *Abbâs* went several times in that manner to *Jûlfa*; where one day having seen the wife of the Kalenter *Gorja Safras*, the report of whose beauty had given him that curiosity, he liked her very well; and desired her to accompany his queens, who carried her into the harâm. There she continued fifteen days, and then returned home, with a fair pearl necklace, which the king made her a present of when she went away [b].

Clock with chimes. On account of this shâh's inexperience, at his advancement to the throne, there was built a pavilion, called *the pavilion of the clock*. This is a mere play-thing for a child, or a man who has seen nothing; which indeed is the case of the kings of *Persia*, at their inauguration. It is a machine which puts in mo-

[a] Tavern. l. v. c. 1. p. 199. [b] Ibid. c. v. p. 211.

(A) That is, about 3117 *l.* 3 *s.* 9 *d.* sterling; a toman being 3 *l.* 9 *s.* $\frac{2}{25}$ *d.*

tion

tion a great number of large puppets heads, arms, and hands, which are faſtened to figures painted on the wall, and hold muſical inſtruments; alſo the forms of birds and beaſts, made of wood, and painted, which chime every hour. The *Perſians* behold this machine with more admiration than *Europeans* do the clock of *Straſburg*, or that at *Antwerp*, and as a maſter-piece of mechaniſm, altho' the chimes are very deſpicable ones, and the figures ſtill more rude [c]. A. D. 1642.

In the year 1643, the prince of the *Uzbeks* came in perſon, to deſire aid of Shâh *Abbas*, againſt his children, who had excited his ſubjects to rebel againſt him. His eldeſt ſon, who firſt took arms, having gained a battle, his other brother joined his intereſt: and, though the chief of the nobility ſtill adhered to the father, yet, coming to a ſecond battle towards the end of the year 1642, he loſt it, with his left eye, ſhot out by an arrow, which obliged him to retire into *Perſia*. The ſhâh, to honour him, ſent 15,000 horſe and foot to meet him, as far as *Kaſhân*, which is four days journey from *Iſpâhân*. His officers tent, and led-horſes, whoſe furniture was covered with jewels, were every day changed. The way was covered with carpets, for a league and half from the city; and the king went himſelf to meet him, as far as where the ſtuffs began to be laid. Yet, to ſhew his ſtate, although young, as ſoon as he ſaw the *Tatar* king, he made a ſhew of ſpurring on his horſe; and, being come up, put his foot out of the ſtirrup, as if he intended to alight, but did not. The *Uzbek* prince, as old as he was, preſently leaped from his ſaddle, to ſalute the ſhâh, who made him ſome compliments on having alighted. After this, the etemâd addawlet, and other lords, remounting him, the two kings rode together on the ſilks, *Abbâs* giving his gueſt the left-hand. This prince lent him 15,000 horſe, and 8000 foot, with 60,000 tomans in money. The *Uzbek*, in return, gave him one of his provinces bordering on *Perſia*, which yielded him a very good revenue; in regard the inhabitants were all *Turkmâns* (B), who bred an infinite number of cattle, wherein the wealth of that province conſiſts [d]. A. D. 1643. Uzbek *prince received with honour.*

[c] Chard. Voy. en Perſé, tom. III. p. 21. [d] Tavern. l. v. c. 1. p. 200.

(B) From this, and other circumſtances, this ſhould be the khân of the *Uzbeks* of *Karazm*: but we find no ſuch account as this in the hiſtory of *Abulghâzi*, khân of that country. On the contrary, in the year 1642, he fled from the court of *Perſia*, where he had been ten years, and returned to *Karazm*, which was then in the hands of the *Kalmûks*, or *Eluths*; but a year or two after took poſſeſſion of it.

Although

A. D. 1643.

ALTHOUGH *Kempfer* says this shâh's reign was famous for many warlike expeditions, yet authors mention but very few. The travellers at least speak of no more than two; namely, those against *Kandahâr* and *Jaskes*: in the first of which only he came off with success; and this success was owing more to policy or treachery, than force of arms, or military skill. It has been already observed, in the reign of Shâh *Safi*, that *Ali Mordan Khân*, governor of *Kandahâr*, being sent for to court, rather than trust himself in the hands of that bloody prince, chose to deliver up that important fortress to the *Great Mogul*. All the world believed, after such a piece of treason committed by the father, that *Safi* would have ripped up the bellies of his two sons, who remained at his court as hostages. Instead of that, he conferred on them the same kind of favours and employments which Shâh *Jehân* bestowed on *Ali Merdan Khân*. This piece of policy proved very advantageous to Shâh *Abbâs* II. who, intending to recover *Kandahâr*, marched, and besieged it with 50,000 men. For the *Persian* troops, of whom the greater part of the *Mogul*'s army consisted, remembering how kindly Shâh *Safi* had treated *Ali Merdan Khân*'s sons, gave very little opposition to Shâh *Abbâs*, who, in a short time, made himself master of that fortress. On this occasion, it is related, that Shah *Jehân*, being much troubled at the loss, asked *Ali Merdân Khân*, By what means he might retake *Kandahâr?* to which the khân made answer, *That it might be easily enough done, provided his majesty could only find such another traitor as he had been* [c].

Recovers Kandahâr

by policy.

Prince of Jaskes

BETWEEN cape *Jaskes* and cape *Guâdel*, the two most southern points of the coast of *Persia*, along the *Indian* sea, there lies a mountainous and marshy country, in several parts inaccessible, extending from the sea to the province of *Kermân*. This region was possessed by three petty princes. The two towards the east are ethnics; the third, who assumes the title of prince of *Jaskes*, and is most potent, professes *Mohammedism*. Shâh *Abbâs* I. after the conquest of the province of *Ormûz* (or *Hormûz*), intended to subdue all the maritime parts beyond *Jaskes*: but, meeting with resistance, was content that the prince should become his vassal, and pay him tribute; which was performed during his reign. But, on the accession of Shâh *Sefi* I. the prince of *Jaskes* refused to pay the tribute, without being called to an account. At length, in the reign of *Abbâs* II. the khân of *Ormûz*, by his leave, invaded the country, with 20,000 horse: but, in hunting as he marched,

[c] TAVERN. l. v. p. 198.

he

he fell into a bog, and periſhed, with twenty or thirty horſe- A. D. 1666.
men more.

THE army, on the khân's death, retreated. However, *revolt and ſucceſſes*
ſoon after, they entered the country again, led by the khan's brother, whom *Abbâs* had ſent to ſucceed him. The new general made haſte to reduce the rebellious prince; but was defeated by him, with the loſs of a great number of men. The prince of *Jaſkes*, puffed up with this ſucceſs, and believing the *Perſians* would not return in haſte, reſolved on a voyage to *Mekka*, in order to return his prophet thanks: but the khan, being informed of his deſign, had him way-laid by ſea, and brought to *Ormûz*. From thence he was conveyed to the mountains, ten or twelve leagues diſtant, whither the governor had retired, to avoid the heats; who immediately ſent to acquaint *Abbâs*, and know what was to be done with his priſoner. Mean time, the princeſs of *Jaſkes*, hearing of her huſband's misfortune, and being a woman of maſculine courage, ſets out with 5 or 600 horſe; and, haſting by long marches, ſurpriſes the khân, at midnight, kills him with her own hand, cuts in pieces the greater part of his men, whom ſhe found aſleep, and carries away ten or twelve of his women, along with her huſband, before the *Perſians* could put themſelves in a poſture to oppoſe her.

ABBAS, ſtill more incenſed at this news, ſends the third *againſt the* brother to be governor of *Ormûz*, with a command to thoſe of Perſians.
Shirâz, *Lâr*, and *Kermân*, to march, with 30,000 horſe, to revenge the affront, and reduce the rebel. But the prince of *Jaſkes*, being aſſiſted by the other two maritime princes beforementioned, defeated thoſe troops, with the khan of *Ormûz* at their head. However, his lieutenant-general happening to be taken priſoner in the battle, the khân, in revenge of his brother's death, cauſed his body to be larded with lighted candles, and led about the ſtreets, mounted on a camel, at noon. But, after he had been thus tormented, for three days together, the khân, at the interceſſion of the *Dutch* company, forbore his cruel treatment [f].

SHAH *Abbâs* II. reigned about twenty-four years, and, ac- Abbâs
cording to *Tavernier*, died of an inflammation in his throat, *dies of the* which came by exceſſive drinking [g]. But this prince's death *pox*,
is more particularly related by *Kempfer* and *Chardin*. The firſt informs us, that, being at his palace of *Aſhirâf*, in the province of *Mazânderân*, or *Tabreſtân*, he took a fancy to lie with one of the dancers, who belonged to the court: and although the girl fell on her knees, intreating him to forbear,

[f] TAVERN. c. 5. p. 217. [g] Ib'd. p. 200.

A. D. 1666. for that ſhe was infected with the foul diſeaſe; yet he would not be perſuaded. A month after, the ſymptoms of a pox appeared on him; which, through neglect, broke out over his whole body. As he took no care to live regularly, and his phyſicians, through want of ſkill, or virulence of the diſtemper, were at a loſs how to treat it, the contagion degenerated into a cancer, which ate away the palate of his mouth, and bridge of his noſe.

in great torture. EIGHT days before he died, when it was too late, he began to live more regularly; and removed to *Khoſrawabâd*, a village near *Damagân*. There he paſſed his time among his women, in converſation, reading, and painting, in which he was continually employed. But, while he flattered himſelf with the hopes of living, and being ſoon able to undertake his long deſigned expedition againſt the *Uzbeks* of *Bâlk*, he was one evening ſuddenly ſeized with ſuch intolerable pains, that in the night he ran diſtracted; and died about four in the morning, accuſing his phyſicians with having poiſoned him, on the 26th of *Rabia'lakar*, in the year of the Hejrah 1077, which anſwers to the 25th of *September*, N. S. 1666 [h].

His ſepulchre. *CHARDIN* ſays more expreſly, that his death was owing to an impoſthume, cauſed by the venereal diſeaſe, which ate quite through his throat: ſo that he could ſwallow nothing, every thing he took paſſing out by that orifice, which opened his mouth quite through his head. A matter, ſays this author, not only extraordinary in itſelf, but the more ſurpriſing in a king of *Perſia*, whoſe harâm is ſo well furniſhed with choice of women [i]. But the ſeeming difficulty has been already cleared up by *Kempfer*. He was buried at *Kom* (C), where he has a magnificent ſepulchre, near that of *Safi*, or *Sefi*; the draught of which is given us by *Chardin* [k].

Character. *ABBAS* was a prince of great capacity, and famous for many warlike expeditions. Juſt, prudent, and gracious, to all men; but kinder to ſtrangers than his own people, whom he would not ſuffer to abuſe Chriſtians. He even removed ſome of his conſiderable officers, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, who bore them an ill-will; comparing the ſtate to a body, whoſe members ought to agree among themſelves, and whoſe prince ſhould diſtribute love and juſtice to them all alike. If both *Perſians* and Chriſtians are to be believed, it is hard to name the virtue which he was not poſſeſſed of. His only vices were wine and women, which brought him to his grave [l].

[h] KEMPF. Amæn. exot. Faſcic. 1. p. 28. [i] CHARD. ubi ſupra, tom. II. p. 148. [k] Ubi ſupra, tom. I. p. 207. [l] KEMPF. ubi ſupra.

(C) *Tavernier*, by miſtake of the printer, has *Kour* for *Kom*.

THIS

THIS is the character of *Abbâs* II. as given by *Kempfer*. But *Tavernier*, who was in *Perſia* during his reign, and entertained by him at *Iſpahân*, ſays, he was no leſs cruel than his father *Saſi*, and would be as punctually obeyed [m]. In another place, he obſerves, that this ſhâh was too much addicted to drinking, and governed by paſſion. However, he adds, that otherwiſe *Abbâs* was a lover of juſtice, as well as very magnificent and generous to ſtrangers [n]. A. D. 1666. *His cruelty.*

THAT our readers may the better form a judgment of the character of this prince, we ſhall illuſtrate it by inſtances. And firſt, of his cruelty. *Abbâs* had two ſiſters, whom he married to two of his lords, both very rich, but of mean extraction. Soon after, underſtanding that they were with child, he ordered phyſic to be given them, to deſtroy the fœtus's. About three months after, he was informed they were pregnant again, and ſuffered them to be brought to bed: but commanded that they ſhould not give the children any nouriſhment, but let them ſtarve to death. *An inſtance.*

THIS prince cauſed the tongue of one, who filled him tobacco, to be cut out, for a word ſpoken idly. For *Abbâs* calling for tobacco, one of the pages ran haſtily to the perſon who had it in charge, and bidding him make haſte; the other anſwered, ſharply, *To hell! have a little patience.* The ſhâh being informed of it, ſentenced him to the puniſhment abovementioned. The poor man deſired the executioner to cut it as deep as he could, and leave it very ſhort, by which means he ſpoke ſome words to be underſtood [o]. *Another.*

AMONG other exceſſes committed by this ſhâh, in his cups, one time returning home in liquor, he would needs drink on, and forced three women to drink with him. The ladies, finding he would not give over, ſtole away, one after another, without taking leave: which *Abbâs* perceiving, in a mad humour ſent his eunuchs to fetch them back; and, being come, ordered them to be thrown into the fire, where they were burnt to death [p]. *Ladies burnt alive.*

ABBAS had another of his women, one of the fineſt creatures among them, burnt alive, for putting a deceit upon him, to avoid being gotten with child. One night ſending for this lady to come to his bed, ſhe excuſed herſelf, under pretence that ſhe was out of order, and durſt not approach his perſon in that condition. Next day, the ſhâh went to her chamber; and ſhe, ſeeing him enter, fell at his feet, beſeeching him not to touch her, out of order as ſhe aſſured him ſhe was. *Abbâs*, *A fourth inſtance.*

[m] TAVERN. l. v. c. 5. p. 209. [n] Ibid. p. 211. [o] Ibid. p. 209. [p] Ibid. l. iv. c. 13. p. 172.

A. D. 1676. whose love made him suspicious, caused her to be examined; and being informed, that what she had told him was false, he ordered her to be bound in a chimney, with wood set round her, and there consumed by fire. The reason why this young lady avoided the king's caresses, was, because those of the haram who have once had a child, or only been with child, are rarely ever given to the great lords for wives, as the others are; a thing which they all covet, in order to be delivered from the confinement they are under in the palace [q].

Apology for him. It may, indeed, be said, in excuse of this prince, that the acts of cruelty which he committed were rather the effect of his drinking, than his natural temper: for most of those cruel orders which we meet with an account of, were given when he was in liquor. On the other hand, the parties who fell the victims of his excesses, were often the cause of their own own misfortunes. However, it does not appear that the following instance hath either of those palliations to allege in his favour.

Barbarous order. In the year 1620, *Abbâs the Great* banished a great number of eunuchs from court, who were useless, and only incumbered his palace, assigning them a large hôtel, divided into several piles of building, with gardens belonging to them. But, thirty years after, *Abbâs* II. finding that these eunuchs did not die fast enough, sent persons one night to kill those who were youngest, and bury them in the garden, without any noise: so that, in 1667, when *Chardin* was at *Ispâhân*, there did not remain above fifteen or sixteen [r].

Instance of justice. For all this shah did acts of injustice himself, he would not suffer others to follow his example. In a mosk at *Komishâh*, a town not far from *Ispâhân*, in the road to *Komrân*, there are kept certain fishes, held to be sacred. One day an *Armenian*, who was in the mosk, ventured to take some of the fish, thinking nobody observed him. But it happened, unluckily, that he was perceived by a *Persian*, who, fired with religious zeal, ran at him, with his poniard in hand, and slew him on the spot; imagining that he did a good act, to revenge the sacrilege committed on things sanctified by his religion. The sadr, who is the grand pontiff of *Persia*, believed so too; and therefore, on the murderer's application, gave him absolution, for a small sum of money; declaring, that he killed the *Armenian* very justly. But the king, being informed of the affair, ridiculed the impertinent reasoning of the ecclesiastics, *That to take away consecrated fish, was a crime, for which the party deserved to be killed by the first person who met him*; and repri-

[q] Chard. tom. II. p. 279. [r] Ibid. tom. III. p. 71.

manding

manding the ſadr ſeverely, obliged him to pay a fine to the family of the *Armenian*, who had been ſlain; and ordered the *Perſian* murderer to be puniſhed [s]. A. D. 1666.

ONE time the nâzar, or *ſeer*, who is like the grand maſter of the king's houſe in *France*, being a perſon of low extraction, and advanced to that dignity in a ſhort time, grew ſo proud, that he contemned all the lords of the court. There was no dealing with him about any buſineſs, unleſs he was firſt preſented; and he paid nobody, without making ſome advantage of it. The people hereupon cried out againſt him: but, although every body had reaſon to complain, none knew how to come at the king, to make their complaints. At length they made their application to the maſter of the wardrobe, and high treaſurer, two black eunuchs, who had the king's ear in the night. Theſe, taking the opportunity, when *Abbâs* was in a good humour, let fall ſome words concerning the nâzar's management of affairs; and thence ſlid into a detail of his injuſtice, which cauſed the people to cry out againſt him, and ſpeak evil of his government. One morning, after this, when the king intended to go a hunting, the nâzar, who had always a large train attending him, coming to the ſhâh's tent, was denied entrance by one of thoſe eunuchs. About the ſame time, *Abbâs* came forth, and ſeeing him there, commanded his officers *to take off the bonnet from the head of that dog, who received gifts from his people; and that he ſhould ſit three days, bare-headed, in the heat of the ſun, and as many nights expoſed to the air.* After this, he commanded, that he ſhould be chained about the neck and arms; condemning him, at the ſame time, to perpetual impriſonment, with no more than one mahmûdi (or eight pence halfpeny) *per* day, for his ſubſiſtence: but he died for grief, within eight days after his confinement. *The nâzar puniſhed for taking preſents.*

JAFFER Khân, governor of *Aſtarabâd* (D), was a generous lord, and kept a magnificent train. At firſt, his adminiſtration was very mild; but at laſt he oppreſſed the people with heavy exactions. The king being one day drinking with ſome of his lords, and ſeeing the maſter of his muſic, who was a merry droll, aſked him what the people ſaid of *Jâffer Khân*; adding, that, though he had made him governor of ſeveral provinces, he had never heard any complaint of him before: but that now he was accuſed of very tyrannical proceedings. The muſic-maſter, who was a mere flatterer, knowing that the khân was extremely beloved by the king, confidently *Two flatterers puniſhed*

averred,

[s] CHARD. tom. III. p. 91.

(D) A city of *Jorjân*, on the *Caſpian* ſea.

A. D. 1666.

averred, that he was falsely accused; and that, to his knowlege, he was always apter to give than to receive. There was, at the same time, in the apartment, an hâji, named *Manûchar Khân*, lately returned from *Mekka*, who, having been long acquainted with *Jâffer Khân*, was asked the same question, and returned the same answer. Hereupon the king, who had been well informed of the khan's behaviour, turning to the lords then present, said, *What think ye of these two flatterers, who speak directly contrary to what they know?* And, at the same time, commanded two of the music-master's teeth to be pulled out of his mouth, and driven into the head of the hâji, which had like to have cost him his life, being a very old man. As for *Jâffer Khân*, he was disgraced for a while; but, being a person of fine qualities, was afterwards recalled to court [t].

for excusing a favourite.

Kind to the Franks.

ABBAS was very kind to the *Franks*, or *Europeans*. He not only honoured *Tavernier* with a kalaat and gown, but invited him to entertainments. Particularly, in *January* 1665, being sent for one morning to court, he found Father *Raphael*, superior of the capuchins, and two *Dutchmen*, with the nâzar; who, after a while, brought them to the room where the king was, sitting on a low pallet, with two mattresses, covered with a rich carpet. He leaned his back against a large cushion, four feet long, having before him eight or ten plates of fruits and sweetmeats. There stood also two bottles, with long round necks, of *Venice* crystal, stopped with pitch, full of *Shirâz* wine, and a gold cup. On one side was a vessel with a handle, near full of the same sort of wine, with a gold ladle, which held the quantity of a pint. The bottles were for the king's drinking; that in the tub for his guests.

Treats them

AFTER they had made their obeisances, the king called to *Raphael*, saying, *Come hither, come hither.* The frier went towards him, and, being near, fell on his knees. Raphael, said *Abbâs, if thou wilt drink wine, stay here; if not, be gone.* The frier, though unaccustomed to drink wine, replied, *That, since his majesty did him so great an honour, he was willing to drink a little. 'Tis very well*, answered the king, smiling, *go then, and take thy seat.* Hereupon he bid one of the *Dutchmen* to fill some wine: which he did, with a trembling hand, being unused to drink with kings; and having laid his hat on the carpet, the shâh ordered him to put it on, it being a very ignominious thing in *Persia* to be bare-headed. The great ladle went smartly about, considering it was but early in the forenoon. At length the king, bethinking himself that the *Franks* were not used to

[t] TAVERN. l. v. c. 5. p. 210.

drink without eating, gave orders for victuals to be brought, consisting of both flesh and fish, roasted and boiled. A. D. 1666.

After this breakfast, the king put our author upon a relation of his travels into *India*; and, opening a satchel, drew out several portraitures, in miniature, representing the *Great Moguls*, and their sons, with some rajahs and officers of the court, whom *Tavernier* knew, by their resemblance. Among the rest, there were the pictures of some ladies; which turned the discourse on the subject of beauty, and gave the shah an occasion to ask our author's opinion about it; which gave him some diversion. After this, he put questions concerning the present state of *Europe*; and, as he spoke very low, the rest of the company retired out of hearing, only the king's uncle kept his place, standing five or six paces behind his majesty. At intervals the dancers were called in; and *Abbâs* diverted himself with asking our author, which he thought handsomest, the reasons for his opinion, and making them kiss him. Thus the time passed till eleven at night; when the king inquired if any present knew how to sing. On this, one M. *Daulier* began: but *Tavernier*, observing that the king did not like his voice, because not a base, and being in a merry vein, sang a drinking air; which so pleased his majesty, that he cried out, *Bârik Allah! Bârik Allah! O! the works of God!* *with great familiarity.* *An instance.*

For all this condescension and freedom, which was found in *Abbâs*, he would not suffer any acts of misbehaviour or disrespect from strangers, any more than his own subjects; as may appear from the following instances. Next night, the king fell a drinking (E) again with company, among whom there was an hâji, or pilgrim, newly returned from *Mekka*, and consequently obliged never to drink wine. While this hâji stay'd, one of the *Persian* lords got so deeply fuddled, that he twice struck the hâji's turban from his head; refused to drink, when the king commanded him; played the fool with the women, when dancing; and committed so many other impertinencies, that the king at last, in a great fury, said, *This rascal has lost all his respect, and thinks he is no more my slave! drag him out by the heels, and throw him to the dogs!* He was accordingly dragged out of the hall, by four or five officers; and every body wondered that he was not thrown to the dogs: but it was thought some of the king's women begged him off. *Effects of liquor.*

(E) *Thevenot* says, he had so strong a head, that, after a whole day's debauch, having sent for the *French*, they found him as sober, and in as good a frame of mind, as if he had not drank one drop; so that he continued it one day more, without intermission; being seldom drunk. Trav. part ii. ch. 11. p. 109.

At

A. D. 1666. At this entertainment one of the dancers gave another a box on the ear, in the gallery where they were drinking together: which yet being heard by the king in the hall, he ordered her to be struck out of the number of courtezans, and another put in her place, by the darûga, or judge of the city; who was to get her married, and 100 tomans were allowed her for a portion [u].

Narrow escape *JAFFER Khân* being restored to favour, the king sent for several lords of the court to come and drink with them. He likewise commanded five *Franks*, who were in his service, to attend: their names were, *Sain*, a goldsmith; *Lagis* and *Varin*, watch-makers; with *Marais* and *Bernard*, gun-smiths. After they had been warmed a little with wine, the king drew off his finger a ruby, which our author sold him for 100 tomans; and a diamond jewel worth 1400, which he gave to *Jâffer Khân*, with whom he whispered at the same time. The nâzar, who sat at a distance, fancying the shâh was talking about the incursions of the *Uzbeks* toward *Mashhâd* (or *Tûs*), and being emboldened by the liquor, told his majesty, aloud, *That if he would let him have but* 4000 *horse, he would cut all that rabble to pieces.* The king, displeased at this freedom, bid him *hold his tongue, and go sleep.* For all this, *Marais*, who, when in liquor, could not forbear prating, took on him also to tell Shâh *Abbâs*, *That, if he wanted a general, none was fitter than* Jâffer Khân; and fell into a long detail of his praises. The king commanded him to be silent; which he was for a while, and then began his impertinencies again. On this, *Abbâs* ordered the meter, or master of his wardrobe, *to drag him out of the room by the feet, and rip up his belly.* He was dragged out accordingly: but the meter, having a great kindness for him, and knowing the king loved him much, delayed the execution, by pulling off his clothes very leisurely; and, finding that his majesty did not rise to go into the harâm, which is a sign that no pardon will be given, he caused him to be dragged as near the king as he could, to move his compassion, while some of the lords implored mercy for him: which, at length, *Abbâs* granted, ordering him to put on his clothes again, and resume his place [x].

of a Frenchman.

Drawings of Abbâs. *ABBAS* was a lover of the mechanical arts, and artisans. It has been already remarked, that he was fond of drawing; and *Tavernier* tells us, that he delivered to him the patterns of several sorts of drinking-cups, and trenchers, with that of a

[u] Tavern. l. iv. c. 17. p. 183. [x] Ibid. l. v. c. 5. p. 210, & seq.

dagger

dagger (F), in order to have them made in *France*: the dagger was to be goldſmiths work, enamelled. Theſe patterns were drawn by himſelf (G), having learned to deſign of two *Dutchmen*, who were in his ſervice [y]. *Chardin* informs us, that, beſides drawing, he knew how to turn, and write very neatly [z]. But this is not ſo ſtrange, as what the ſame author relates concerning two blind princes of the blood, one of whom made all ſorts of models (in wood or wax), to great perfection; and the other was well-ſkilled in mathematics, eſpecially algebra. He could ſo well diſtinguiſh the goodneſs and difference of work, by his feeling, and ear, that he would buy watches of great price upon his own judgment [a]. A. D. 1666.

[y] TAVERN. l. iv. c. 16, 17. p. 181. 183. [z] CHARD. Voy. en Perſé, tom. II. p. 215. [a] Id. ibid. tom. III. p. 64, & ſeq.

(F) *Kempfer* obſerves, that, among other inſtances of his induſtry, he made the handle of a ſimeter in wax; and adorned it, in a very beautiful manner, with jewels, to the value of 1500 tomans, as a pattern for the ſword-maker to ſet them in a gold handle. *Kempf.* Amænit. exot. Faſc. 1. Relat. 2. p. 28.

(G) This prince built *Seadet Abbâs*, that is, *the abode, or ſeat, of felicity*, one of the ſuburbs of *Iſpâhân*. *Chard.* Voy. tom. III. p. 75.

The END of the FIFTH VOLUME.